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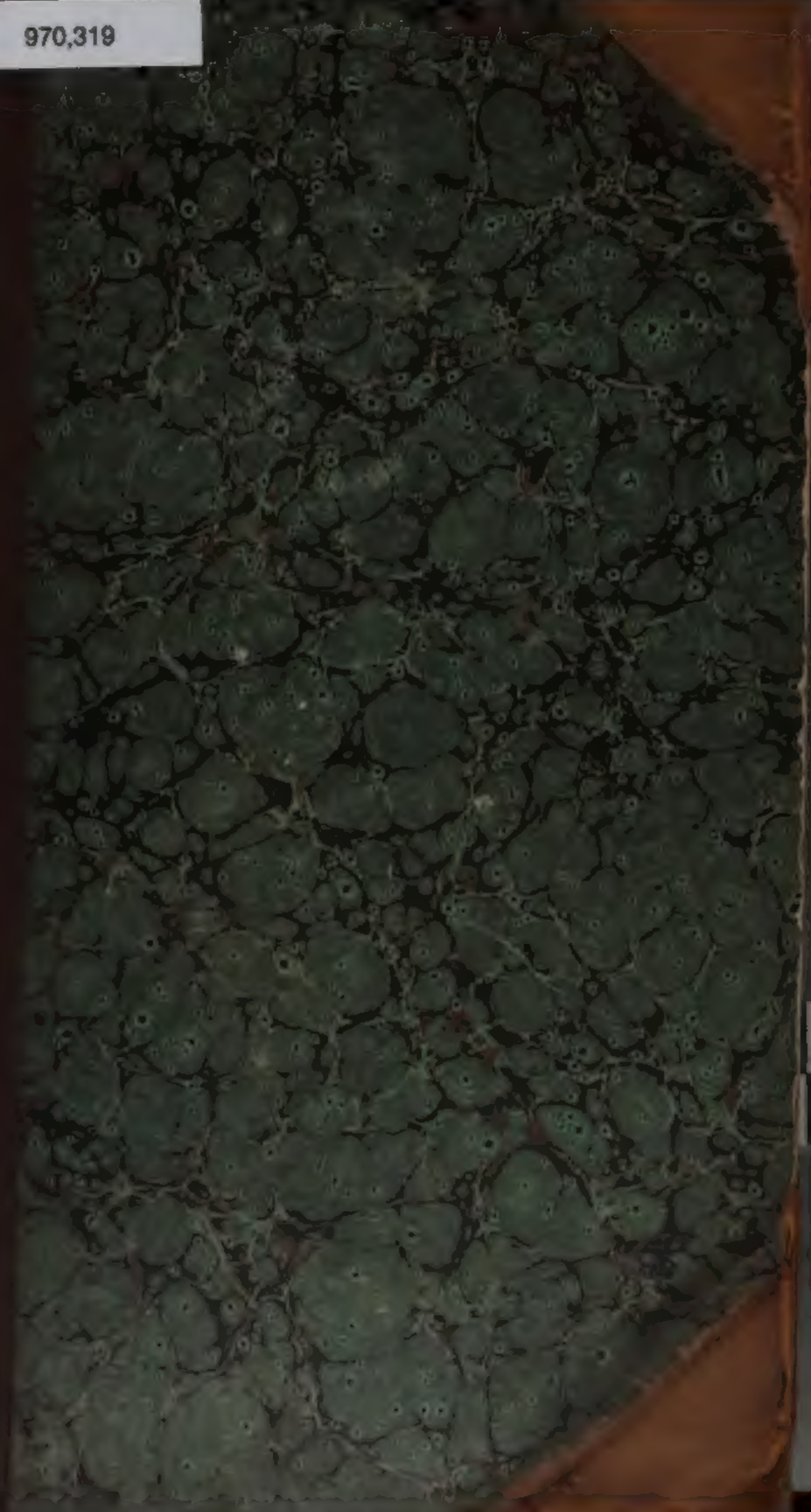
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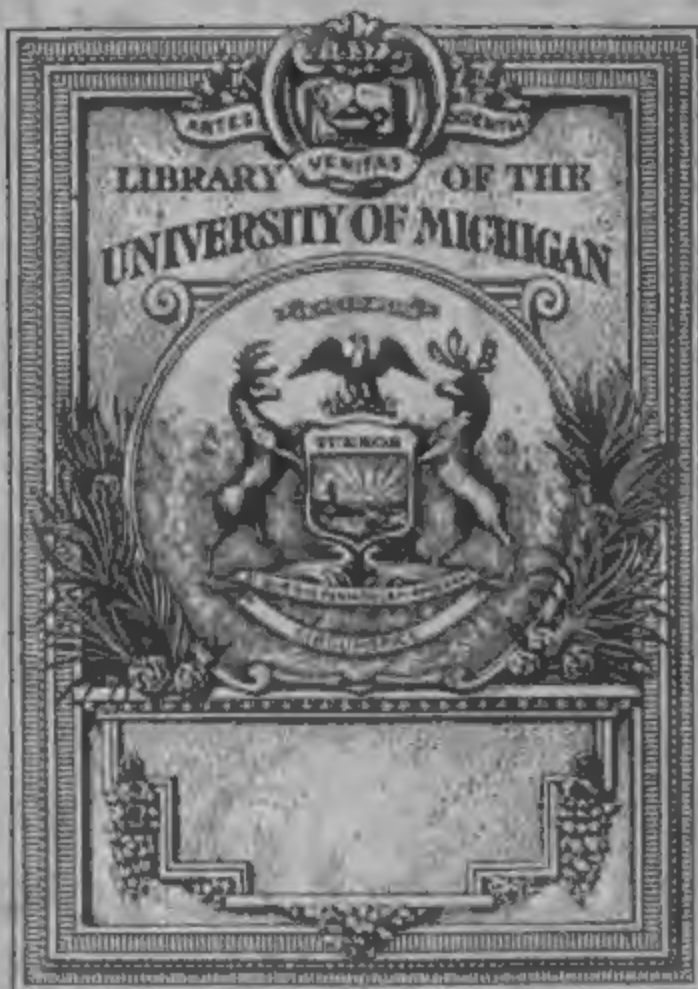
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THE
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

AUGUST, 1858.

ART. I.—*M. de Châteaubriand—Sa vie, ses écrits, son influence sur son temps.* By M. VILLEMAIN. 2 vols. Paris, Michel Levy.

No man has exercised over modern French literature so great an influence as Châteaubriand. After the catastrophe of '89-'93, by which every tradition was destroyed, every edifice overthrown, every connecting link snapped, whether in politics or religion, in morals, society, or literature,—after this period of confusion and barbarism, nothing remained to France but the love of movement, noise, and conquest, and a thoroughly perverted taste in the arts. Never, probably, was *the taste* of a nation so completely—in some respects, so irretrievably—vitiated; for there are points on which to this day no improvement is observable. From the hour when to the love of the impure and the *distorted*, was added the love of the glaring and the gaudy,—when the clatter and show of the Empire succeeded to the would-be Roman and Greek Republicanism of the Revolutionary days (both equally false),—from that hour the appreciative powers of the public mind in France were diverted from their natural bent, the genius of the people and of the language was changed, and changed violently; and it is to be remarked, that, since that time, the works that, in literature, for instance, have been most famous, and have had the best right to be so, have *not* been in strict conformity with the tendencies of the French character, or with the genius of the French tongue, the perfect development whereof is visibly marked in the illustrious writers of the age of Louis XIV.

From 1789 to 1816 the “literature of France” would be a word almost devoid of sense, were it not for Châteaubriand. He alone prevents the chain from breaking asunder, which connects the

literary epoch of Rousseau, Diderot, Voltaire, and the men of the 18th century, with the epoch made glorious from 1814 until now, by so many writers and thinkers of great power and elevation. We would, however, merely register here the undeniable *extent* of Châteaubriand's influence, not its quality. We are disposed to esteem the quality of that influence an exceedingly bad one. We are disposed to believe that all that was so eminently deteriorating in the power exercised by Jean Jacques Rousseau over the youth of his time,—all that was so essentially weakening and corrupt, so conducive to selfishness, vanity, and above all, to self-glorification,—as revived and brought into fresh activity by Châteaubriand. *René*, the very worst, and therefore the most indisputably influential of all Châteaubriand's productions, has far more affinity with the genius of Jean Jacques than with anything else in the whole world of literature,—far more even than with *Werther*, to which it has often been erroneously likened; while *Valentine*, *Jacques*, and the greater part of Madame Sand's immoral creations, derive more directly their origin from *René* than from any other source that can be assigned to them. It is scarcely possible to find a writer of fiction in France who does not owe a large portion of his talent and of his individuality to Châteaubriand. It is difficult, indeed, to conceive of the existence of a great number of the dreamers in prose and poetry of contemporary France, if you abstract for a moment, in your imagination, the fact of the pre-existence of *René*. Of this most immoral, but finely-written work, there is a trace in almost every writer of the class we have named. Hugo escaped it, perhaps, rather more than the others; but Lamartine owes a large portion of what he is, both in prose and verse, to Châteaubriand; Madame Sand owes to him fully as much as she does to Rousseau, and even among the more serious students of history and of science during the Restoration, you recognise the involuntary submission to an influence that is *not*, we again repeat, in accordance with the genius of the language or of the race.

Châteaubriand is an individuality worth studying in other respects than in merely literary ones. He is, from a curious concurrence of circumstances, in perpetual antagonism to Napoleon Bonaparte; and, perhaps for the very reason that there was at bottom a strong attraction of each towards the other, when the repulsion established itself, it was an invincibly violent one. When these two, who had at first seemed destined to act together, were definitively and irrevocably severed, they seemed to acknowledge the force of some law common to both, and in virtue of which they both hated each other in the same way. "Does Châteaubriand fancy I don't understand the meaning of his allusions?" exclaims the Emperor, after the publication of an

article in the *Mercure*, of which paper the author of *René* was the editor,—“does he think I do not know what he would be at? He seems to take me for a fool; but *I will have him cut to pieces on the steps leading to my palace!*”¹ And a short while after, when, to save the life of his cousin (Armand de Châteaubriand), the hero of M. Villemain's book addresses a petition to the Dictator, he does so, in spite of himself, in such terms, that Napoleon, receiving the letter from the hands of Josephine, crushes it in his hand, after perusing it, and throws it into the fire. This alternate attraction and repulsion between Bonaparte and Châteaubriand, which begins in 1800 and endures till the return from Elba, is a feature in the life of both not to be left unstudied. “After all, Sire, do not forget,” exclaimed courageously M. de Fontanes to the Emperor, in the midst of one of his most violent outbreaks of rage—“do not forget that *his name renders your reign illustrious*, and will, by posterity, be always mentioned immediately after your own. He cannot overthrow your sovereignty; he has but his genius; but by right of his genius he is immortal in your age!”² We will not at this moment pause to explain why we think that M. de Fontanes considerably over-rated the merits of Châteaubriand; one thing is certain, namely, that at the time those words were spoken, and for a full quarter of a century after, all France, without perhaps a dozen dissident voices, would have echoed the opinion, and with M. de Fontanes, pronounced Châteaubriand the honour and glory of the age.

Where an influence has been so great and so long-enduring, where it is so impossible to deny either the extent or the strength of it, the man who has exercised it, is without any doubt a worthy subject of study for the historical, the political, or the purely literary student. A universal influence exerted, supposes a peculiar state of the public mind, and you cannot, in this case, separate the agent of the influence from those he acts upon. It is all very well to say, that those upon whom he made an impression were wrong to allow themselves to be thus impressed,—that may or may not be true, and has to be examined later; but the fact of the impression produced, and produced universally, denotes a certain phase of public opinion. What the large majority of a nation (so large that it may be styled “the whole country”) thinks upon any subject, is always deserving of attention. This reason alone, even if there were no other, would lead us to believe that a portion of our readers' time will not be mis-spent in seeing what a man like Villemain has to say of a man like Châteaubriand.

One of the chief causes of the small amount of truth the

¹ “Il croit que je suis un imbécile, que je ne le comprends pas. Je le ferai sahrer, sur les marches de mon palais!”—Chap. vii., p. 161.

² Chap. vii., pp. 161, 162.

general public usually obtains in France upon the subject of what is termed a "great man," is the intensity to which in that country the spirit of *coterie-ism* is brought. If the "great man" in question belonged—as every man of any note almost always does—to some particular coterie, it is next to impossible that during his lifetime any word of truth should be spoken about him; for not only his own personal, and probably numerous, coterie protects him with all its power, but coteries in France do not attack each other's idols, feeling that a moment may come when this one may be glad to ask for and accept that one's help. We should think the man did not live in all France who, whatever his particular opinions or his particular career in life, would have cared to provoke the anger of Madame la Duchesse de Duras under the Restoration, or of Madame Récamier under the Monarchy of 1830. The salon of Madame de Duras, from 1815 till 1827, was the temple of which the author of *Atala* was the high priest; and at the death of this lady (than whom one more amiable, or high-minded, or deservedly respected never existed) M. de Châteaubriand allowed himself to be raised upon a pedestal, and sacrificed to, by Madame Récamier in her retreat of the *Abbaye aux Bois*. From the time of the Directory to that of the Revolution of July, Madame Récamier had pursued but one single object in life, that of having "*a salon*," as it is termed in Paris, and of attaining to the rank of a real "social influence," as it is also called in the modern phraseology of Parisian life. As with most people who do but one thing, Madame Récamier did the "one thing" well. She achieved her *salon* and her "social influence" in a period of some forty odd years, and at the death of the Duchesse de Duras, she put in her claim to the inheritance of the idol, who, well pleased with the new place of worship provided for him, drew a definitive veil over his recollections of the friend who was gone, and prepared to make the very best, both for his comfort and for his fame, of the devotion of the friend who remained. There was no more sentiment than this comes to in the whole transaction; but safely guarded in his selfishness by so active and intelligent a worshipper as Madame Récamier, Châteaubriand was secure from even the most distant allusion to that selfishness ever being made. Madame Récamier would have but ill employed her labours of more than forty years, if she had not arrived at the means of directly or indirectly disposing of Parisian journalism, and at all events at the power of preventing any harsh discordant note from disturbing the melodious echoes of bygone eulogies, that were still made to ring in the ears of the decaying "great man." A year or two before his death, Châteaubriand was beginning to

be forgotten; when he did die, his old reputation blazed forth anew with dazzling though momentary splendour, and his funeral was what that of men who have been idols almost invariably is, the event of the day. With the funeral, however, all was over. It was truly "dust to dust," and nothing but dust remained behind. Madame Récamier soon followed him she had worshipped to the grave, and there was now no one to prevent the truth from being spoken. But where were they who could speak it? M. de Châteaubriand had reached the age of eighty when he died, and those who could have the authority of witnesses to his acts of early life were few in number. Had his own *Memoirs* not appeared to keep up, or rather to re-awaken the interest excited by his name, something nearly resembling obscurity might have enshrouded it for ever. But the author of *René* calculated everything, down to the most apparently trifling occurrence, and calculated ingeniously, and surprisingly well, as far as the stability of his own notoriety (rather than renown) was concerned. He knew what was the capacity of oblivion of his countrymen, and he was resolved to use every means in his power to prevent this being exercised upon himself. He perhaps felt that he might outlive his glory, however great, however universal it had been; he probably judged with accuracy the powers of the generation rising around him (blindness to the merits of others was not one of his foibles, whatever envy of their success might be), and he may have foreseen that other voices would be listened to when his should cease to be heard; at all events, he determined that, supposing his decaying years to pass unnoticed, his death should not do so, and he settled long beforehand the arrangement of his future tomb, upon one of the islands fronting the coast of Brittany, in the Bay of St Malo, and the manner of the burial progress by which his remains should be conveyed from the place of his demise to that of his interment. Nor was this all; he provided likewise for a prolonged revival of the public attention by the posthumous publication of his *Memoirs*,—and here he had reckoned rightly. Since the days when all France was occupied with the Royalist gentleman who first—to his honour be it said—undertook, under a despotic military rule, to restore letters to the honours and "high estate" they had enjoyed under the monarchical sway of the Bourbons, never had the name of Châteaubriand been so perpetually upon the lips of the French public, as during the year and more that the printing of his posthumous *Memoirs* in the *Presse* lasted. That his was a dominant spirit there is no denying; for he managed with these *Memoirs* to balance the ardent interest felt by every one for what was going on every day, at a period (from 1848 to 1850) when no

man thought himself safe if he did not watch over the affairs of the nation and of the government, whereof he could then believe himself to be a sort of component part. In spite of all political preoccupation, however, Châteaubriand compelled the attention of the whole country, and certainly no living author was ever more passionately discussed than was this dead one.

That Châteaubriand secured this universal attention by legitimate means, is not, we think, a fact as well proved as that he did secure it, and that it was universal. No! he neither said all he should have said, nor said it *as* he should say it; he dressed up men and facts as it suited him to attire them, and his main pre-occupation was, not what was right or true, but what would create the utmost sensation. To this he sacrificed even those to whom, while living, he had made a boast of having sacrificed himself; and the bitter words (attributed truly or falsely) to M. de Montalembert are but too applicable: "He has taken his coffin for a sentry-box, and from under its cover fires with impunity upon the passers-by."

Had M. de Châteaubriand's *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe* been really all they professed, and all they ought to be, there would have been small appropriateness in the publication, by even so gifted a writer as M. Villemain, of a minutely detailed biography of the author of *René*. But, as the case stands, not only the *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe* are one of the causes which render an impartial and truth-speaking life of Châteaubriand necessary, but they themselves form such a feature in their own author's character, that until they are read and attentively studied, you can but imperfectly know all the defects and weaknesses of the latter.

"We are compelled to avow it," says M. Villemain, very justly, "The monument raised by the great man, and man of genius, to his own glory, the desire he has had to paint himself from the life, and leave his perfect image whole and entire to posterity, is after all but an incident the more in his destiny, a trait the more in his general physiognomy; and such being the case, the existence of these *Mémoires*, far from being an obstacle to the biographer, is, on the contrary, of manifest assistance to him, inasmuch as it contributes to guide his observations, and, if the historian be really impartial, he may, after the so-called '*confidences*' of his hero, study him still more narrowly, state the circumstances of his life more truly, and while in no way diminishing his fame, explain its origin, and the cause of his influence."

As to impartiality, there can be no means of disputing that great quality of an historian in M. Villemain. His enemies even assert that, far from being led away by his hero (whoever

he may be), he is inclined to narrow his deserts, and show to the public deficiencies it had never suspected. This is assuredly not the case in the work we are at present examining. In the literary talents of M. de Châteaubriand, and in the position he at one time so nobly took up of the champion of letters against despotism in France, there was everything to tempt M. Villemain, and appeal to what have been the convictions of his entire existence—convictions never held by more ardently than since it has become difficult, if not dangerous, to entertain them.

In Châteaubriand, therefore, as a literary man, and as a ceaseless protestor against the narrow arbitrariness of the Empire, Villemain could take no other than a deeply sympathetic interest; but there is an uprightness and an elevation, an “unselfish passion of great things,” in a mind like that of the Perpetual Secretary of the *Académie Française*, which forbid his becoming, even by mere silence, the accomplice of renown unjustly attained. Against any attempt, consequently, to place Châteaubriand’s moral upon a level with his intellectual worth, against any attempt to make the *man* the equal of the writer, and defend, for instance, his political career, M. Villemain could not but raise his voice; and accordingly, whilst in the volume before us no praise that can conscientiously be given to the author of *René* is withheld, at the same time none of the erroneous appreciations that coterie-ism contrived to transform into a species of “public opinion,” are allowed to subsist. For the first time since he first entered upon the scene of public life, M. de Châteaubriand has been shown to the world as he really was, as he lived, breathed, and acted. Villemain has put the author of *René* in *his place*.

Every man who has contributed, for no matter how small a portion, to the work of the world’s teaching, *has* a place in the world’s history, whereof the history of his own particular country is but a component part; but many things may combine to prevent his having what is really his *right* place. Now, few men perhaps have been longer maintained in what was not their right place than M de Châteaubriand; and this is another reason why M. Villemain’s book has so good a claim upon the praise of the reading and of the political world, and why its appearance has produced such a sensation in France.

In the first page of his new work, M. Villemain, with that delicacy of touch that is so peculiar to him, glances at the one ruling feature of Châteaubriand’s whole character—selfishness. There is more selfishness than even vanity. It is such an incessant absorption of every outward thing in self, that in the end no event, of whatever magnitude, is perceived, save through this

one medium only. "Châteaubriand," says his biographer, "throughout all the many volumes he has devoted to the recital of his own doings, has, without rising to the height of an Augustine, or sinking to the level of a Rousseau, contrived invariably, and in the midst of the greatest public catastrophes ever heard of, to speak perpetually of himself." This is true; but at the same time it must be remarked, that he was almost on every occasion mixed up, not only with the "great public catastrophes" here alluded to, but that hardly a marked event of the times he lived in occurred without his in some way being a participator in it. This gives to the history of Châteaubriand a general interest, and tends to make it impossible for the book before us to be overlooked by any intelligent organ of the press in any country.

A few details upon the social position and early years of M. de Châteaubriand may not be wasted. Our intention is not to spend more time than is strictly needful upon this part of our subject. We will simply *introduce* to our readers the hero of M. Villemain's book, and of many political events in the contemporary history of France.

François-Auguste de Châteaubriand was a native of Brittany, and born in the same year which gave birth to so many illustrious men—to Napoleon, Cuvier, and our own Duke of Wellington—in 1768. He was born at St Malo, near to which town he chose to be buried, and in an old-fashioned dirty house, which became subsequently an inn, one of the ordinary resources of which, is found in showing to travellers the room where the author of *Atala* was born. Châteaubriand was of an indisputably ancient and illustrious family, which had sunk into poverty more indisputable still. So great, indeed, had this poverty been, that M. de Châteaubriand, the father, was compelled to do what many men of his position used to do in Brittany, and what was indeed one of the time-honoured customs of the province,—he was compelled temporarily to renounce his aristocratical privileges, and turn trader. This he did to some profit; for, after several sea voyages, and at one time a protracted stay in the colonies, he returned home, and, taking up his former rank and giving up commerce, he was enabled to purchase back the family estate of Combourg, in the neighbourhood of St Malo. François de Châteaubriand was his father's tenth son, and had for his immediate elders four sisters, the youngest of whom was Lucile, to whose name her brother has attached the most unimaginable and fatal celebrity by his romance of *René*, in which he desires the reader to believe that she played the part of *Amélie*.

This subject, almost impossible to touch upon, must neverthe-

less be alluded to. Such things have been heard of before in the world of fiction; and the Greek poets are there to prove that even the youth of this country have, during their course of classical studies, been obliged to admit the notion of incest as a dramatic medium only. But in the case we are alluding to, the circumstances stand altogether otherwise. *René* is a Christian in the first place, and *René* is M. de Châteaubriand! Here is the incomparably monstrous part of the invention. It is needless to say that the whole was an entire and perfect fable, having no origin save in the disordered and depraved imagination of its inventor.

The proof that M. de Châteaubriand absolutely wished the world to credit his impious invention, lies in the fact that, after his death, his *Memoirs* carefully repeat the fearful tale, and seek (vaguely, it is true) to substantiate what the first work of the romance writer had dared to set forth. But the two points which, in connection with *René*, we are anxious to study, are—first, the motive, the determining cause, of such a horrible creation; and next, what has been its effect upon the productions of the language in which itself was produced.

Of course, on first reading a book like *René*, the natural opinion which we form is, that it is the result of a “mind diseased;” that ill health, and an ill-regulated, ill-disciplined spirit, can alone account for the existence of such a production. But this was *not* the case with Châteaubriand. *René*, far from being the result of anything like insanity, was the result of positive and deliberate calculation. M. de Châteaubriand judged rightly of the temper of his times and of his countrymen, and calculated that they would receive kindly what in any other social centre than France would have met with unanimous reprobation. He knew what was, in vulgar phrase, “the thing to do;” and therefore, and for no other reason, he did it. In later days, when Châteaubriand had lost in Rome, after a long and frightful illness, the person he was then supposed to be exclusively, nay, passionately devoted to, he could allow his pen to trace the following words, in a letter to M. de Fontanes: “You cannot imagine to what a degree I am liked and respected here for my grief, and for my conduct upon this occasion!!” Madame de Beaumont had been dead but a few days, and M. de Châteaubriand’s “grief” for her loss is *successful!* has a *good effect!* This is the true reading of his letter, which, in its cynical naïveté, almost expresses as much. There probably never was an act of M. de Châteaubriand’s life that had not for its motive this search after *effect*; and, consequently, at the bottom of everything he did or wrote, the surest thing to look out for is the determination to captivate *popularity*. “You sought not glory

only," exclaims Villemain, in a very fine apostrophe to Châteaubriand; "you sought for the popular favour of the hour, for mere popularity, that noisy daily clamour that is to real fame what a daily newspaper is to a really fine book." Nothing ever was truer. To this notion, therefore, of "*effect*," we may regard Châteaubriand as having, when he gave *René* to the world, sacrificed every higher, nobler consideration. However, what he desired and pursued by such illegitimate means, he amply gained, and gained at once. Never was any book seized hold of by the public as was *René*; it literally absorbed the attention of the whole country; and from Lamartine to Madame Sand, from the *Méditations* and *Harmonies* down to *Jacques* and *Valentine*—refined in the former, made more practical in the latter—you may trace to the present day the influence of Châteaubriand's odious hero, whom he was well pleased the reader should suppose represented himself. From the appearance of *René* may be held to date that purely personal (or, as the Germans term it, subjective) literature that has since then predominated in France, and in which the author is held to form one with his hero. *Corinne*, *Adolphe*, *Obermann*, and many other of the most famous romances of the period of the Empire and Restoration, down to those of the period of the July monarchy, are derived far more immediately from *René* than they are from the "*Nouvelle Héloïse*." With Rousseau, the author of *René* has, as we have already noticed, many points of contact, but there are also more differences between them than it has pleased some critics to discover. The one prime distinction that separates Rousseau from the great writers of the seventeenth century is his love and appreciation of nature; he introduces descriptions of nature into works of fiction with wonderfully fine effect—a thing unheard of for two centuries previous. But Jean Jacques' descriptions of nature are those of a man who really loved and knew how to feel her beauties; and whatever graver objections (and these are of the gravest and highest order) are to be made to the compositions of Rousseau, there is one merit that cannot be denied him,—that, namely, of being the first prose landscape-painter in France. Now with Châteaubriand the matter stands differently, and, even in his descriptions of nature which appear on first reading to be magnificent, there will almost always be found, upon closer examination, to be a labouring after effect, and an absence of sincerity, and of any real emotion on the writer's part, that, in the end, spoil the production as a mere work of art. M. Villemain has furnished us in one part of his volume with the real reason of this, in the account he gives us of the manner in which M. de Châteaubriand used to write. What especially seemed like enthusiasm

in his writings, was almost always the result of application and study, and of writing over again and amplifying the same passage several times. Châteaubriand, with a very large portion of incontestible genius, is *one* of the most perfect (if not indeed *the* most perfect) examples of what incalculable harm may be done by the vice of affectation, in a case even where nature has been unusually lavish of her gifts. When Châteaubriand *feels* sufficiently upon any subject, when the subject comes sufficiently home to him to make him unavoidably *express himself* in what he writes, no language can be finer than his, more simple, more concise, or more to the point. But it is rare that Châteaubriand is placed in the conditions we have here specified, and he far more frequently writes *for effect* than from the wish to *express himself* (we repeat the words designedly), under the influence of an *impression* strongly produced on him by some outward cause. Châteaubriand is one of the first founders of that school of writers who write for writing's sake, instead of writing to prove some fact, impart some knowledge, defend some cause, or awaken some dormant sentiment in the minds of their fellow-men. The immense superiority of the authors of the seventeenth century in France lay in this, that they were not authors, but wrote only to say that which they strongly felt. "Be first of all *a man*, express yourself in writing only when you cannot *act*, and what you write will to the end of time be worth reading,"—this is the precept of one of the great thinkers of France, and it is one that the literature of all ages shows us to be true. The men of the seventeenth century wrote—as, for instance, Bossuet, Descartes, Pascal, and others,—to defend some cause, or establish some theory, the defence or establishment of which was important to them as their own existence: all they *were* was thrown into all they *said*; upon no other condition can a man's writings be worthy to endure. Even the men of the eighteenth century were bent upon achieving an aim, they wrote to gain an end; they were misguided most of them, and their influence has been of the most mischievous, of the most demoralising kind; but they themselves were earnest, were sincere, were convinced, and their writings have endured, and will endure. So was it even with the dreamers of the Revolutionary era; and however you may turn in horror from the insane doers of such fearful deeds as they were, you cannot refuse to such written documents as they have left behind them the merit of intense energy and power of expression. Nor can it be otherwise. In these documents the writers do really *express themselves*; and full of wrong as the whole may be, you still have before you the reflection of a human soul, with all its passion, and all its life. None of this is to be found in M. de Châteaubriand, unless upon very

rare occasions, and then, as we say, the man himself becoming identified with his writings, these are really stamped with the marks of genius, and will endure. With the exception of these few productions, all M. de Châteaubriand's writings are disfigured, and condemned to perish from their deplorable affectation. You see that the writer's aim is not to convince you of anything, for he is convinced of nothing himself; he is writing merely to make you stare, and exclaim how fine his writing is. This is peculiarly evident in his *Memoirs*. You wade through chapter after chapter, disgusted at the amount of insincerity, of vanity, and of *make-believe* that offers itself on all sides; but suddenly, you are arrested by a succession of pages utterly unresembling those that have gone before—of pages full of *truth*, of real passion, and of real life. These are the pages in which the writer has *something to say*, something he feels strongly upon, and in which, forgetting all his notions of "fine writing," he simply wishes to tell or prove something, and proceeds to prove or tell it *simply*. Here, having no desire for effect, and not straining after it, he attains it at once, and the reader is profoundly impressed, and recurs often to pages so unlike the rest.

We set out by saying, that Châteaubriand's dominant principle was *self*: this is so true, that *self* alone is the subject that can wean him from affectation, and make the expression of his thought powerful, because natural. When he merely paints people or events not immediately connected with what immediately interests himself, he resorts to imagination, and deliberately determines to make an effect; but when he desires to bring you acquainted with some circumstance in which he himself is the chief actor, when he wishes to prove to you how well he conducted himself upon such or such an occasion, or how ill some one else behaved to him, then he sometimes reaches to a height of sublime eloquence. The two decidedly finest productions of Châteaubriand's pen are (in totally different styles) *René*, and his world famous pamphlet, called *Bonaparte et les Bourbons* (with some passages of his *Memoirs d'Outre Tombe*), and dissimilar as they may seem, both have the same origin. *René* was the *résumé* of all that its author had imagined and felt at an age when, with certain natures, imagination is the best, or, at all events, largest part of feeling. The monstrous fiction on which the mere romance, the *story* of *René*, was made to turn, was, as we have said, the product of calculation, and of the eternal wish of the author to *make a sensation*; but the story of *René* is the least part of the book, it is the mere frame in which the picture is set. The picture is that of the author. In *René*, Châteaubriand simply poured forth all that had been amassed by him, whether in heart or head, since the hour when he first began to

think. For this reason, and in so far as *René* was true, it was not of a particular but of a general application. The reader might turn revolted from much of it; but in the vague aspirations of *René* in other respects, in his deep though ill-defined presentiments of the weariness of a purposeless life, few men could do other than recognise the type of French youth under the unparalleled social and political convulsions of France. For *René*, Châteaubriand took all his colours from himself; he *expressed himself*, and inasmuch as no man can escape the impress of his time, he expressed also what the time in which he lived had made of the generations around him.

Now his pamphlet on the state of France in 1813, which is falsely entitled a "pamphlet," but which is, in fact, an historical protest, has the same origin as *René*, but under another form and at another moment of time. Châteaubriand, as we hinted in the first words of this article, stood in a curious juxtaposition to Napoleon Bonaparte, and thought he stood in one far more curious and more important still. From youth upwards he only thought of Bonaparte in conjunction with, or relatively to, himself. "We were both," says Châteaubriand in his *Memoirs* (speaking of the year 1791), "we were both then, Bonaparte and I, but sorry sub-lieutenants, utterly unknown; we both started from the same obscurity at the same epoch." . . . !! The reader may be surprised at this preoccupation of M. de Châteaubriand's; and as Villemain truly says, "future generations will probably marvel at this ambitious comparison, at this perpetually recurring antagonism of two names," as if in all the age those two alone could stand upon the same level; but to know a man you must see, as Pascal says, "*how* he thought his thoughts," you must make yourself entirely familiar with his *points de vue*, or you cannot appreciate the value of his judgments or deductions: now, though it may seem strange, the fact is, that M. de Châteaubriand believed in an intellectual rivalry between the "sub-lieutenant of artillery" and himself. He never judged Napoleon from any other save from this intensely personal point of view, and he never believed Napoleon's acts towards himself to be prompted by other motives save the wish to "get rid" of a man whom he placed highly enough in his esteem to think him an *obstacle*, and to be therefore anxious to suppress him.

But antagonism was not the first feeling that arose between the Dictator and M. de Châteaubriand. It was one of sympathy; nor was it till this had become exhausted, and had turned to bitter enmity, that Châteaubriand resolved to bring his utmost efforts to bear upon the task of shaking Bonaparte's rule. His work of *Bonaparte et les Bourbons* was one of deep and active personal hatred, of deep and personal ambition, and of the

ardent desire to gain a personal and political end. Self prompted it, and consequently, unmindful of "fine writing," anxious to gain a point that was of high import to himself, Châteaubriand threw, to repeat our former words, "all he *was* into all he said;" and, addressing the public as one man would address another, gave utterance to a species of harangue of surpassing energy and beauty, and did, as has been often said, "more for the Bourbon cause than could have done an army of 100,000 men."

Speech, not to be vain, must be another form of action; and one of the highest, though *not* the absolutely highest, employment of thought is, when thought prompts to deeds. Now, it was exactly thus with Châteaubriand in the case we are stating. His "implacable pamphlet," as M. Villemain calls it, was an act, into the commission of which he threw every energy of which he was capable. Thirteen years had made M. de Châteaubriand very different from what he was at the outset, and his hatred of the Emperor was after all but the recoil of what had at first been a precisely contrary impulse. In 1800, when Châteaubriand returned from emigration, his sympathies were decidedly with Bonaparte. There exists an article in the *Mercure* of the date we mention, written by Châteaubriand, upon Madame de Stael's work of *La Littérature*, all but entirely forgotten now, but in which a very delicate flattery is contained to the First Consul, and which M. de Fontanes, the writer's undeviating admirer and friend, took care the First Consul should remark. This flattery was no other than a praise of Julius Cæsar, and a declaration of his having been "*the finest literary genius that the world ever saw!*" a judgment that, as M. Villemain observes, "might somewhat have troubled Cicero, but did not displease the ruler of the then Republic of France."

This letter, which created a sensation, was followed by the publication of *Atala*, an episode extracted from the work M. de Châteaubriand was then preparing, *Le Génie du Christianisme*. The success of *Atala* was beyond what would seem possible to us now, but was, if we reflect for a moment upon the social and artistic conditions of France, perfectly explicable then. The unbearable affectation of *Atala*, the absence of all sincere emotion, of any real passion in it, the emptiness of the would-be sentiment, and the fatiguing and perpetual straining after effect in the style,—nothing of all this struck any one in the year 1800, and M. de Châteaubriand, like Byron after the *Giaour*, might have said, "I went to bed obscure, I awoke and found myself famous." Not to know the author of a work so universally popular,—not, at all events, to have seen and met him, was to argue yourself without the pale of that elite which in every country styles itself the "great world." M. de Château-

briand's fame, and M. de Fontanes' friendship for him, took the young author into the immediate circle of the Dictator. It was at a fête given by Lucien Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, that the First Consul and the young *émigré* were destined to meet. The manner of their meeting was certainly very curious, and might help to create a belief that Napoleon did not look upon Châteaubriand as upon the ordinary run of men. Châteaubriand was *not* presented to the First Consul, and it may be as well to recall some few incidents of the moment in order to award its full importance to the way in which the tyrant and the poet met. In 1800, it will be remembered, that any notion of religion, or of a religious establishment, was vague and faint in France. There was small doubt as to the Christian feelings of Châteaubriand; there was some doubt as to how Napoleon really thought upon the subject; consequently the manner of their meeting at Lucien's house derives interest from this fact. Bonaparte cast his eyes over the courtier crowd, appeared to single out by instinct the man whose recent fame made him an object of general attention, and, as though he knew him well, and were pursuing a conversation already begun, addressed him thus:—"When I was in Egypt, I was much struck to see the Scheiks kneel down and worship their God with faces turned towards the east. *Worship is everywhere man's instinct, for there lies truth*; and this is what our *Ideologues* who fancy we can do without any form of worship, or any God, will not understand."

That this way of singling him out was very flattering to the vanity of a man who may have been said to have been "all vanity," is not to be disputed, nor can it be denied that he felt himself intensely flattered and delighted.

His royalism not having prevented him from approaching the chieftain whose ambition was to set royalty aside, there was no reason why M. de Châteaubriand should refuse to serve the government of Bonaparte, which still kept up the fiction of styling itself a Republican one. After three years passed in what some persons have held to be actual "expectation," the author of *Atala* consented to "serve his country," as he was pleased to call it. Cardinal Fesch was ambassador at Rome, and M. de Châteaubriand was nominated to the post of his first secretary. To Rome he went in the spring of 1803, and remained there till January 1804, returning to Paris in time to assist at the transformation (foreseen by every one) of the Republic into the Empire.

If space permitted, there is nothing we should like better than to initiate our readers into the details of what went on in the French Embassy at Rome, and between it and the Cabinet of the Tuilleries, during the time of the residence of M. de Châteaubriand in the Eternal City. It is an amusing picture of the way in which

diplomacy was practised under the Dictatorship; and, at first sight, you would be disposed to fancy its chief object was perpetual internal *espionage*. The Cardinal, whose natural religious indifference seems to have been one of his most marked characteristics, is quickly alarmed lest his more pious secretary should ingratiate himself too much with the Pope and the Papal court, and he is for ever writing home to assert that a great mistake has been made in sending M. de Châteaubriand to Rome. On the other hand, the secretary is for ever complaining of his ambassador, and for ever violating all the rules of etiquette. On one occasion, he presents at the Vatican five of his country people who have never been presented at their own embassy; on another, he informs the Pope that "his apparent position is not his real one," and gives him to understand that he, and not the Cardinal, is the principal agent of the policy of the French Government! To all these mistakes (all caused by his overweening vanity, which really did induce him to regard himself everywhere as of paramount importance), he added that of expediting secretly to Paris a long and confidential *note*, addressed to the First Consul, and in which he set down in succession all the reasons that made Cardinal Fesch such an exceedingly improper representative of France at the Papal See.

On the other hand, all his colleagues had taken for M. de Châteaubriand an ill-concealed aversion, and none of them could support the superiority of a man whose official rank made him their equal, and whose superiority not only came from himself, but was on most occasions openly assumed by himself. The Cardinal, far from countenancing him in any way, was occupied in also transmitting notes, touching his incommodious subordinate, to the one governing force in France, to Bonaparte himself. One of his latter ones contains this phrase: "Châteaubriand is no friend of yours. If you do not cause him to be well watched wherever you send him, you will soon see that he does all he can to support those who dislike your government. This intriguer is a most dangerous man!" "*Cet intrigant est encore un méchant homme!*" We confess that this naïve expression of the Cardinal's vexation (and *fear*) appears to us all the more original, and we may say diverting, when we perceive to what an extent hypocrisy must have covered over all these warring feelings that were struggling beneath the surface. At about the same time when Cardinal Fesch pronounces his secretary "*un méchant homme*," his secretary writes to M. de Fontanes that he is so very pleasantly situated with his chief, that he has renounced all idea of tendering his resignation, as he had once intended to do. "The Cardinal," he says, "is so particularly kind to me, and has made me so thoroughly feel how prejudicial my retirement

would be, that I have promised at all events to stay the year out. *I am in great favour here, and be quite certain that I am not at all likely to leave ! !*"¹

It was not in M. de Châteaubriand's destiny, however, to remain, as he announces it, at Rome. The creation of a Legation to the *Pays de Vaud* is decided upon, and Cardinal Fesch's troublesome secretary is named minister. It was in allusion to this, that, on his return to Paris, it became his wont to praise Napoleon for the "sagacity" he declared him to have evinced in seeing at once that he (Châteaubriand) "belonged to that race of men who can only be of use in the highest and first places." But whether Napoleon's "sagacity" was or was not proved by this, M. de Châteaubriand was not to profit by it. He reached Paris to witness the establishment of the Empire, and, not that usurpation *in itself* caused the diplomatist Royalist to draw back (as he has sometimes sought to have it believed), but a *circumstance* of that usurpation, induced him to recede from all co-operation with the Imperialist monarchy.

On the 18th March, M. de Châteaubriand went to the Tuileries to take his formal leave of the Emperor, previously to starting for Switzerland, as chief of the new Legation to the *Pays de Vaud*. He, at the time, told those about him that he had been struck by the gloomy air of Napoleon, and by the lividness of his complexion. He concluded he must be ill. On the 20th of March, as M. de Châteaubriand was returning home towards evening by the Boulevard des Invalides, he suddenly heard what but too well explained the gloom and the livid complexion of the Emperor. A public crier was crying aloud the condemnation to death, and execution, of "Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duc d'Enghien !" At this, M. de Châteaubriand no longer hesitated. He went home, and, merely saying to his wife, "They have murdered the Duc d'Enghien," he sat down and wrote his resignation of the diplomatic office conferred upon him.

Perfectly simple and natural in the commission of this act, which was prompted by the inevitable feelings of the *man*, of the Royalist gentleman, M. de Châteaubriand lost this simplicity when, as an *author*, he came to tell the story of his conduct on this occasion. "The cry of that street-crier," he says in his *Memoirs*, "struck me like a thunder-bolt. It changed the tenor of my life, *as it did that of Napoleon*." Here we have once more the old preoccupation, and the desire to put himself always on a level with the man to whom (for evil or for good) the *first* place was awarded on the stage of the world's history at that epoch.

However, the preoccupation was not entirely on one side, and

¹ Villemain's *Châteaubriand*, chap. vi., p. 131.

there certainly were in Napoleon's subsequent behaviour to the author of *René*, certain details that would lead to the belief that he did bestow upon him a degree of attention he seldom vouchsafed to any one. Years passed. In the exhibition of pictures of 1808, a great sensation was created by Girodet's portrait of Châteaubriand. The fashionable world of Paris flocked to see this picture, which was pronounced remarkable both as a likeness and as a work of art. The Director of the *Musée*, Denon, nevertheless thought the effect produced by Girodet's picture not a satisfactory one, and he caused it to be unhung and put out of sight. One day the Emperor went to visit the Exhibition. After walking rapidly through all the rooms, and casting cursory glances at the different productions of French art, of which his wish was to be esteemed a patron, he suddenly stopped, and, turning round to his suite, angrily inquired, "Where was the Châteaubriand?" Some excuse was attempted and ill received, and the picture had to be brought down from its hiding-place, and shown then and there to the Emperor. For several moments, Napoleon stood intently gazing on the features before him. All at once a bitter smile parted his lips, and—alluding to the unusually dark tints of Girodet's colouring—"Châteaubriand," said he, with affected disdain, "looks like a conspirator who has come down a chimney!"

But whatever the feeling might be that drew the Emperor into paying attention to what M. de Châteaubriand might or might not do, it was held by the friends of the latter to be a sign that he might once more tempt publicity in France. In the spring of 1809, the book entitled *Les Martyrs* was published, but the facility of publication was the limit of official tolerance, and the newspapers were instructed to "do their worst" against the author; and, added to this literary persecution, a persecution of a more sanguinary kind was directed against the man who had withdrawn from Napoleon, in horror at the treacherous murder of the Duc d'Enghien. On Good Friday of the year 1809, Armand de Châteaubriand (a cousin of the famous author's), accused only of having helped to forward a correspondence between the *émigrés* and their friends in France, was shot on the Plain of Grenelle, with a young man named de Goyon, and a man-servant of the latter. No witnesses of the deed were there, save they alone who were ordered to do it. M. de Châteaubriand, aware that his cousin could not be saved, was only apprised of his execution at the hour when it took place; and when he reached the fatal spot, all he could do was to recognise the corpse of his unfortunate relative, disfigured by too well-aimed bullets.

"In the midst of the military splendour and of the *silence* of the Empire," says M. Villemain, "the *Moniteur* never

having mentioned either Armand de Châteaubriand's trial or his sentence, a death so uselessly cruel was little talked of. No man and no party was at that time strong enough to threaten the formidable autocracy that kept down France. This had only its own excess of ambition to dread. Alone, this ambition was strong enough to work its own ruin; and its acts of tyranny were the more odious, that the victims of them were the more powerless to resist."

But, as though it were the Emperor's determination to be in perpetual contact with M. de Châteaubriand either by some act of oppression, or by some proof of apparent good-will, Napoleon, shortly after the execution of Armand de Châteaubriand, sent through his Minister of the Interior a haughty message to the Institute, to know why the members of the Committee of Prizes had ventured to omit in their report any mention of the *Génie du Christianisme*, and to desire that the omission "of a work that has gone through seven or eight editions," might be explained. Sorely puzzled were the members of the committee, who felt M. de Châteaubriand to be the object of the master's attention, and knew he was not that of his favour. They gave, as best adapted to the circumstances, a half-and-half verdict on the book, assigning complicated reasons for not proposing it for a prize, yet "recommending it to his Imperial Majesty for a *distinction*." About this very period Joseph Chenier died—a seat at the *Académie Française* became vacant, and the members elected M. de Châteaubriand almost unanimously. The news of the vote was, as usual, carried instantly to the Emperor, who at once approved of it, saying to Fontanes, with a peculiar smile he wore on such occasions, "Ah! you thought to elude the matter altogether, gentlemen of the *Académie*; you thought to outwit me, and you have taken the man instead of the book. I, in my turn, shall see whether there be not some means of giving the new academician some great literary position,—something, for instance, like a general direction of all the libraries of the Empire." But this plan never was realised, and the antagonism between Bonaparte and Châteaubriand broke out anew upon the occasion of the latter's projected *reception* as an academician. He had found means, in the speech he wrote for this ceremony, to introduce a long and very eloquent panegyric of Cato, which, as M. Villemain remarks, recalling Cicero's phrase, "was, under the dictatorship of Cæsar, a problem worthy of Archimedes." But the problem remained unsolved, for the speech could not be pronounced. Its author would not alter it, the Emperor would not consent to it in its original form, and M. de Châteaubriand never was *received* a member of the Academy, where, under the Restoration, he took his seat, without going through the required formalities.

This time the breach with the Emperor was a definitive one, and Napoleon never more made any advances to a man who he saw it was useless attempting to enlist on the side of his renown. "If Châteaubriand's reception speech had been spoken," said M. Suard, "and had been so before an audience who for two months had thought of little else, no public hall in the world would ever have shook under thunders of applause as would that of the Institute." This took place in 1811. In 1813, after the battle of Leipsic, that "*premier coup de cloche de l'Empire*," as it has aptly been styled, Châteaubriand began to reflect upon and write the famous pamphlet we have already alluded to, and which, published the very moment after the first successes of the invading forces, added a perfectly incalculable moral weight to that which was pressing Bonaparte out of power and place. The publication of the pamphlet in question was the great turning point in Châteaubriand's destiny; by it he really proved himself a worthy enemy of the Emperor, and he made it impossible for the Restoration not to look upon him as one of its most important auxiliaries. He established himself thereby, firmly and at once, in the double character of enemy and friend, showing *what he was worth* in each capacity. And these are the two points of view from which M. de Châteaubriand should be judged. Apart from his merely literary achievements, and their undeniable influence on France, morally and intellectually speaking, he must be appreciated in his juxtaposition to Napoleon and in his juxtaposition to the Bourbons. He is, in both instances, of historical importance; for in the one he was the indirect cause of events that import much to contemporary history, and, in the other, he affords the observer a new insight into the character of the most extraordinary man in the history of modern times.

Before proceeding to examine Châteaubriand's conduct during the Restoration, and his influence on some of the acts of its government, we think it is well worth while to say a few words upon the peculiarities of character which his intercourse with Bonaparte clearly made evident in the conqueror of modern Europe. "He would not have been what he was, had *the Muse* not been there," was an assertion of Châteaubriand's about Napoleon in his first days of glory after the campaign of Italy. Though *all* that is implied thereby may not be true, a portion of it indisputably is; and it is curious to follow in the hard-handed despot of our age—in the man who ruthlessly suppressed all freedom of expression in the country he governed—what was the constant and intense preoccupation of public opinion. Could Napoleon have imagined that his fame would have been the winner by any freedom of speech allowed, he would have gladly let loose all the trumpets of the press, for he was essentially of his

time, and liked noise and éclat. It was the deep knowledge of his own mistakes, and of their inevitable consequences alone, that fettered him to a silence he abhorred. The first Emperor loved fame and glory passionately, loved *to be talked of*, like a true son of the 19th century; and one of the penalties he paid for his ambition was the very necessity it imposed upon him of shutting men's mouths. Besides this, he was a sufficiently fine *connoisseur* in praise to look at the quality of what he obtained, and to like neither that which was given through fear or through interest, nor that which, when given, was, from its own small intrinsic value, not worth the acceptance. Napoleon had almost as few first-rate thinkers about him as his nephew, though they were generally honester men; and he would have liked that Châteaubriand, left to himself, Châteaubriand utterly free, should have paid the largest possible tribute to his genius. That the author of *René* did not, would not do this, after the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, was perhaps the most serious moral defeat experienced by Napoleon, and he felt it proportionately. Châteaubriand's resolution not to praise him was, there can be no doubt, a great mortification to the Emperor; and the strong desire he had for the praise, thus withheld, serves to prove how the power and greatness he had achieved was compensated by the comparative darkness and silence with which he was forced to enshroud it. There are few circumstances in history more instructive than this preoccupation, on the part of the "modern Attila," of the man whose sole power lay in his pen. It is a great lesson, for it is the homage done by force to thought.

But Châteaubriand, throughout all this, was, we are inclined to believe, inferior to his own genius and to the part it forced him to play. It was from no deep or steady conviction of wrong on Napoleon's part that he behaved as he did; it was from the notion, that by so behaving he should produce a great effect. "You can't think how my grief causes me to be admired and respected!"¹ The man who, on the death of the woman he loved, could write those words to his intimate friend, was the same man who, by his resistance to Napoleon Bonaparte, sought to attract all eyes to himself, and raise himself in public esteem to the level of him whom he opposed. As we said at first, Châteaubriand never saw anything, no matter what its magnitude, save through the medium of self. He sufficiently proved this by his conduct during the Restoration, the period of his utmost political activity; but furnished also the plainest evidence of his want of all statesmanlike qualities, and of his selfishness and perpetually irritable vanity. "*Châteaubriand est léger, et il veut commander à tout le monde.*" No truer word was ever spoken, and that word was uttered by

¹ Villemain's *Châteaubriand*, ch. vi., p. 130.

Charles X., who had but too good cause to know M. de Châteaubriand well, and to regret that events had forced him to the acquisition of such knowledge.

M. de Châteaubriand's greatest fault, politically speaking (and apart from his vanity and selfishness), was, that his was a complex nature. He was neither all a thinker, nor all a doer of deeds; he was a true type of the Frenchmen of the present age, too critical to remain content to *do* or to *be*, and too restless not to dream of action in the midst of thought. With him, the contemplative faculties never rose to the height they reach in really great philosophers, nor was the energy of *the man* sufficient to find its complete satisfaction in the mere commission of great acts—great because they are simple. All true greatness *is one*. There are men whose thoughts are so great that they inevitably prompt their thinkers, if the occasion offers, to act greatly; and there are men of action, whose glorious deeds shadow themselves forth in the highest possible eloquence, if it becomes necessary that they should be expressed. But these are the perfectly great—the *heroic* natures. Châteaubriand was none of these, and his contrary tendencies only sufficed to disturb and torment him, making him unsafe, and wholly unfitting him for the part of a statesman, which was rather his caprice than his ambition.

His career throughout the Restoration is marked by the most deplorable inconsistency, and by exaggeration in opinions that are not destined to endure. After having, under the Empire, clamoured for liberty as for one of the first rights of man, M. de Châteaubriand was, under the Restoration, one of those *ultras*, who helped to drive the Government to the commission of its most irretrievable mistakes. Alluding to the Polignac ministry in 1830, and to the advice M. de Châteaubriand might have given the King, had he always professed the same respect for freedom that had appeared to animate him under the Empire, M. Villemain justly says, "If the author of *Bonaparte et les Bourbons* had not been disturbed by his former efforts to confide the destinies of the monarchy to the hands of those men who refused to admit the *Charte*, he could easily have shown Charles X. that he was going the same road as James II., and that, forming a ministry in opposition to the Chamber, without being able to resort to a dissolution, for fear of the country, he was condemned to a *coup d'état*, upon which he must stake his dynasty and his throne."

But Châteaubriand's hands were tied, and he could not be usefully of his own opinion, because he had so violently defended the reverse of it. The man who had dared to say of M. Decazes (after the murder of the Duc de Berry in 1820), "*Les pieds lui ont glissé dans le sang et il est tombé*," could not rally, ten years after, round the policy which would have been that of M. Decazes

from first to last, just as, to be accepted by the retrograde party, to whom he, from an inconceivable aberration, chose to attach himself, was necessarily forced to trample upon what he was reproached with as the "Liberalism" of his early days. During Louis XVIII.'s reign, M. de Châteaubriand's whole time was employed in trying to outwit M. de Villèle, having vainly tried to seduce him into being his subordinate. At the Congress of Verona we find Châteaubriand, with a curious oblivion of his own dignity, writing to M. de Villèle that he shall be successful were he known to be entirely "M. de Villèle's man" (*si on sait que je suis votre homme*); and a short time after, there is no malicious trick he does not attempt to play his more prosaic but very cunning colleague. The end of this is, the abrupt dismissal of Châteaubriand from his short-lived ministry, and the installation, *ad interim*, of M. de Villèle in his place! This was in 1824. A more unwarrantably harsh proceeding (in its form), or a more ill-advised one, as the sequel showed, could scarcely be imagined, and the open quarrel with M. de Villèle may be said to have caused the first party struggles to the long endurance and growing bitterness of which the government of the Bourbons ended by succumbing, after fifteen years of insufficiently organised resistance.

It is singular enough that, on the occasion of the attack upon M. Decazes in 1820, the best friend Châteaubriand ever had—M. de Fontanes—was irresistibly led into saying of him what twenty years before had been said by one of his worst enemies. "*Cet intrigant est un méchant homme*," said Cardinal Fesch of his troublesome secretary. "Take care of yourselves!" exclaimed Fontanes, when he saw that the ministry meant to resist,—"*Gare a vous autres : Châteaubriand est un terrible homme, . . . c'est un homme de génie implacable.*"

This was but too true; and the implacability of self-love being superadded, from the moment when M. de Châteaubriand contracted the unnatural alliance which bound him to the retrograde party in France, he had no peace until the hopes of the Liberals were defeated. Had Louis XVIII. lived ten years longer, M. de Châteaubriand would have been thrown effectually into the back-ground; for the King knew that in the genuine and sincere practice of *constitutional* government lay the only chance of salvation for the dynasty and for France, and he accordingly did practise it sincerely; but Louis XVIII. once dead, and the *un-constitutional* party represented on the throne by Charles X., the capricious author of *La Monarchie selon la Charte* had every means afforded him of aiding in the task of precipitating the country to inevitable ruin. But, like all men who have often changed their convictions, Châteaubriand was

distrusted by those to whom he gave his utmost support ; and whilst Louis XVIII. suspected in him an agent of that retrograde faction, in which he wisely recognised the greatest danger to the state, Charles X. was suspicious of him for his recent attachment to liberal ideas. This distrust of the King's made the fortune of Châteaubriand till his death, and, in the eyes of *modern Royalists*, the author of *René* was the representative of that pure constitutional form of government, which, as in Great Britain, gives the utmost amount of freedom to the subject, with the utmost amount of respect to the Crown. This was a mistake. Châteaubriand had joined with the *ultras*, to impede the progress of the only really constitutional government France ever had—that of which, under Louis XVIII., M. Decazes was, as minister, the faithful exponent,—and he merely assumed a liberal air under the ministry of M. de Polignac and the reign of Charles X., because he thought that it would produce a greater effect. “ You think that if M. de Laval were Foreign Minister, I should be better able to work with him,” writes M. de Châteaubriand, from his Embassy in Rome, in 1829,—“ You are wrong ; I do not feel inclined to work with anybody !”—a naive but true confession, as M. Villemain observes. “ *Je suis disposé à ne m’entendre avec personne !*” The man’s whole selfish and eminently *wayward* character is shown in these words.

Our readers may perhaps think time might be better employed than in studying the life of a politician who, like Châteaubriand, was of such small political usefulness to his own country. But Châteaubriand was not a political man *only*. He was, as we said in the beginning of this Essay, a man whose literary influence lies at the source of nearly all the modern literature of France : he helps to afford the philosopher and historical student a clearer insight into the intimate workings of the mind of Napoleon Bonaparte ; he is the abettor of many of the errors that drove the Restoration to the catastrophe of 1830 ; and he is the type of a whole class of Frenchmen,—of that peculiarly mischievous race, in whom the caprice for action disturbing the tendency to thought, leaves neither character complete, and mars the perfect existence of either a genuine thinker, or a plain manly doer of deeds.

Were it not even for all these reasons, we would still strongly recommend our readers to read attentively M. Villemain’s *Life of Châteaubriand*. They will find in it the evidence of what a great mind feels and finds expression for, even under such an iron rule of compression as that which now weighs down France, and they will, in matters of History, Poetry, Politics, and Art, profit by the not less generous, because matured judgments, of one of the greatest æstheticians of any age.

ART. II.—*Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age.* By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, D.C.L., M.P. 3 Vols. Oxford University Press.

THERE is a reality about Homer which time can never mellow down into something visionary and shadowy; there is a freshness in his verse, which the tedium of millions of schoolboys can never rub off. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are always on the horizon of literature, and at every turn meet our gaze. Virgil has had his age of renown, as Diomed's battle-rage has its book in the *Iliad*; so has Horace had his. Homer has seldom, in modern times, been the book of a generation, only because he is the book of all. In this sense, Mr Hallam is right, when he assigns pre-eminent popularity to him above all poets, ancient and modern. His great influence—whether direct, through readers, or indirect, through readers of those who have formed themselves by them—has always been an element in literary history. From those distant eminences of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the inhabitants often come down, and mingle in the business of our life. We listen to *their* tales of enchantment in the mediæval chivalry of Tasso and Ariosto; we turn round, and catch in the tone of the narrative or the adventure, the glow of a type borrowed from an Agamemnon or an Achilles. In our own accents, they talk to us from the pages of our own poets, and even lurk behind the vigour of Shakespeare, or the measured declamation of Dryden.

But this literary ubiquity, which is so clear a test of the surpassing merit of Homer, is injurious, perhaps, to the fame of his critics and commentators. A volume which should extol a Claudian or an Ausonius, might, as to any results effected by its arguments, be useless; but, if these were sufficiently ingenious, it would remain long on the surface of literature, simply from the fact of its subject-matter being such as not to allow it to blend with more solid works. An eccentric effort of power has always a chance of becoming, at least, the Wandering Jew of literature. A critique on Homer, unless it aim at destroying its idol by impugning his personality, has little hope of such a position. It must, sooner or later, fall into the body of the current of its theme, like any famous dictionary, and help to swell the stream; it will not be allowed to dwindle away as a separate and independent rivulet. This is the common fate of books introductory to other books; but they are not therefore the least useful or influential agents in human progress. Dr Johnson's Dictionary has long succumbed to Webster and Richardson; but it would be as foolish to consider the

years expended on that great work thrown away, as to lament our expenditure on the loaf we eat, or the coat we wore last year. Few books have given a more palpable impulse to the political literature, and even the political instincts, of their own day, than the "Letters of Junius;" yet who now reads those fiery declamations? It would be a curious spectacle, could we have a tabular classification of works, drawn up according to their relative influence on their immediate successors, and so upon the long line of literature following. We should observe the great names radiating, as it were, equally through all ages, not more conspicuous during their own than in one a dozen generations off. Shakespeare would be there not more prominent than Jonson, or Milton than Cowley. The great representatives of their era,—the men who seem the centres of the time, and the bright points in the darkness of their several periods, natives therein, and not mere chance guests,—would be those who have long since died out of the small list of the classics who are read. Their rank is known to us as a matter of history, not of our own consciousness, and through the eulogiums scattered throughout the liberal pages of their far loftier contemporaries, where they lie like flies embalmed in amber.

Many will probably be disposed to complain that Mr Gladstone has taken up his position along with the latter class, and spent his rare ingenuity and subtlety on what may, perhaps, earn the praise of skill and versatility, but must soon be forgotten. It will have seemed to them a prodigal waste of powers and enthusiasm which might have set parties in a flame, to hunt after the fame of a pioneer before the steps of the Father of verse, who carries no voters in his train, and cannot even muster up an Election cry. They will not allow that whatever makes an age, even in its schoolboy studies, more earnest; whatever gives it topics of interest and thought, and tends to prevent it from growing into a stagnant pool, a nuisance to itself and neighbouring times, is so far worthy of praise. Last century might have been far worse even than it was, had it been without the stimulating zeal and vigour of those great Pre-Raphaelites in the field of critical art—the Bentleys and Parrs. But Mr Gladstone does not need any such qualified apology for these volumes. His subject is neither merely a sublime poem, nor merely an æsthetically blank repository of valuable antiquarian and historical facts; it is the most truthful and ancient of poets singing of the most heroic and eventful of themes.

A false sort of prestige has at times attached to early times, as though the accident that they are primitive confers upon them a sure title to veneration. But those ages nearer the beginning have no undoubted prerogative of genius, or right to

respect. They have not necessarily the innocence of childhood; and, in the absence of that, they cannot but have the stolidity and rudeness of brute nature. There is no medium; and instances from savage life, perhaps, far more commonly reveal the latter as the normal state of things. Nevertheless, nothing is so common as to find men falling into an indiscriminate reverence for all that is old, as though *that* were in itself something glorious. On this account, it is fortunate that the fact of the neglect of sordid Hesiod appears side by side with the universal sway of Homer, furnishing so obvious an answer to those insulting panegyrics of the latter, based simply upon his antiquity, and the simplicity of his age. It shows that antiquity, by itself, is no reason for our admiration. It is only when conjoined with brilliant qualities, ordinarily found to be the tardy growth of late ripening art, that the guilelessness of a primitive period becomes a virtue. We do not look with any surprise at stones older far than Adam, while a bracelet worn by Alfred, or the supposed sceptre of Charlemagne thrills us through. To an essentially great poet, such as Homer, priority in time, his advantage over the tribe of bards by a thousand or so of years, has not been the reason, but a kind of outward badge of pre-eminence which Time has bestowed. Associations we all have with his name, but he does not owe his place to this clustering about his name of reminiscences of boyish labour, and the freshness of a first appreciation of beauty. Could we see Horace, as Plato, in his terrible "Vision of Souls," saw the spirits of the tyrants and lustful lords of the past, we should behold him incrustated with schoolboy pleasures and pains. Virgil himself has some obligations of the same sort. But Homer, with Shakespeare and all the few greatest, soars above all possibility of contact with, or debt to such sources. As the wings of his genius expand, they shake off these adventitious associations, as lightly and as gracefully as the lark shakes off the dew at dawn. They wander and float round about his feet, like the clouds about Jove on Ida, but the mass of his poetic faculty is seen through them, and above them. It is not on account of his place in education that he is venerated, but for his loyalty to truth, and therefore to the essence and root of all that is grandest in imagination and poetry.

Of no other poem can we say, as we may of these, that whether realities sat for the portraits or no, we can, and even must imagine each hero as a really existing being. Their pictures are too natural and palpable for a romance; the features of every-day life are kept too carefully trimmed, and are too entirely penetrated with passion for an essay or a chronicle. Without ceasing to be poetical, he never forgets that he is narrating part of his nation's history. In fact, it is in his peculiar

power of selecting phases of action and character that one most abiding source of his power over the mind of his audience, and influence over the universal mind of man consists. This power was in him very largely developed; but it is an attribute of all the greatest minds; and the difference of our sentiments respecting persons or things, which equally have the equivocal merit of age on their side, does not arise only from the absolute beauty or excellence of the one class, but also its relative utility to us, as furnishing materials of history, and illustrative of a nationality. The footsteps of a great writer are all forwards; of a little one, backwards. It may be curious to trace the Greek of the era of Pericles and Demosthenes back to the Boeotian of Hesiod; we should find it impossible from the latter to foreshadow the former. In Homer, on the contrary, we see the present ready to burst into the future, so that the whole of Greek literature seems to have a direct lineal connection with him, as the multitudinous arbours of the Indian fig-tree with the one parent stem.

In the characters depicted there is a yet plainer resemblance to those of later times than in the external form of the literature of the two periods. Proceeding upwards with the progress of the nation, in the great intellectual powers, nay, the great qualities of the golden age of Athens, when the very vices seem "weeds of glorious growth," though vices, and in their tendencies debasing ones, they surely were, sometimes clearly, sometimes dimly we can detect the same nature, developed neither as to its vices nor as to its virtues, but in itself, and implicitly, as full and branching as at an earlier period. The political sagacity of Ulysses is seen, maturer, but with colder moral aspect, to actuate the counsels of Themistocles; and the caprice of Achilles, the Fate of his people, stirs under the more baneful phase, and with a far less generous heart, in the actions of Alcibiades.

It is hardly worth while attempting seriously to prove, after Mr Gladstone, how it is all but a duty and necessity for men deeply interested in any nation to use all materials in their power for interpreting the national type by the light of its earlier stages. Could we, indeed, sufficiently realise the relationship between Homeric and later Greece in spirit and tone of feeling, as tested by its equally distinct unlikeness to that of the surrounding kingdoms at both times, we should not have failed, as Mr Gladstone accuses us of having done, in approximating to that degree of ardour and earnestness in studying the poet which is his rightful due. Mr Gladstone, however, hardly puts the obligation on this footing. He seems to us, in his zeal for his favourite author, to defeat his own end, and to be cutting himself off from the sympathy of that large body of enthusiastic admirers

of the more clearly historical epochs, who might study the Iliad and Odyssey as links in the great chain of Hellenic progress, but would not care for a bard so elevated above his successors as to have no common ground with them. To this point we shall have occasion to recur. At present, we can travel on willingly with Mr Gladstone, so long as he is employed in demonstrating the credibility of Homer as the delineator of an age.

The chief argument for his truthfulness, and, to a certain extent, an unanswerable one, is the impossibility of plausible untruthfulness before the epoch of book-learning or ultra-civilisation. The "Castle of Otranto," or the "Mysteries of Udolpho," produced by an *Englishman* in the Middle Ages, would have been marvels indeed. The master of all poets was not elevated above his race and time in experience or information, but only in the quality of his mind. Divine Achilles was dependent upon material armour, equally with that most terrestrial of heroes, giant Ajax ; but what was base hide or iron for the one, was pictured silver and red gold in the shield of the son of a goddess. It was fortunate that his contemporaries were of the noblest type among races, at least of the type most poetical. But this was his happy lot, not his choice. He could only see what was before his eye, and he must have painted it, whatever it had been. Thus, as he could not but mean to represent the period, displaying as it did lines and traits so fine as perforce to attract an eye so keen for poetic beauty as his, so it could not but be that he accomplished his intent ; for nowhere else could he, thus isolated in a narrow island of intellectual and moral refinement from the neighbouring "Barbaria," have found such material for his photographs of heroic energy in action, and fire in passion, as in his own Greeks. There was no necessity, so to speak, for a surpassing poet to have sprung up in that age ; but, when such a mind was formed and nurtured, fidelity was a thing of course. He might have idealised the rude vigour of a William the Conqueror into an imperial Agamemnon ; he could never have wrought even an Ajax out of a nation of such Achilles' as we have in "Troilus and Cressida."

The proof that fidelity has been preserved, both in the ordinary facts of every-day life and manners, and also in the great extraordinary facts of national life, is, as such proof always must be, internal. But, besides the evidence thus afforded us, the burden of proof lies on the opponents of such a theory. It is for them to show how, in the absence of historians, and even of chroniclers to spoil for his Muse the incidents of actual war and adventure, it was possible, not to say probable, for the bard to pass by such obvious sources of interest to his audience. Till a learned class, like the monastic bodies of the Middle Ages, arises

in a primitive people, its records of fact are properly in the keeping of its minstrels. Lastly, it is for these same sceptics to explain why the fervent imaginative poet should have been so minute and matter-of-fact, not once or twice to please a patron, but everywhere, as though to please and ward off historical critics, unless from the circumstance that he was truly an historian, and therefore liable to fulfil all the laws of that art, as well as of that which we are accustomed to consider more peculiarly his own.

So thickly up and down the poem are evidences scattered, that, at all events, whatever may have been the poet's own convictions, he meant his hearers to believe in it as a record of the real acts of real men, that we can comprehend Mr Gladstone's surprise that there should have been at any time disbelief in the existence of the historical element in, at least, the *Iliad*. The question is not so free from doubt as to the nature of this historical credibility in the poet,—whether, that is, it arise from an effort of his will and deliberate intention, or be spontaneous, that is, the effect of the colours of life being those nearest at hand. We cannot accurately determine how far Mr Gladstone's belief in the literal credibility of Homer extends; but he appears to wish to establish in this, as in other respects, a difference between him and others in kind, not only in degree. A theory which requires such a concession appears rather forced. If the poet indeed flourished, as is most generally supposed, when the heroic age had now passed away, he might well have striven, according to Keble's fine hypothesis, to recall the dying echoes of an era which he regretted for its energy and enthusiasm. The glow of its manliness, and abundance of life, would be still living in the memory of the aged, softened and deepened by the contrast with the existing state of things. This is what Homer would see and describe; the uncouthness and ugly traits of a spirit of violence he would not care to be reminded of. In fact, even had it been in his power to give the true scenes of that primeval life, it is doubtful whether an audience in the fresh vigour of revolutionary change would have been yet far enough off, or sufficiently accustomed to, and tired of the routine of their own condition, to call for a reproduction of the state of things, in all its features, which they had so lately dispossessed. If, on the other hand, his epoch was really the heroic age itself, his very proximity in time would have tended to seal up for him the War of Troy. He could not, perhaps, in a martial age and amongst a warrior people, have strung his harp to the pursuits of peace or praises of heroes who never existed; but experience shows us he could, though with the trophies of victories, won by his host's forefathers, hanging over his head, neglect the actual achievement of the con-

quest of Asia for fabulous tales of real but bygone kings, whose adventures had preoccupied the national fancy. It is by no means evident that men care to have their contemporaries made the heroes of a song. There is too much of the trite and common-place, it is supposed, in modern society, to allow us to relish even the picture of Marlborough in the lineaments of a mythological hero: is it quite certain that those earlier times are utterly devoid of their own especial form of the prosaic, and that the denizens of the time are not as perfectly alive to, and as morbidly conscious of its anti-poetical traits? If Achilles, living and fighting and dying before Troy, had been daguerretyped by the poet, would he have appeared to his descendants the ideal of the great heroic type which he did to the Athens of Pericles? Themistocles did not strike his fellow-citizens as being their Ulysses; and even the story of those heroic Persian wars, infinitely nobler in origin, progress, and results than the raid of Hellas upon Troy, as Homer explains it, is reduced in the description from the pen of the most Homeric and tragic of later poets, himself an actor in the scene, to the jejune narrative of a Gazette. Whose deeds were celebrated in the court of the Queen of England in our most heroic era! It was not those of her Drakes and Raleighs; the Armada itself did not call forth one song worthy to take its place with the Arcadian Idyls and catastrophes of knights-errant, which were the favoured themes. The people of Richard II. did not listen to lays of Cressy and Poitiers, but were willingly transported by Chaucer, *our* Homer, to Thebes or Lombardy. Rufus, among his victorious Norman barons, did not delight in eulogies of Rollo's wild adventures, or the more recent glories of the Conqueror, but was soothed by the alien legends of Charlemagne's fabulous Peers. Even the sorrowful battle of Hastings itself was not remembered in a single worthy ballad by a race which was ever bewailing it.

Only after a long period of probation, and when a great part of the truly historical has been filtered away, the train of events rises into men's ken as at once real poetry and real history. Our knowledge of the great Frank Emperor is not derived merely from the Norman and French romancers. Their hearers were to the full as convinced of his existence and prowess as we; but the details of it were, in their legends, very different to those we have gathered for ourselves from his Edicts and Capitularies. So, although we have not in this case been able to procure an independent account, the other great historical tradition of the dark ages, the deeds of King Arthur, and the Round Table, grew to be implicitly believed in as a true narrative, long after the time for testing the details had disappeared. The belief of Greece in the veracity of Homer is no more a proof of that

veracity, so far as particulars go, than the corresponding confidence of Welch, and Saxons, and Normans in the Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth, forces us to sympathise with their credulity. Nor, again, judging from the same examples, does the uniformity of the reliance by the Greek mind upon the *Iliad*, and the statements therein made of the fortunes of its heroes, as the basis of its history, while the testimony of the Cyclic poets was to a great degree neglected, demonstrate the truth of the former, any more than does the consistent adherence of our own ancestors, and of French and Germans, to Archbishop Turpin and Geoffrey, to the exclusion of narratives equally plausible, prove the fidelity of their annals. Nations in the earlier stages of their development, perhaps also in the later, appear to be the captives of the first coiner of legends pretending to be national. Their sway, once fixed, is never thrown off; it grows with the nation's growth; and the most that subsequent efforts of imagination or traditions of true events can hope for, is to get engrafted upon this primary stock. Modern times are as much in bondage as the ancient to the seeming accident of having been preoccupied, when in the stage fitted for receiving new impressions, by some special legend or character. Even now, Englishmen's minds recur to King Arthur and King Alfred as their national tutelary heroes, as naturally as a Scotchman's to William Wallace and Bruce. So Napoleon, when he could have modelled France at his pleasure, chose for the type, not the recollections of the magnificence of Louis XIV., the *bonhomme* of Henri IV., or the chivalrous piety of Louis IX., but the legends of the semi-French house of Pepin, and the crown and triumphs of Charlemagne.

We are liable to be deceived, by the far greater verisimilitude of the Homeric narrative, into assigning to it an altogether different historical position to these national epics of the Middle Ages. Whatever the Greek intellect took hold of, it at once idealised and rationalised. The Læstrygonians and Cyclops became possible beings in a possible though unrealised state of existence.

Homer's genius is not satisfied with the stage properties, as it were, of an epoch. His poems have, over and above all this, a general air of truth. The whole scene is the ideal of one side of Greek life, ranged against the other and more Pelasgic aspect of Græcism as mingled with the Asiatic, but not Asiatic—in fact, as toned down and perhaps deteriorated in the colonies of Ionia and Æolia. Both aspects came within the range of the poet's personal experience; and into this nursery he transplanted the shoots and scions of a different age, but yet one so closely related to his that their products took root at once in the new soil. Achilles,

and Diomed, and Ulysses were certainly not the creatures of his imagination. The hold which the fame of these men (who had a real place and era, but not that of their chroniclers) had upon the popular mind, had compelled him to make them the heroes of his songs, and even of his age. He condensed and fixed, once for all, the floating ballads on these themes, and rendered his own idea of the men historical for once and for ever. Indeed, the very distinctness of each member of the group tells against the supposition that the creation is either wholly his or wholly nature's. It is all but impossible these figures should have issued from the imagination of any author, however illustrious, so clear and so highly representative as they are, as a whole, of all the different qualities of the Hellenic intellect, yet never trenching on each other's province, so that the rude strength and comeliness of Ajax never gets confused with the divine grace and spiritual fire of Achilles; nor the simply intelligent valour of Diomed, who always required the direct counsels of Minerva or Ulysses, with either; nor the mellowed experience and pleasant story-telling fluency of Nestor, with the grave wisdom of the chief of Ithaca. Those forms of action and intellect must have filtered through the fancy and belief of several generations, and been the household words of an age, before they became, in the hands of Homer, the instrument of education for a great and deep-thoughted nation. Yet how naturally do they take their places in circumstances of a different origin to themselves. There is no violent discrepancy, as between the sentiments of the Fairy Queen, betraying as they do conversations with Sidney, or the conceits of Raleigh, and the deeds of a Lancelot or a Chandos; nor, as between Welch names and Norman chivalry, as in the British Chronicler. Every advantage is taken, and in the most dexterous manner, of the comparative simplicity of his own period which had to furnish the details of the scenes and of that deep foundation of unchangeable nationality which enabled him to select fearlessly, out of that state of society in which he himself flourished, the conditions within which the characters given him by popular feeling for the agents in his narrative, could most freely and harmoniously move and act.

Mr Gladstone remarks that we find all the arrangements of a time of peace in apparently complete operation in the camp before Troy. But we cannot depend upon the description of the relations of the time as depicted in the *Iliad*. The controversy respecting the epoch of the poet himself, is a sufficient indication of the want in his great poem of clear reference to the manners of any one in particular. The period of the capture of Troy was probably one of perfect subjection in the lower orders; a modified aristocracy and a clearly recognised sovereignty in

one man, Minos of Crete previously, and at the time described, the head of the Pelopid house, as the historical acumen of Thucydides assumed, when he declared that the supremacy of Agamemnon was the source from whence proceeded the armament against Troy. The age of the poet himself was probably, on the contrary, one of partially acknowledged freedom and equality in the people, and the recognised transference of all the more actual privileges of sovereignty from the old emperors to an aristocracy composed of the natural lords of the soil. The rule of Agamemnon, however, was an historical tradition, which the minstrel could not overlook; while the prowess of the subordinate princes' predecessors, whether natural or political, of the nobles in whose halls he was a favourite guest, and for whom he sang, was to be the real subject of his verse. Hence grew the position assigned in the *Iliad* to Agamemnon, of the representative rather than the king, the elected leader and counsellor, rather than the self-appointed general. Mr Gladstone thinks him a blot upon the poem. We cannot allow this; the conception seems to us, with all its faults, full of grandeur. Yet the poet-historian has certainly somewhat spoiled it by the discrepancy between the place allotted to the chief, as president of the princes, and the hauteur natural to the emperor in his council, but which becomes, in the nominal superior of kings, differing from himself chiefly in the extent of their dominions, the arrogance of a parvenu.

There is the same indefiniteness in the account of the relations between Agamemnon and the soldiery. If he ever conceived of the propriety of summoning them to assemblies, it was to declare his will, not to cheat them into acquiescence. In the later period, however—much as with the right of yea and nay in the Anglo-Saxon monarchy—the patriarchal theory of the gathering of the whole clan to hear, that they might the better obey, the enactments of their common lord and chieftain—had been exchanged for a regular privilege which the poet could not disregard. It is therefore dragged in on all occasions—in the *Iliad* before a battle, in the *Odyssey* before Telemachus goes his voyage—with no especial utility, and certainly with incidents very derogatory to the paramount supremacy of the sovereign. It is a complete image of an assembly in Sparta with the king—a sort of lay-figure, ready at hand to give the aid of his experience, but with scarcely the chairman's right of controlling, with the citizens clamorous, as though they had an actual part in the proceedings, but with no assured right even of free speech, and with an oligarchy of princes and lords monopolising, as at Venice, all the active functions of the assembly, to the exclusion from observation both of sovereign and populace. Mr Gladstone, by an odd process of reasoning, congratulates himself on discovering,

a cudgelling of Thersites, clear proof of the freedom of these liberties. He is not satisfied with attempting to ward off the objections thence taken against his hypothesis, and triumphantly Whether "the ascription of a sarcastic speech, to a creature unwitted enough, and as careful as others of his own back, not presuppose that freedom of debate was a theory, in principle at least, known and familiar"? That it was known and familiar to Homer, we should never dispute. But this is beside the point. The real question is, whether what was known to, delineated by him, was also known to the warriors arrayed at Troy? The whole scheme of the Homeric policy, illustrated by the further light thrown upon it by the *Odyssey*, is too complex for the age of Achilles and Ulysses. It is a blend of two stages of Greek history, and a condensation of the course of one long cloudy period, with all its changes and variations.

It appears to represent the traditions of a time, when a collision of powerful houses had been consolidating Greece, gradually centralising it, and forming a nationality. It appears also to represent a probably succeeding epoch, when those aristocracies had been broken up by domestic disorders.

This is the chief aberration from historical truth : but it is an aberration of a general deviation, arising from the same cause. Mr. Grote, in his masterly analysis of the *Iliad*, has fully followed out the distinction, remarked by Colonel Mure, between this and all other epics ; that, whereas in these all the parts tend to the achievement of some catastrophe as their end and object, in the *Iliad* all the parts are grouped round a single hero as their centre. This hero constitutes the grandeur and glory of the poem ; this it is that, while it remains the king of epics, justifies to the full the dictum of the sire of criticism, that it is also the origin and model of all dramas. But, this its merit, is also an argument

against its historical character. There might be some ground for defending the accuracy of the Spanish epic of the *Cid*, notwithstanding the concentration of all interest in it on the figure, on the plea of the guerilla nature of the warfare, and the special attributes of Middle Age chivalry. That may be true, because it only pretends to be the history of the deeds of a single warrior. But the war of Ilium was the struggle of a nation against a nation, of an empire against a powerful alliance. The war is only the focus in which the poet has, with the perfect instinctive taste, concentrated all the scattered rays from a wide area of manners and hero-worship over which his eye wandered. The recollection that the expedition was conducted under the auspices of Atrides, was the keystone of the historical tradition. But along with this, the poet conjoined other circumstances, perhaps in themselves equally true, but not

originally contemporaneous. The circumstance of Agamemnon's sovereignty perfectly harmonises with the political bearings of the whole event, which was one of those periodical projections of Greece upon Asia, of which the march of the Athenians to Sardis, of the Spartan Agesilaus against Tissaphernes, and finally the victories of Alexander, were the natural successors. It agrees also with the apparition, almost immediately upon the close of the contest, of many colonies, Achæan, Ionic, Æolian, on the Asiatic sea-board, marking the second great epoch in the history of Greek development. These colonies were, it is probable, the direct effects of the victory of the Achæan, to the higher class of whose subjects the emigrants appear to have mainly belonged. Perhaps, even the cause of the contest may have been the deliberate design of the sovereign, to procure an outlet for a superabundant population. His character is represented as that of a profound politician, and not that of a man who would precipitate two continents into a war to avenge a woman's elopement.

However this may be, on the nucleus afforded by the leadership and suzerainty of the Pelopid chief, the rest of the incidents of the poem seem to be engrafted. That formed the clue, soon concealed by the growing ball round which the scattered memories of Greece were being gathered by the poet. What the particular *rules* were by which he was guided in filling up his *rôle*, it is difficult to say. His *principle* certainly was, to collect together, round the walls of Troy, the body of Greek traditional lore, and all that could interest the Greek mind. Many were ready to his hand; heroes remembered in their countrymen's ballads, or the descendants of those who could not be themselves directly introduced.

In the details of the siege itself, tradition would again concur in guiding and also constraining him. Many tales respecting it, no doubt, hung about Greece and the colonies in Asia which sprung from the expedition. These, such as the arrival of Rhesus (pointing, as it does, to some feeling of a common danger throughout Asia inconsistent with Homer's explanation of the object of the war), he would have to incorporate and organize. Other exploits, whether noble or the reverse, might have originally been appendages of the popular heroes he had enlisted into the service of his great epic. These he was obliged, by popular feeling, equally as in the case of the men themselves, to interpret and embellish.

We have followed Mr Gladstone's lead in referring chiefly to the Iliad. But it must have struck many of our readers, that the Odyssey, with its greatly more modern cast of manners and sentiments, if rightly ascribed to the author of the Iliad, makes powerfully in favour of any hypothesis which would suppose

Homer *not* the contemporary of the state of society he affects to describe. We certainly do not mean to speak for the sect of the Chorizontes. But the subject is too difficult an one to be carried by acclamation against them, especially in the face of the marked discrepancy between Mr Gladstone's especial theory and the supposition of one author for both poems. We do not think that he has a right, or that he is doing justice to his own position, to dismiss the subject as quite settled, as opposed to common sense in what he assumes to be its ideal form, *i.e.*, the existing form of English scholarship. Surely the matter is not so simple. No one can, we believe, read the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* consecutively, more particularly if, like Mr Gladstone, he have satisfied himself of the display of the personal experience of the poet in the *Iliad*, and not be liable to a sceptical, however superficial suggestion of a double authorship. Standing alone, as they do, we are naturally inclined to attribute them to one. This tendency has been recently exhibited in a very grotesque and notorious shape: the attempt to rob us of a great poet by amalgamating him with a great philosopher. The isolation of the Homeric style among the throng of popular Greek writers, persuades to this. Were the Cyclic poets extant and worth reading, this similarity would no longer be so obvious. Then, too, though these would keep their just precedence above all others, we should, perhaps, in the midst of many singing birds, not have felt disposed to be so sceptical respecting the likelihood of the co-existence of two nightingales in the first epoch of Greek literature, any more than we incline to give the Orlando Furioso to the author of the Orlando Bojardo. Had the Beaumonts and Jonsons and Massingers disappeared, we might, on the same principle, have expounded Fletcher, with his "Faithful Shepherdess," to have been only a *nom de guerre* for the poet of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

On the whole, instead of the *prima facie* argument being on the side of the orthodox, perhaps it would be *easier* to settle down into the belief, that two great poets illustrated these early ages of poetic Greece. Later Athens had its Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Sophocles, and Euripides; why should not the younger period, if as much superior to its successors as Mr Gladstone would make out, have had its two Homers? There is as much, doubtless, to be said on the other side; but the arguments lie less on the surface, and for their application require more delicate management. Mr Gladstone has erred, in the plenitude of his own conviction, in refusing, when the scheme of his work was so ample, to indicate, at least suggestively, the causes which have operated to make him think so strongly.

Overshadowing, like an arch, the large scene of earth and human passion, we behold displayed in the *Iliad* (in the *Odyssey*

much less openly), as a sort of reflection of it, and an exaggerated ideal, the "Polity" of heaven. The two scenes are as like each other as the convex and the concave of a bowl. But, as Mr Gladstone well remarks, the differences are all in favour of man, as contrasted with the powers of Olympus. He is sensuous, but genial and generous; they are sensual, riotous, and selfish. While he jeopardises his life for his pride and the satisfaction of his fury, they, with all the lowering passions, and more than the natural grudges of humanity, take heed of exposing themselves to the least hazard in gratifying them. They always seem to be fighting, like Paris and Pandarus, with the arrows and spite of mankind from behind the shield of divinity. This is their common character, but (though with very few exceptions indeed in these respects) it breaks, within certain bounds, into various phases. Some of them we see the patron saints of a particular personage, and like the Latin *genius*, as it were, simply created for him, and finding the whole reason and end of their being in the condition of his fortunes.

Mr Gladstone's classification of the Homeric deities deserves serious attention. In the first division he places certain, having "their basis and the general outline of their attributes and character in tradition;" in the second, those with attributes of a traditional basis; and in the third, the deities of "invention or mythology proper." Outside of Olympus and its Court are ranged in six classes those superhuman intelligences who form, to use his graphic phrase, when called on high occasions to the palace of Zeus, the great Chapter, or Parliament of Heaven.¹

Such then is his classification of the gods of Homer, ingenious and probable as all his hypotheses are. But while we readily allow it to be a true representation of the proportion in which tradition and invention entered into Homeric theology, we cannot think the position proved, so far as it draws so definite a line between the different divisions, enunciating, that here tradition stops, and there invention commences; that these do not in anywise represent impersonations of nature, that those do nothing else; that some, as the Muses or the Fates, are not meant for persons at all, that others are only the offspring of belief in Satan.

Mr Gladstone has devoted a third of his whole work to Olympus, and we do not think his labour thrown away. The gods of Olympus are represented as not far away from man, not much removed in analogy of passions (we cannot say sympathy), not so very different even in race. They form one side of the Ho-

¹ Readers who take a special interest in the "Homeric Theology," will find the names of "The gods many" ranged under these different classes in Mr Gladstone's work.

meric picture, seldom enveloped in sacred mystery or slumbering deep in cloud-land, and they help to interpret the other. But far away on the horizon loom forms, some as shadowy or terrific as those of Efreetts and Genii, others as grotesque and definite as the Elves and Trolls of Denmark; there spread lands whence Minerva herself draws back and leaves her protégé to explore alone; regions whither Jupiter has to send Mercury ambassador, as it were, to foreign powers, not to command, as from a sovereign, but to threaten war as from a stronger potentate. There dwell beings who, like the sun, though only part of the furniture of Jupiter's world in the *Iliad*, become in the fairy expanse of the *Odyssey* impersonate. The very waters know not Neptune, and murmur and swell at the bidding of stony Oceanus and Tethys. On one side, all is clear and measured, whether on earth or in heaven; or the other, but separated, as with all things in those early times, by a debatable land of reality and fable commingled, all is dim and uncertain. Yet mainly so, as regards the facts, not Homer's account of them. Starting from false premises, partly collected from sailors' gossip, partly from hypothesis, his genius has yet, as Mr Gladstone powerfully argues, enabled him to give the materials of a chorography which we can take to pieces and put together again and criticise, so as to point out where a stone of truth was laid, and where only the semblance of one.

“The legendary geography of the ‘*Odyssey*’ may, in one sense, be compared with that of Ariosto, and that of Bojardo. I should be the first, indeed, to admit that a disquisition, having for its object to establish the delineation of the geography of either of those poets, and to fix its relation to the actual surface of the earth, was but labour thrown away. For two thousand years, however, perhaps for more, the geography of the ‘*Odyssey*,’ has been a subject of interest and of controversy. In entering upon that field, I ask myself, why the case of Homer is in this respect so different from that of the great Italian romances? It is not only that, great as they were, we are dealing with one before whom their greatness dwindles into comparative insignificance. Nor is it only, though it seems to be in part, because the adventures of Ulysses are, or appear to be, much more strictly bound up with place, than those of Orlando, Rinaldo, or Ruggiero. The difference, I think, may lie in this, that an intense earnestness accompanied Homer everywhere, even through his wild and noble romance. Cooped up as he was within a narrow and local circle—for such it was, though it was for many centuries the centre of the whole greatness of the world—here is his effort to pass the horizon “by strength of thought;” to pierce the mist; to shape the dim, confused, and conflicting reports he could pick up, according to the best of his knowledge and belief, on land and sea; to people its habitable spots with the scanty materials he could command, everywhere enlarged, made good, and adorned, out of the wealth of his vigorous imagination; and to form, by effort of the brain, for the first

time, as far as we know, in the history of our race, an idea of a certain configuration for the surface of the earth."

Homer, like the early Greeks and Asiatics, thought of the earth as a circular plain, floating in the middle between Heaven above, and Hades below. This great plain, according to Niebuhr, he imagined must be somewhat depressed in the centre, forming a basin for the waters of the Great Sea (the Mediterranean), while round its upper edge flows the world-river ocean. Mr Gladstone's analysis of the Homeric geography is of a minuter character, and well worth studying, though the prosecution of the theory and the gallant endeavour to demonstrate that "to the left" means "to the right," makes him take a forced march over, we think, at least one philological morass. He holds that the poet divided the earth into three zones, the centre one comprising Greece and its isles, and Asia as far as Mysia on the north, and Lycia to the south. The distant regions in the centre of Asia were only known to him by vague rumour, as Peru and Mexico to the natives of the West Indian archipelago. Shading away into the province of fable, we find an intermediate circle marked out by Upper Calabria, Epirus, and Thesprotia, to the north and north-west; by Emathia to the north, and the Sea of Marmora to the north-east. In the south-east, hanging on the line between the known and the unknown, and liable, with each new traveller's tale, to swerve to the one side or the other, we observe Phœnicia, the home of those mysterious mariners, who seemed to drop from the clouds into every nook of earth, however remote, and who were wont unscrupulously to make themselves out still stranger and more fearful beings than their natural selfishness made them. In the same quarter lay Egypt, the Greek's land of enchantment, a five days' voyage across the open sea, whither too, the poet tells us, the very birds journeyed only once a year. Still further on beyond this horizon stretches that Outer Geography, where space and time give way to a sort of Chaos or Limbo, plastic rather than formless, and certainly, with its tender Calypsos, and weirdly beautiful Circes, not like Coleridge's gloomy picture,—

"Walled round, and made a spirit-jail secure,
By the mere horror of blank Naught—at all,
Whose circumambience doth the ghosts enthrall."

Two propositions Mr Gladstone puts forth as the keys to this outer circle so rich in fancy and fable. The first is, that the poet greatly extended the Euxine westwards (perhaps towards the east contracting it), and thus opened a communication between it and the Southern Mediterranean by the Gulf of Genoa and Venice; the second, that, compounding into one two sets of Phœnician traditions respecting the Ocean mouth, he fixed the site of it in the north-east. In support of the former hypothesis

are adduced the convoy furnished to Rhadamanthus to Eubœa by the Phæacians (placed by Homer in the extreme north, just outside the historical world), a passage thereby being implied from the Adriatic round Thrace; the description of Mercury sweeping down upon the sea from the coast of Pieria, and then riding upon the waves to Northern Ogygia (a route which necessarily suggests a space of sea to the north of Pieria); and, lastly, the journey of the souls of the slaughtered suitors past, successively, the stream of Ocean, and the Leucadian rock to the gates of the sun, and the people of Dreamland. In favour of the second, and also in turn explained by the second, is the meeting in the north-east, of a group of Oriental traditions respecting the Ocean Month, viz. the fables of the "floating rocks" of Jason's famous voyage, of the winter fogs of the Euxine (proved to be no vain legend) overspreading the land of Cimmerians, a "household word" among us now; of the home of Aurora "of the rosy fingers," and the grassy meadows of the Sun-god. Between the accounts Homer had received from Phœnician navigators to the Straits of Gibraltar, and the old tradition of the Adventure of the Golden Fleece, there were necessarily some slight but irreconcilable discrepancies. Yet the parallel was so striking, that, setting out with the hypothesis of the existence of but one month for the Ocean, he could conscientiously confound together the shallow Straits of Yenicale and the deep waters of Gibraltar.

In this scheme the expanse of sea usurps the greatest space, ruled over by one of the given Three, and bounded by the quiet "River flowing in an oval line, flattened at both ends, always inward to Neptune's domain, more ancient than it, and supplying it with a perennial stream. On the north-western beach of Ocean blooms the Elysium plain, and the meadows of Asphodel where rest the souls of the heroes; on the south-east are the groves of Proserpine, that austere deity who cares not for the festive halls of Olympus, the offspring of a far different legend from that of the

"Fair field
Of Enna where Proserpine gathering flowers,
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
Was gathered, which cost Ceres all that pain."

From the rising to the setting sun on the south spread the "blameless" Ethiopians, with whom the gods feast gladly, balanced by the Children of the Mist on the north, who fill up the entire space, from the Crimea to the land of the Cwmri,—the land of perpetual day, and the land of perpetual darkness. The great expanse above Greece is filled up by the expanse of waters; so naturally does the aspect of the sea suggest immensity; it required the strength of Columbus' mind to overcome the feeling,

that the unknown cannot be a continent. There, slender points amid the waste of billows, lie the homes of the pale-faced dreamy Lotos-eaters in the south, in the north those of the ghoul-like Læstrygonians, forms, as it were, exaggerated by the mists of their latitude. In the north, too, are Calypso's isle of Ogygia, *ομφαλος Θαλάσσης*, the palace of the king of the winds, which after-Greeks delighted to fix, without proof, in Stromboli, the pygmies and their cranes, and, nearer the line of experience, Aëæa, with its woods, and the perilous melodies of the Syrens.

However, so far as Mr Gladstone's theory goes, we are still left free as ever to stray through the wide seas, and along the spectral coast-line of River Ocean lapping among the reeds by broad meadow-lands, and dim with memories of departed princes who haunt its banks. These regions were regions of enchantment to Homer: they must be so to us. Like the "Plangtæ" of Jason, or old Delos, they are chained down to one point of the compass by the poet's love of system, which was not satisfied with an Ariosto's wild contempt of geographical order, even of that decent shame which impels men at least to thrust an anarchical file of papers into a drawer. But, within that wide *liberty* they range unshackled, and the nature and relations, and all but the outline of the daily life of their occupants, are like lines drawn upon sand, or in vapour. Just within the charmed circle of the tale told by the Phœnician mariner, the poetic insight of Homer has created light and life; but the clue, connecting the Known with the Unknown, Greece with Ogygia, or the Unknown with the Unknown, Ogygia with Aëæa, is lost for us.

"The air is cut away before,
And closes from behind."

Perhaps the impression of the poet's genius is never more vivid than when we contrast the incidental character of a hint at some bygone hero's deeds in the Iliad, or of those *allusions* to "Myths" of lands beyond the sea in the Odyssey, with the effect produced thereby in Greece itself, and even the influence exerted by them long after over Arabia and Europe. In how few lines are the mild Lotophagi dismissed; how summary is the narrative of perils among the Læstrygonians; yet so apparently casual a spark has proved of divine temper enough to kindle the fancy of Tennyson and Turner into a flame, not to speak of Sinbad the Sailor.

It has been contended, with much power of argument, that the classic spirit, even in its earliest developments, contained no germ of the picturesque, or the subjective. We indeed do miss Tennyson's power of analyzing in our sight his own sensations and emotions, and his delicate minuteness of scene-painting. But the difference between the ancients and our poets may, after all, be, that action was to them fresher and more various than to

us, and also more habitually forced upon the thoughts by the continual exigencies of petty-state governments, so that while they had only time, and space upon their canvass to suggest the cause of a psychological inquiry, our writers follow it up and perfect it. Perhaps the recognised pre-eminence of the old classics, as subjects of education, may consist partly in this very reticence which allures the student on to finish and elaborate for himself. The *Odyssey* and *Iliad* have formed too many poets, and caused too many poems: even the late "*Prometheus Vincit*" has exerted too manifest an influence over the imagination of our own Shelley and Keats; the still surviving classical type of middle age Italy too spontaneously burst out into the full glow of romance and picturesqueness in the Jerusalem and two *Orlandos*, to allow us to suppose that the line between the Classical and the Romance schools is quite impassable. If Homer be not picturesque, at least we cannot help thinking him so.

To his countrymen Homer was the one only storehouse of romantic conception. It was a most appreciable element in the fortunes even of later Greece, that, while in the half liquid mass, the nation was penetrated at its source with those old sea-faring tales. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in the education of posterity were as novel and useful an element as were in that of earlier Greece the Phœnician galleys themselves sailing in at evening, as Columbus into Hayti, from the vast wilderness of waters, bearing strange products of half visionary climes, and tales of enchantment from the world of spirits. Those strange battles of gods and heroes, rough blows and plain words in the *Iliad*, and those marvellous adventures of the *Odyssey*, were beneficial, as tending to counteract the narrowing tendencies of subsequent times, with their perfection of elegant utility, their hatred and contempt of all barbarians, and pride in all contained within the narrow bounds of Hellas, their carelessness about the supernatural and spiritual, and their rationalised essence of sensuality. The contrast of the heroic life with the life of dilettante Athens, was as useful for the latter as it was for the Anglo-Saxon, with his tendency to become too utilitarian, to have his traditions of the chieftains of the War-Horse, and of ages of Danish persecutions; for the denationalised Welchman to keep his gleaming legends of Arthur slumbering till the destined day in the isle of Avilion; for Danes and Normans, matter of fact not in the way of utility, but in the gross pursuit of pleasure and dominion, to be able to look back to hereditary glories of daring Vikings, whose only birthright was their sword, ennobled and refined by the charm of time; lastly, as good as it was for the euphuists of Elizabeth's Court, to feel a rough echo from the Spanish main of the bold deeds of rough Drake and Hawkins.

At the same time, though assenting fully to Mr Gladstone's assertion of the pre-eminence of Homer, and his influence over his country, we must retrace our steps a little to express our strong dissent from the depreciatory view, implied rather than expressed, in the whole texture of the volumes before us, of the character, moral, literary, and theological, of later Greece. To our mind, one of the deepest sources of interest in Homer, in both his historical and esthetical aspect, consists in the possibility of tracing a relationship, not remote or fanciful, but deep and positive, between him in all his many-sidedness, and the subsequent epochs in his country's progress. We are confident that this is the feeling of a vast number of the poet's most fervent admirers. We fear that the feeling of many, on considering this attempt to sever the race at the two different periods, may be that, if Homer do not help to interpret the genius of Plato and Demosthenes for them, they take no more interest in his songs than in the noble myths of the Edda, or the epics of Camoens and Ferdusi. Such an hypothesis is, we hope, not correct. Certainly the cities of Greece, contending for the glory of having given him birth, or citing his simple allusions as infallible authorities, held themselves no strangers, or aliens from him in thought and feeling. To a Greek of the age of Pericles, nay, of Plato, it was all reality, all sober history. To the heroes of the Iliad he was fond of tracing the lineage of his captains and statesmen; the warriors who fought at Troy were the princes of his own country. Over the whole was spread the charm of names and associations, not made trite by the occasions of daily life, and yet well known by the report of brethren and friends fresh from the scenes of the Iliad, the stately towns and lustrous valleys of Old Ionia. It was thus, the story of a war not waged under unknown conditions of climate and difficulty, with a tribe of Caffres or Moors, but like battles to a Frenchmen fought in Provence, to a Briton on the fields of Bannockburn and Flodden. In Homer too the Greek believed he found the germs of his religion, and the account of the origin of the gods he worshipped, whether without inquiry, or as symbols of something higher and deeper. Mr Gladstone contrasts the mythology of the later Greeks with that of the Homeric age, but he seems to us to have laid too great stress upon the greater geniality of the Olympic system in Homeric Greece, as indicating a more positive religious tone. We think he has, by an analogous error, taken the poet's taste for the heartiness and freshness incident to the spring-tide of any national literature, for a proof of intrinsic superiority in the more primitive poetry over the golden age of Athens. Homer's immense personal superiority to all his successors, even to Æschylus himself, we recognise as fully and unreservedly as Mr

Gladstone; but we are unwilling to see laurels snatched from the latter to be hung around the brows of the former, not because they are more majestic, but because they show the wrinkles of age. The Athenian did not lack the facility for writing simply any more than Mr Tennyson does for composing a ballad. But it would be as much a waste of time in the one to seek admission, as a clever imitator, to a new edition of Percy, as the other felt it puerile to affect to be childlike, like his great master, in an age of comparative luxury. His metaphysical and profoundly political dramas were truly "morsels from the Homeric feast," not for divers resemblances in length of words, but because, alike in general style, he embodies the nobler currents of the feeling of the time, and guides its flow in the same way in which the other led *his* age. So it was, in a less degree, with Sophocles; so, with still less power, with Euripides. There may be a greater fulness of history in the Iliad and Odyssey; and so they may deserve, as agents in education, greater attention; but for him who desires to comprehend the *heroic age* of Athens, the great Three must not be regarded in anywise as merely æsthetical studies.

In the same way, and for the like reasons, in his criticisms on Virgil, Mr Gladstone, while praising real excellencies in his favourite poet, raises up shadows of imperfections in the others, that he may slay them. He is displeased that the younger bard should have dared, in defiance of the authority of the Greek, to arm Venus with Jove's thunders, and to represent her as charging the guilt of Paris on the decree of destiny. Again he is indignant that Virgil should have misapplied the name Dardanides, deriving Anchises from the wrong branch of the royal house of Ilium, and that he has even been tempted by the vile exigencies of metre which tabooed Scamander, to transfer the dignity of that turbulent stream to the insignificant Simois. All these departures from the example of Homer, he arrays against the Latin poet, as a species of parricide or high treason against his natural chieftain. But Virgil never "*juravit in verba Homeri*," except as a poetical guide. He used the Iliad; he did not even desire the praise of a correct imitator. It were indeed an offence in a school-boy, set to write Homeric verses on the death of Hector, to take his phrases from Euripides, or his mythological facts from Plutarch. But in a great Latin bard setting himself the task of exalting the heroes of Troy against those of Greece, it would have been equally ridiculous to represent the ancestry of the mighty Julian house quaking at the name of Diomed the chief of Arpi, or the founder of a Latin kingdom, and a Pelasgian prince (at least the head of a Pelasgian people, whatever his own descent might be) worshipping the gods of Thessalian Olympus.

in the attributes ascribed to them by a primitive Hellenic minstrel.

Mr Gladstone's principle is, that Homer has so completely appropriated this space of once common soil as to have made it his own, and that all poems sung upon the confines of the siege of Troy, are waifs and strays, and the poets but tenants-at-will, liable to be put to labour in tilling the lord's land, and bound not to fell his timber, or adopt any method of cultivation which will change the character of the soil or obliterate landmarks. That is not our view. We discover infinite inferiority in Virgil on other, and these more independent grounds, which also Mr Gladstone has expounded in an essay now incorporated in the third of these volumes.

In these latter chapters he develops most lucidly the peculiar merits of the Greek by showing from the striking failure in the same points of the Latin poet, while attempting to vie with his model, how hard of attainment is that unstudied plan of narration in which incidents spring out of incidents, yet are not episodes, and in which characters are not enunciated for our information as dogmas, but evolved from action. Of the principal of these characters he has given us a most subtle analysis in another chapter, although we think he has not done complete justice to the Trojan heroes.

Again, we are dissatisfied with the depreciatory estimate taken by Mr Gladstone of the character of Agamemnon. As we have already said, his supremacy appears to us to have been the great historic basis of the tradition. But it was requisite, in the altered political condition of Greece, to diminish the manifestations of his sway, in order to bring forward the aristocratic class. Yet the tradition of Agamemnon's pre-eminence was too deeply rooted to be overthrown, so that the result is a curious vacillation in the poet's representation of him, injurious to the general effect, as his place was not that of a champion, and his true office could not have sufficient stress laid upon it, without also too plain a demonstration of the dependence of the other leaders. But still he is meant by Homer to typify upon earth the sway and political sagacity of Jupiter, though, like the god, driven at times out of his regular course and demeanour by a sudden gust of passion. He is in the back-ground as a soldier, only because his dignity was too great for that of a fighting man, except on a crisis. In council he is supreme, and is intended to be, and is august. The indications of mean covetousness and eventual servility, which Mr Gladstone alleges, do not strike us in the same light. His appeal to a mythological story in extenuation of his injustice, was the ancient mode of explaining a sudden misfortune like the Quarrel, and the courtesy of Achilles, himself now suffering in

the loss of Patroclus, from the self-same calamity, and through the same cause, was not that of the "finished gentleman," but of the sympathizing Greek.

But these are all particular defects; the character of Helen is itself a host of merits. It pleases us the more, as reclaiming from the tasteless calumnies of critics, followed, we are sorry to perceive, by Colonel Mure, one of the few finished female characters in classical literature. But, though we might easily select many points for especial praise, the lovers of Homer are under larger and more general obligations to Mr Gladstone. He has shown us how delicate are the shades of colour in which the poet depicts character, converting an epic into a drama. Not an epithet he demonstrates is wrongly applied, not a name, a mere synonyme, used because the verse would not admit another. The verse is seen to gallop and curvet with the sense like a horse beneath its rider; there is no monotonous sweetness, no strained stateliness, no falsetto tenderness. If Mr Gladstone had done nothing else, he would have done good service in pointing out to the general reader that admirers of Homer need not apologize, on the meagre plea of the necessities of recitation, for various names used equivalently of one nation.

He has accomplished much; but, perhaps, nothing strikes one more in reading these volumes than the consummate art with which, in a set of Theses, he has unfolded before us the whole panorama of the age of Homer. We seem to see Achilles taunting Agamemnon the King, or to behold old Priam come to beg his Hector's body, or Ulysses fighting with the waves on the surf of Scheria, while apparently it is only a position of Grote's or Wolf's which is being assailed. It had been wonderful if Mr Gladstone had reconstructed Homeric Greece, so as to bring it vividly before us; it is more wonderful still when he has, as it were, assumed the picture, and then so discussed it in detail, its finest lines, its institutions and character, that we can, from his criticisms on special points, reconstruct it for ourselves.

- ART. III.—1. *State Papers—Pre-Reformation Period—Calendars of State Papers—The Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, 1547–80.* Edited by R. LEMON, Esq.
2. *Historical Notes relative to the History of England, from the Accession of Henry VIII. to the Death of Anne (1509 to 1714).* Compiled by F. S. THOMAS, Esq.
3. *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages.* Published by the Authority of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls.

THE elucidation of national history has for many years been recognised as an object worthy of national effort. And it would not be too much to say, that every step taken towards its attainment, gives proof of the value of the effort.

Never, for instance, was a greater boon given to the English historian, than in the volumes of the Statutes of the Realm, published between 1810 and 1822, under the authority of a royal commission. In them lies a mine of facts, which, in spite of recent efforts, has not yet been half quarried. And now the magic wand of the Master of the Rolls is at work, steadily reducing into order the chaos of our national archives. Mountains of dingy and decaying State papers and manuscripts, buried in the oblivion of the Record Office, and of our national libraries, have for centuries, and some of them for ages, remained sacred "to the moles and bats," accessible only to a few daring and intrepid historians, who have had zeal enough to descend into the chaos, and to dig through the dust. But this is no longer to continue. By slow and sure degrees these hidden treasures are all to be ushered into daylight, and so classified as to yield ready material for future historians.

With such a work in prospect, by necessity long and laborious, it were in vain to expect or to ask for speed. To have begun is something. To have some work always upon the wheel is more; and such seems to be the aim of the Master of the Rolls.

Since he first took the matter in hand, in 1854, three volumes of a proposed series of Calendars of State Papers have been issued, relating to the intervals between the years 1547 and 1580, 1611 and 1618, and 1625 and 1626.

Good cannot but result from the publication of these calendars; for, being chronologically arranged, and being each furnished with an alphabetical table of contents, they will form an invaluable *Index Rerum* to the history of any given period, or of any given subject. And after all, with the historian, as well as with

the lawyer, the first great step towards a knowledge of the authorities bearing upon a particular point, is promptly to know where to find them.

But experience shows that much caution is needed in the use of State papers, for the writer who relies upon them alone will write but a meagre and partial history at best. The dry bones of history he may find there; but the life, the soul, of the history of an age lies far more in those innumerable "*Chronicles and Memorials*," in which the actors on the stage have left traces of their deepest thoughts, and tenderest hidden feelings.

Wisely then has the Master of the Rolls commenced an issue of these, along with the calendars. But the period chosen for the first series is that of the Middle Ages, ending with the reign of Henry VII.; so that the periods to which the chronicles and calendars respectively relate are not identical. This we regret; nevertheless, it is refreshing to see old MSS. histories, whatever may be the period to which they relate, rising like Rip Van Winkles, after centuries of oblivious sleep, into sunlight, in modern type and form, contrasting as strangely with the mediæval tomes as do the fresh green leaves in spring with the blackened branches of the trees in a city square. Amongst those already issued we may notice, "*Capgrave's Chronicle of England*," the "*Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*," and the "*Lives of Edward the Confessor*;" while other volumes are in course of preparation.

But though we have headed our article with the "Calendars" and the "Chronicles and Memorials," the two great branches of the labours of the Master of the Rolls, our object is, not so much at this time to review them, as to point, for a few moments, to an unfortunate period which has for a time slipped through between them. We are told that the volumes of the "Calendars" relating to *the first half of the 16th century* will not, for some time to come, be ready for issue; and, as we have seen, the boundary line of the "Chronicles and Memorials" falls so as just to exclude the same period.

It is true that a selection from the strictly *State papers* of Henry VIII. has already been put into the hands of the public, having been published, *in extenso*, under royal commission; but we are informed, in the preface of the volume of "Calendars, 1547–1580," that there are many papers "of an extremely interesting character, which, either from their length, or from being irrelevant as *State papers*, were inadmissible in that work," and remain unpublished. It was with the avowed object of "acquainting the public, through some eligible channel, with the existence and nature of these papers" that the Commission of 1840 authorised the issue of the "Calendars." They were to com-

mence with the reign of Henry VIII., and it is only through some incidental matter of arrangement that the first volume of the series has been hitherto withheld.

The purely State papers, which have been in the hands of historians, have been well made use of, and hence the State history, with all its trials and divorces, and executions and changes, has been greatly elucidated ; but the many errors, and counter-statements, and mistaken notions, which blemish attempts to depict the *social* condition of England at that epoch in her history, proclaim loudly the want of greater facilities of reference, better road-books, and better means of access to the yet unexplored niches and corners of this field of research. And we the more lament that no aid is, for some time at least, likely to be given in this direction, from the conviction that the period alluded to is that which, of all others, ought to be well known and understood, in that it formed the great watershed of European history which turned into their modern channels the culture and destinies of her great nations, and that, consequently, ignorance of its great features, and of the early course of the streams to which it gave rise, is an ignorance as great in the historian, as it would be in the geographer, if he knew no more with respect to the sources of the great stream upon whose banks he dwells, than we have hitherto known of the sources of the Niger or Zambesi.

The very key to the after history of the nation must lie hid in the chaos of this period ; and a right appreciation and correct knowledge of the social condition of the people at this starting point of their modern progress, must underlie all correct appreciation and knowledge of the social problems which have since been raised or solved.

While, therefore, we must wait longer for any aid from the Master of the Rolls, we make no apologies for at once calling the attention of our readers to this subject.

First, then, by what standard are we to judge of the *social* condition of a people ? It does not depend upon its material civilisation and prosperity ; for a nation is not happy and great wholly in proportion to the advances it has made in either the one or the other. The standard by which nations are measured is, in these respects, relative and conventional. When a man's day is over, it matters little to *himself* whether he has basked in the sunshine, or struggled with the tempest,—whether he has fed on the dainties or the very crumbs of the great world's table, if only his day's work has been nobly done. His very difficulties may have made him great. And so too it may be with the struggles of nations. But if the man has been thwarted and cramped in his work, by the wrong relations between him and his fellow-men ; or if, worse than this, he has been prevented from

living any noble life at all, if his life has been crushed and wasted, then there is evidence of a social evil at the root, much deeper and far more real than that which affects only his physical comfort. And so may a nation, or a class in a nation, be cramped and crushed in the midst of general prosperity. Hence, though, if the relations of man to his fellow-men were wholly set right, enough of physical comfort and material civilisation would follow, yet should we regard these rather as an index of the true prosperity of a people, than as the chief elements in which that prosperity consists. A nation approaches to its true condition, in proportion as each man is placed in such a relation to his fellow-men that no barrier stands between him and his life's work, so as to prevent his filling that place in the state which most tends to his own good and to the common weal.

Be it then our aim to glance at the social condition of England, at the period alluded to, from this point of view.

If we mistake not, we shall find abundant evidence as we proceed, that while acknowledging the advantages of material civilisation, the *moral* instincts of man are, not only the most important, but also the most powerful and the most *practical*, of the agencies which can affect the social condition of a country. Gradually had the feudal links between class and class fallen to pieces, and, of the old feudal gradations of rank, *that* only remained which kept apart the aristocracy and commons.

The higher vassals now took their place as the gentry and principal landholders of the country, and those, who had once owed them feudal service, now formed the class of the yeomanry or smaller landholders; while even the peasantry had risen above the badges of their former serfdom, and claimed legal equality with the rest. These smaller landholders had become very important. It was early found that the strength of the nation very much depended upon the healthy condition of its middle class, and of this they formed the embryo.

In an age of civil and international wars, it was soon seen that the strength of an army lay very much in its foot soldiery; and Bacon observes,¹ that "a nation where in effect all is noblesse or peasantry"—i.e., without a middle class—is necessarily defective in this particular. And he also tells us, that, by enacting that "all houses of husbandry, used with twenty acres or more of ground, should be kept up for ever, together with a competent proportion of land to be occupied with them, and in no wise to be severed from them, and thus obliging the occupier to be, not a beggar or cottager, but a man of some substance, that might keep hinds and servants, and set the plough on going, the king (Henry VII.) did secretly sow Hydra's teeth, whereupon, accord-

¹ Bacon's Essay on "The True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates."

ing to the poet's fiction, should rise up armed men for the service of the kingdom."¹

And when, in time of peace, the attention of legislators was turned from international warfare to internal politics, and the principles of political economy began to dawn upon the minds of English statesmen, and they became aware that there is a great difference between the exportation of the produce of the country in its manufactured and in its unmanufactured state—that as the labour of each man is a source of wealth to him, so the labour of each nation may be made a source of wealth to it,—the middle class rose in consequence by rapid steps into far greater power and influence.

A demand had arisen in other countries for English cloth, and great was the number of idle hands in England crying out for work. The only link which was wanted to complete the chain was an English middle class, to collect, so to speak, the labour of the multitude, export it, and bring back the equivalent; otherwise the wool itself would be exported instead of the cloth, which represented both the wool and the labour; and thus the price of the labour would be lost to England, while foreign merchants and foreign manufacturers would be enriched by developing her resources. True to the principles of political economy, the burghesses of the towns had already risen up to supply this want, and had turned their attention to commerce and manufacture; and it was not till, in spite of the vicissitudes of war, they had enriched themselves, and afforded employment and the means of living to thousands of the peasantry in the districts around them, that they were aided by the force of artificial enactments.²

It is true these were very numerous. One, for instance, prohibited the exportation of wool, or even undressed cloth; and another provided that, for the encouragement of the manufacture of linen, landholders occupying sixty acres of land and upwards, should devote half an acre at least to the growth of flax, "inestimable sums of money being spent," says the statute, "in foreign countries by reason of the importation of linen cloth, and the people of the realm being idle when they might have been employed in its manufacture."³ The merchant navy of England, along with the seaport towns, being "marvellously decayed" (probably on account of the wars), it was provided by statute that alien merchants should import and export in English vessels.⁴ We need not remind our readers of the jealousy which the foreign

¹ Bacon's Henry VII.

² The manufactures of Worcestershire, Norfolk, Devonshire, and the North were already of sufficient importance to attract the attention of Parliament. And Manchester was, at this early period, among the foremost of the manufacturing towns of England.

³ 24 Henry VIII., c. 4.

⁴ 32 Henry VIII., c. 14.

merchants had stirred up amongst the English citizens of the metropolis, ending in the tragedy of the "Evil May Day;" nor need we more than allude to the "Acts of Apparel," ostensibly aimed against "finery and vanity," but one object of which was to put a check upon the purchase of foreign commodities and the introduction of French manufactures. Then particular trades were protected in a like arbitrary way. No tanner was to use the crafts of a cordwainer or currier,¹ and *vice versâ*. Butchers, too, were not to keep tan-houses.² The making of Worcestershire cloths was confined to a few towns in the county engaged in the trade, lest, by the spread of the manufacture to other towns, these should be injured.³ And to prevent the shipping of Newcastle from deserting her quays for others more favourably situated, or offering greater advantages, a statute was passed⁴ prohibiting any vessel from lading or discharging its cargo at any neighbouring place, under pain of forfeiture. For a long time the exportation of gold or silver coin or bullion, whether manufactured or not, was made illegal without the king's license.⁵ And upon the same principle, when copper, from one cause or another, had become scarce and dear, the exportation of any metal, whether manufactured or not, of which it formed an ingredient, was in like manner prohibited.⁶

Such was the artificial aid which commerce received from Parliament; but let it not be thought that these laws gave birth to commerce, they are rather proofs of its previous importance.

It was the fall of the feudal system, which both changed the former vassals and sub-vassals of the aristocracy into a class of free landholders, and also opened the way for the rise of the commercial class; and thus it was out of the ruins of the old bondage that these two elements arose, and united in forming that middle class which, like Dr Arnold's Sixth Form, has ever since governed the commonwealth, for evil or for good, by its votes in Parliament, or its moral influence without.

What, then, was the condition of the middle class?

To both branches of which it was composed—to the landholder as well as to the merchant—the long century of civil wars, which ushered in the era of which we are speaking, with its party, selfish, suicidal struggle, and all its anarchy, bloodshed, injustice, and vicissitudes, had by no means conduced to prosperity.

The continental wars, too, of Henry VIII., though they added perhaps to the national prestige, stirred up afresh the wounds inflicted by the wars of the Roses, and hindered their healing as

¹ 19 Henry VII., c. 19; 3 Henry VIII., c. 10. ² 22 Henry VIII., c. 6.

³ 25 Henry VIII., c. 18. ⁴ 21 Henry VIII., c. 18.

⁵ 17 Ed. IV., c. 1; 4 Henry VII., c. 23; 3 Henry VIII., c. 1.

⁶ 21 Henry VIII., c. 10.

they otherwise might have done. The martial spirit is seldom the harbinger of peaceful industry; and more than this, the resources of the country had been directly drained by the successive subsidies, benevolences, and forced loans, exacted to provide the means for carrying on these wars.

It were idle to ignore the effect of the civil wars; and, to take an example, we may point to the fact, that whole streets in the towns and villages throughout the realm were in ruins. It is true that this fact, though allowed on all hands, is ingeniously explained away by modern historians; but when we learn, from the several statutes¹ which were passed in the reign of Henry VIII. requiring the rebuilding of the ruined houses, that besides the ruined houses of the husbandman, for which we shall find abundant cause as we proceed, "*divers beautiful houses of habitation, built in times past within the walls, had fallen into ruin and decay, and remained unre-edified and desolate,*" while others were deserted and decaying, and ready to follow their fate; and mark that, in the Subsidy Act of 1511,² it is provided that the demand should be "*abated in the case of poor towns, cities, and boroughs wasted, desolate, or destroyed, or overgreatly impoverished,*" and ask ourselves the cause of all this, can we forget the long series of antecedent civil wars? The readers of the martyrologist Foxe will remember a passage,³ in which he records, that in 1508 there was a great fire, which destroyed a considerable part of the city of Norwich. Now, we know that such was the want of energy in the people in this instance, that twenty-six years afterwards these houses were still in ruins; for of this we are informed by the preamble of a statute passed to secure their rebuilding.⁴ No doubt, in the instance of the towns ruined by the wars, the same want of energy, itself a consequence of the anarchy they occasioned, was the cause why the desolated buildings which, in the words of the statutes, "*had been a long time in great ruin and decay,*"⁵ had never been rebuilt. These statutes to secure their rebuilding may be fairly taken as the marks of a reviving energy.

And now, glancing at the higher elements of the social condition of the middle class, it is clear that the European revival of learning

¹ 6 Henry VIII., c. 5.

7 " " 1.

25 " " 13.

27 " " 1.

32 " " 18 and 19.

33 " " 36.

35 " " 4.

² 3 Henry VIII., c. 22.

³ Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 732 (1596 ed.)

⁴ 26 Henry VIII., c. 8; and see also, as to the town of Lynn, "by a long time in great decay and desolation," 26 Henry VIII., c. 9.

⁵ The Act of 1540 compelled the rebuilding of houses on ground that had been built upon within 25 years; the Act of 1542 was retrospective 45 years.

had lit its spark in England. Erasmus visited his "charissime" More, and a little band of fellow-students, numbering amongst them such men as Colet, Grocine, Linacre, and Lilly, scarcely less dear to him and to each other. Not a few literary men were to be found among the courtiers of a literary king. The learned now and then even dropped their Latin to write in their mother tongue, and a certain measure of general enlightenment is evidenced by the resort to pamphlets as a means of influence over the public mind. Households, too, might be found, where sons and daughters were alike trained in the paths of erudition. But among the laity knowledge was the exception, ignorance the rule. To what extent can education have spread itself over the nation at large, when, in an Act of Parliament, it was necessary to insert a proviso in favour of peers who were so illiterate as not to be able to read, and thereby claim the benefit of clergy?¹

The defect in education was not merely a negative one. The education communicated by the events of the previous century had been anything but negative. Those civil wars which had ruined their cities and towns must have left traces of anarchy in the minds of men.

Nor must we forget, that in their religion they were the heirs of the darkness which the middle age of European history had bequeathed to them.

Just as the 4000 years antecedent to the Christian era had perverted the original revelation of Divine truth into Paganism, so the fifteen centuries antecedent to the Reformation had perverted Christianity into Romanism. And just as the old Roman philosopher well knew that his creed was distorted and threadbare, so also did the enlightened Romanist of the age of which we are speaking; but while his inner convictions rebelled against it, he was perfectly aware, not only, like the pagan, that a *religion* was a human necessity, but that Christianity was the only one that was possible. Christianity came to him much less polluted, and with a far clearer pedigree, than the true religion came down to the Roman philosopher; and therefore it was with deeper earnestness, and with a far greater anxiety that he strove to build up for himself some scheme of reconciliation, as Plutarch did in his day, between his inner convictions and his traditional creed, and sought in logical subtleties satisfaction to his own mind. And thus (if we may use the expression) this renovated Romanism became the religion of an enlightened clique, as the renovated Paganism had done before it; while the millions of the votaries of Rome, educated or ignorant, were left to grovel in their bigotry, or, in rebelling against their creed, to break loose from religious restraints altogether. A very general but covert

¹ 1 Edward VI., c. 12.

scepticism had eaten its way into society ; and the higher the integrity of the individual, the deeper was the struggle between his conscience and his creed. It was no mere question of the “real presence,” “penance,” or even “indulgences,” or any logical subtlety at all,—these were the mere catpaw in the quarrel. The real question at issue was a much more vital and practical one than any of these. It was a question of whether or not the priesthood of the Church of centuries was a priesthood by right or usurpation. It was a question of the legitimacy of the prerogative of the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy, from the supreme pontiff to the priest—from the mitred abbot to the monk. Scepticism on this point had spread like an epidemic among intelligent minds, and it involved far more than any merely *doctrinal* scepticism—for that priesthood was, by its own teaching, the one point of contact between Christianity and the people—it professed itself to be the “daysman” between Christ and the Christian ; and to reject its authority was apparently to dismiss the only pilot in an unknown sea. It was to break the spell of a thousand years, and to defy all previous history. When a man, single-handed, pushed off his little bark from the haven of the Church to pilot for himself, well might the voices of the multitudes on shore cry aloud, “Take heed whither you are drifting ! Your track has been sounded and fathomed before you, and if the pioneers upon your path have not returned to the haven, you will find their wrecks upon the waves !” The ashes of Huss and the charred faggots of the Lollard martyr-pyres seemed the abrupt ending of a short-lived rebellion. It was not until Christians and Hopefuls and Faithfuls had struggled through the Sloughs of Despond with their burdens, and had encountered and conquered all the perils of the way, that Christiana and her children set out upon the pilgrim’s path. And truly the struggle of enlightened men with their hereditary creed was a pilgrim’s progress, and as yet no Greatheart had arisen to conduct them on their journey.

What, then, was to be done *within* the pale of the Church ? Many a true Christian rose *in heart* above the logical absurdities of his creed. In the performance of the outward rites,—his penance, and his deeds of charity,—and in his accustomed reverence and obedience to the priesthood, he followed an outward routine, while his spirit, unbound by these trammels, by a process illogical indeed, but consonant with the moral instincts of his nature, rested its faith upon the one great sacrifice and Great High Priest. An antagonism was indeed created between his moral and his intellectual faculties ; but the former being the stronger of the two, more or less ruled the latter. But it was not so with all. To a man like Sir Thomas More, whose moral and intellectual instincts were more nearly balanced,—than

whom no man of the period more thoroughly appreciated, on the one hand, the logical difficulties of the Catholic faith, or felt a deeper reverence, on the other hand, for whatever came down like that faith sanctioned by the solemn voice of the past, and who, moreover, was endowed with an intellect healthy and keen, with moral instincts beautifully refined, with a heart sound to its very core, and, with a will wonderful in its calmness and its power of seconding conviction at all hazards,—to such a man the struggle with his hereditary faith was a life struggle, and ended in his death upon the scaffold, a martyr, not to Romanism, but to integrity of conscience. But the multitudes of the people asked for no reconciliation between conscience and creed. Glad by any equivocations, by any plausible pretext, to be freed from their responsibility to the priesthood, scepticism of its authority succeeded in rapid transition to the veneration and awe with which it had long been regarded. The omnipotence which the clergy had assumed was a worn-out mask, through which their real weakness was beginning to appear. Like that of the veiled prophet of Lalla Rookh, their power, resting on the ignorance of their votaries, lost its spell the moment the veil was withdrawn.

When the Pope was besieged in the castle of St Angelo,¹ and the supreme head of their Church was virtually a prisoner, the apathy of the people was a clear proof of how small was the amount of superstitious devotion to his person. A fast was proclaimed throughout England; and if ever there was occasion for a fast being rigidly and religiously kept, surely this was the one; but the old chroniclers² tell us that it was universally disregarded by priest and people, and evaded by the most puerile casuistry! In fact, the authority of the Pope rested more upon the conservative feeling, than upon the convictions, or even the superstition of the people; and this may account in some measure for the comparative ease with which afterwards, clergy and laymen alike, transferred, at the bidding of their king, their ecclesiastical allegiance from the Roman tiara to the English crown.

This scepticism of priesthood prerogatives prepared the way for the Reformation, but in the meantime it struck at the root of the moral integrity of the people, and it sapped the foundation of the national conscience. And now, if this middle and governing class were feeling the effects of the bitter experience of the past; if their minds were, not only very much untutored, but had been schooled in the anarchy of civil war; and if their religion was such as we have hinted, upon what can we build a hope that their influence upon the peasant population,

¹ This was in 1527, when Rome was sacked by the Duke of Bourbon.

² Hall and Grafton.

whether in their direct social relations, in their legislation, or in the moral force of their example, should be such as to conduce to their material welfare, or to the maintenance of order or a high tone of morality?

We have already seen that the relation which subsisted between the middle class, chiefly employers of labour, and the more numerous class whose labour they employed, was either the *agricultural* relation of landholder and peasant, or the *commercial* relation of master and workman.

The dismemberment of feudalism having opened the way for the rise of commercial activity, the commercial relation of master and workman was rather created than changed by the new order of things. But the agricultural relation of landholder and peasant was one which had subsisted for ages—which had survived revolutions and changes of dynasty, and to which that gradual unloosing of the old feudal bondage was the greatest of the changes by which it had been overtaken. The obligations of slavery hold in bondage alike both slaveholder and slave; and thus the destruction of the feudal bond, which linked them together, was the removal of a yoke to both landholder and peasant. The peasant was freed from very much of the old physical tyranny, and thus left more like a free agent, and less like a mere fixture to the farm on which he was born. But he was not only freed from the feudal yoke; he also lost the feudal protection. When the bonds were broken which made him the serf of the landholder, the tie was riven which bound him to the land. If the landholder lost the benefits of his lordship, he resigned with them its duties and obligations. The peasant, now no longer a serf, had no longer a serf's right to be maintained by the landholder; being freed from his attachment to the soil, he could no longer, with equal right, claim his sustenance from it. But still both peasant and landholder were mutually as dependent on each other as before. The land of the landholder would be unproductive without the labour of the peasant; and the peasant had no means of subsistence except in the performance of those very services to the landholder which, as a serf, he was compelled to perform. Thus the bond between them being broken, both classes were driven back upon the cold justice of the laws of political economy,—laws representing the mere balance of clashing interests, and founded essentially upon the selfishness of human nature. It was only when they chanced to coincide, that the interests of both could, according to those laws, be consulted and secured; and whenever their interests did not agree, one or the other must conquer or forbear. To conquer were to set up a new tyranny, or to revert back to the old one; and the only forbearance possible without *self-control*, is a sullen

yielding to necessity. And, realising their respective interests when they might happen to coincide, was also dependent upon their mutually exercising so much of self-control as to cause them of their own free will to fulfil those mutual relations, and to perform those duties which were necessary to secure their common prosperity. This was nothing more than that which is involved in the removal of almost every long-borne yoke,—a freedom which, in its first stages, must almost of necessity prove itself a curse instead of a blessing. Uncontrolled freedom is anarchy! The very idea of civil government imports a necessary control upon individual freedom; and when the external control of a long-borne yoke is removed, there is but one power which can prevent the new-born liberty from running into license and riot, namely, a *control from within*, to take the place of the external one which has been removed. The true hope of a newly freed nation consists in the substitution of the power of *self-control* for the clanking chains and craven fears of serfdom.

Now, after that century of civil war and bloodshed to which we have alluded, it would indeed be a miracle, not often recurring in history, if any very large amount of self-control were shown on either side whenever the interests of the two classes were found to diverge. If the civil wars had pressed heavily on the middle class, had crushed their spirits, and damped their energies, and made them poor and weak, we may well be prepared to find the peasantry, who, as we have seen, were as dependent as ever upon them, poorer and weaker still. If the master's table were ill supplied, there would be few crumbs to fall to the peasant's lot. If the master's means were reduced, the tightened cord, we may be sure, would cut the deepest where his selfish comfort and pride would feel it least. If, taking the parallel experience of our sister island, with her decayed, impoverished landlords and dependent peasantry for our guide, we can in any measure read correctly the signs of the times, surely, as far as physical comfort is concerned, we should augur but a dismal lot for the poor English peasantry of the period under review. We should augur, not perhaps an age of famine and starvation, but a great national debility, after the paroxysms of a great national disease—a condition, in fact, very liable to famine and starvation, with no very high tone of health at best, and with but little real solid prosperity. Such must ever be the condition of a country just rising to right itself after a great storm, which, though perhaps it has not shipwrecked the vessel, has yet shaken every joint of her knee timber.

Some of the peasantry had separate cabins assigned them by their masters to live in, and were able to keep their own cow,

pig, or geese on the village green, but the larger number perhaps boarded under their master's roof. The change which had been brought about in the relation between the labourer and his master by the breaking of the bonds of feudalism, is very pointedly shown by the provisions of a statute regulating the issue of coins from the various mints throughout the kingdom,¹ and intended to increase the amount of small circulation in the country, in order to meet the necessity which had arisen for a currency suited to the needs of the peasant class. So long as feudal relations subsisted—so long as the serf was attached to the soil, and by the very right of serfdom claimed his food and the satisfaction of his physical wants from the soil, little or no money was needed as the medium through which the reciprocal obligations of landlord and serf should find their level. The labour of the peasant was paid for at once in the necessities of life furnished by the landholder, and thus a simple system of barter solved the problem of labour and wages. But that reciprocal relation being changed by the downfall of feudalism, the necessity for a new medium arose by degrees, just as in newly colonised countries the system of barter is found to give place in time to a money currency.

The growth of manufactures hastened this result. The master manufacturer could not pay for the labour of his workmen directly in the necessities of life, as the landholder could, and therefore a medium to represent their value was needful. Thus the old feudal relation had given place to a *money relation*; and we must try to obtain as correct an idea as we can of the amount of wages which by industry the peasant was able to earn.

The object of the statute of wages, passed in the sixth year of Henry VIII., has been much misunderstood. It was not designed to benefit the labourer by raising, or even regulating the amount of his wages. But it was passed for the benefit of the landholders—to bring into the country a new usage which they had found it difficult without the aid of the law to carry over the heads of their peasantry. Up to this time the labourer had been generally employed by task-work; and this, it was thought, was the reason why (as Grafton tells us), “especially in harvest time, the husbandmen could scarce get workmen to help in their harvest.”²

Like the Irish workmen of the present day, the labourers seem to have contented themselves with earning as much as was needful for their subsistence, and to have worked by fits and starts to secure it. When labour was high in the market (as in harvest

¹ 14 and 15 Henry VIII., c. 12. Coiners were to turn out a certain proportion of the bullion which they coined in groats, half-groats, pence, and halfpence; and the impressions upon the halfpence and farthings were to be so different as to be readily distinguished by “the common people of the realm.”

² Grafton, 6 Henry VIII.

time), not only was the temptation to do this much greater, but also the inconvenience it occasioned to the landholders. They therefore naturally wished that the labourers should work by the day, instead of by the task; and seeing that the labourers "would in nowise work by the day," a statute was obtained by the landholders compelling them to do so, and arbitrarily fixing the maximum rates (viz. from 2d. to 4d. per day), beyond which the labourers were never to demand. In fact, it was a little reaction towards the economy of the old system of serfdom.

Bearing in mind, then, that the wages fixed by the statute were the maximum and not the minimum wages, what was their value in present coin? It has been usual to rely upon a comparison between the amount of the wages and the prices of various articles of food, as fixed by statute. The prices of meat were, it is true, so fixed,¹ but not until eighteen years after the passing of the statute of wages; and even then the principle was not extended to other kinds of food, except so far as authority was given in the following year for the fixing of a maximum scale by proclamation, whenever the prices were unreasonably high,—the reason for non-interference being expressly stated in the statute to be the excessive and inevitable fluctuations in their prices, occasioned by the chances of dearth and plenty.

Of these fluctuations we have abundant evidence in the statutes and chronicles of the period. Thus, in the last half of the 15th century, the price of corn varied from 2s. to 20s. per quarter;² and the chroniclers record a time of pestilence and dearth in 1521 and 1522,³ during which successive years corn was sold at even higher prices. Again, a statute of 1529⁴ prohibited the killing of calves, for the reason that "cattle (to quote the words of the preamble) had marvellously minished and decreased, . . . to the great enhancing of the price of beefs and all manner of victuals, and the extreme undoing of the king's poor and needy subjects!" And again, in 1532, it is recited in the statute fixing the price of meat,⁵ that "all victuals, and especially beef, mutton, pork, and veal, which are the common feeding of the mean and poor persons, are sold at so excessive a price, that the said needy subjects cannot gain, with their labour and salaries, sufficient to pay for their convenient victual and sustenance." And, finally, in 1534, it is recited that the "prices of corn, cattle, wool, geese, hens, chickens, and eggs were almost double above their accustomed prices."⁶ It is therefore perfectly clear, that the enactments regulating the prices of food, instead of being evidence, as some allege, of the *comfort* of the

¹ 24 Henry VIII., c. 3.

² Grafton's Chron.

³ 25 Henry VIII., c. 12.

⁴ Chronicon Preciosum. By Bishop Fleetwood.

⁵ 21 Henry VIII., c. 8.

⁶ 24 Henry VIII., c. 3.

peasant population in these respects, are direct evidence of, and were specially intended to remedy, the evils which, throughout the period of which we are speaking, kept the poor peasantry of England in continual liability to scarcity and high prices, and sometimes even to starvation and famine. The statute of 1532, above mentioned, failed entirely in keeping down the prices of meat, was suspended in 1536, and finally repealed in 1542.¹ We cannot then rely upon a simple comparison of the wages and the prices of any particular kinds of food as fixed by statute.

A more reliable test than has yet been suggested, may perhaps be obtained from a comparison of the wages of the outdoor labourer, who had "meat and drink" to provide for himself, and the wages of the indoor labourer, who boarded at his master's table, inasmuch as the difference between them (in all cases being 2d. per day, according to the statute) must, one could imagine, have just about equalled the cost per day of a labourer's board, according to the ordinary regimen of agricultural economy.

And we are confirmed in this view by the evidence of an old account-book of the Northumberland family² (dated 1512), from which it appears, that in a large household, consisting of 166 inmates, in which the strictest economy seems to have prevailed, the average cost of board, per head, amounted to very little more than 2½d. per day.³ Taking into consideration that the economy of so large a family would partly counterbalance the much higher scale of their diet, the coincidence of the figures is a strong corroboration of the truth of our assumption, that the 2d. per day, above referred to, may be fairly taken as the average daily cost of the peasant's board in his master's kitchen.

We learn from other sources⁴ that his diet, in prosperous times, included animal food; but that, in the absence of potatoes and other vegetables, now so generally in use, the coarser kinds of bread formed his staple food. We shall certainly be on the safe side if we estimate the cost of a peasant's farm-house board at the present time, on a similar scale of diet, at from 1s. to 1s. 3d. per day; and taking these figures as our point of comparison, we arrive at the result that, at a rough estimate, the 4d. per day, mentioned by the statute as the maximum wages of the outdoor labourer, may be regarded as equivalent to from 12s. to 15s. per week⁵ of our present money.

¹ 27 Henry VIII., c. 9, and 33 Henry VIII., c. 11.

² The Earl of Northumberland's house-book, 1512.

³ In making this estimate we have deducted several items included in such accounts relating to the expenses of the farm and houses, and also some few items expended in luxuries entirely beyond the reach of the peasant, and which certainly would not be included in an ordinary farm-house board.

⁴ 24 Henry VIII., c. 3, etc.

⁵ Probably about one-sixth should be deducted from these amounts in respect of holidays.

There was, too, an influence of a very different kind, which bore heavily, in a pecuniary point of view, upon the peasant population. We allude to the influence of the priests and monks. It was not only negative in its character—it was not confined to the mere withholding of those rays of light which might have cheered, and ennobled, and raised even in a physical point of view the condition of the peasantry, over which they were the appointed pastors; but they, by their pecuniary and other exactions, added to the burdens of those whom they ought to have relieved. The poor peasant, we are informed by Fish, in his “*Supplication of the beggars*,”¹ must faithfully pay one-tenth of his little income, including his wages, to his spiritual oppressors, as their regular due. Nor was this all. Among the complaints to Parliament which the advocates of the rights of the poorer classes were bold enough to make, when at the first dawn of the Reformation they saw that their oppressors were in ill repute, was that of the extreme exactions of the spiritual men in the taking of unjust mortuaries, etc. “They had rather,” it was alleged, “that the children of the dead should all die of hunger, or go a begging, than they would leave them the only cow which the dead man had possessed.”² And the priests, by subtle contrivance, being appointed surveyors and stewards to the abbots and bishops, had under their control most of the farms and grazing in every county, so that the poor husbandman could obtain nothing but from them, and for that paid dearly.³

But we shall yet have to mention other exactions, on the part of their spiritual oppressors, of infinitely greater moment, and far more oppressive; and, in the mean time, we may observe, that though these oppressions may have been felt comparatively light by those who were able to obtain the full rates of wages mentioned by the statute, it does not at all follow but that to the large class, who were not able to obtain them, they were burdens grievous to be borne.

The condition of the peasant was, moreover, from time to time affected in no small degree by the direct influence of the wars of Henry VIII. They lowered his wages, both by lessening the means of his master, and by producing temporary dislocations, which not unfrequently threw him out of employment altogether.⁴

¹ “They have the tenth part of every servant’s wages, the tenth part of wool, milk, honey, cheese, and butter, yea, and they look so narrowly after their profits, that the poor wife must be ‘countable to them for every tenth egg, or else she getteth not her rights at Easter, and shall be taken as a heretic.”—*Foxe’s Acts and Monuments*, 1597 ed., p. 925.

² Grafton’s Chronicle.

³ Grafton.

⁴ “We live not of ourselves (complained the insurrectionists of Suffolk in 1526), but by the substantial occupiers of the country; and yet they give us so little wages for our workmanship, that scarcely we be able to live, and thus in penury we pass the time, we, our wives and children; and if they by whom we live be

For example, when war was declared against the Emperor, the merchants not finding a market for their goods, ceased to buy, as usual, from the country clothiers. The cloth-makers were thrown out of employ, and great distress occasioned. Wolsey commanded the merchants to buy as usual! But the laws of political economy proved stronger than the threats of the Cardinal, who, by instigating the war, was the cause of the mischief.

The labourers were thus prevented from earning their ordinary wages just at those very periods, when the same wars had enhanced very much the price of provisions. Thus murmurs were heard in the star-chamber when the war with the Emperor was announced, "because (said the people) the Emperor had otherwise holpen us with corn and relieved us with grain, now that we can have little or no corn out of France." Can we wonder that these causes combined, should result in frequent famine and starvation, and that pestilence and dearth should go hand in hand with insurrections and riots? Well might Archbishop Warham,¹ in excusing to the king the non-payment of one of his subsidies by the people of Kent, on account of their poverty and decay of substance, urge him to recollect that "Poverty causeth much mischief—some to rob, some to murder, and some to oppress each other."

The mental condition of the peasant, too, was against him. He was too much of a labouring animal, and too little of anything else. His knowledge of the world was confined very much to the nearest market town and the farthest sheepwalk, and his knowledge of anything beyond the world within the narrow circle lightened by the few rays which struggled through the dull horn of the dark lantern of his priest. The very metropolis was to him an "Ultima Thule," and distant counties "terra incognita."

Passing now from the employed and happiest class of the English peasantry, we find that, irrespective of these temporary dislocations, thousands and thousands were without any employment, and without any wages at all—homeless, friendless, and desolate. And if it be asked why there were these multitudes homeless, friendless, and desolate, the dismal story is soon told, and cannot be concealed by the faithful historian. It was not the dissolution of the monasteries, because the monasteries were not yet dissolved; though, possibly, their dissolution joined afterwards with other causes in swelling the numbers. The dependent habits

brought into that case, that they of their little cannot help us to earn our living, then we must perish, and die miserably. The clothmakers have put a great number of their people from work; the husbandmen have put away their servants and given up their household; they say, that the King asketh so much, that they be not able to do as they have done before this time, and thus of necessity we must die wretchedly," etc.—*Grafton*, p. 380. See also Letter from Duke of Norfolk to Wolsey; Ellis, 3d series, vol. i., p. 376.

¹ Ellis' Letters, 3d series, vol. i., p. 365.

nurtured by the system of monastic dole, must, moreover, have directly tended to bring about the result. But though this, among other causes, no doubt accounted, in some measure, for the great increase in the number of "vagabonds and sturdy beggars" who would not work, there was another cause, over which they had no control, which swelled, in terrible profusion, the numbers of the thousands for whom no work was to be found.

As we have hinted, political economy is founded on the fact, that human nature is selfish. The landholders began to find that a flock of sheep paid them better than a burdensome peasantry.

"So" (says Sir Thomas More in the introductory book of his "Utopia," writing from England at that time), "whenever the sheep of any soil yield a softer and a richer wool, then the nobility, gentry, and even those holy men the Abbots, not content with their old rents,¹ . . . stop agriculture, destroy houses and towns, and enclose ground for their sheep. . . . For when an insatiate wretch (he continues)—the plague of his country—resolves to enclose many thousand acres, landlords as well as tenants are turned out of possession by tricks or main force; . . . men and women, married and single, old and young, with their poor and numerous families (for farming requireth many hands), are compelled to change their abode, and know not whither to go. They would gladly work, but can obtain no hire; for when no tillage remaineth, there is no need for the labour they have been bred to. One shepherd can tend a flock, which would graze acres that would employ many hands were they in tillage."

"Thus," cried Latimer in his sermon before Edward VI., alluding to the same evil, "in places where there used to be a great many householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog."²

We will not trouble our readers with many quotations in confirmation of this, but confine ourselves to the following illustration:—The preamble to a statute, 7 Henry VIII., c. 1, "recites that great inconveniences be, and daily increase, by desolation, pulling down, and destruction of houses, and towns within the realm, and laying to pasture lands which customably have been manured and occupied with tillage and husbandry, whereby idleness doth increase; for when in some one town 200 persons, men and women, and their ancestors, out of time of mind, were

¹ Rents were raised very considerably during the first half of the century. Latimer tells us, in 1549, that for the farm on which his father had lived, and for which he paid "L.3 or L.4 by the year," "*he that now hath it payeth L.16 or more by the year.*"—*Lat. Sermons*, p. 105. And before the end of the century, rents seem to have again doubled.—*Description of Britain, Holinshed's Chron.*

² *Lat. Sermons*, p. 103.

daily occupied and lived by sowing of corn and greens, breeding of cattle, and other increase necessary for man's sustenance ; now the said persons be minished and decreased, . . . necessities for man's sustenance are made scarce and dear, and the people sore minished in the realm," etc.

That the evil existed, therefore, there can be no doubt ; and of its magnitude we may, perhaps, gain a rough idea from local statistics, which appear to show that, in some districts, the proportion of reclaimed land, which consisted of meadow and pasture land, was in the fourteenth century only one-seventh, while in the fifteenth century it had increased to one-third, and in the sixteenth century to nearly one-half.¹

What became of these poor ejected peasants ? There was no Eldorado in the west for them ; they must live or starve homelessly at home. There were no potatoes in those days to feed a people who could sow no corn. The less tillage the less corn, and the higher the price, not only of corn, but of other kinds of food. Then there came a rot among the sheep, and the price of wool, and therefore of clothes, very much increased ; and poor men, who might otherwise have made a little cloth, could now no longer afford to buy the material.²

What could they do ? What could be done for them ? These were the questions which pressed heavily upon the honest-hearted statesmen of those days. These social diseases are subjects requiring the soundest Parliamentary sagacity. But the science of legislation was then in its long clothes ; and our sage predecessors set to work to treat the symptoms of the disease, with all the rude harshness of men resolute in their work, but not delicate in their means. There was the high price of food to deal with, and our English Parliament, in its wisdom, after due experience, took upon itself, as we have seen, to authorise measures for the regulation of the prices of food. Then there was the high price of clothes, and at the same time "excessive vanity of apparel" had crept in from France, which created considerable alarm ; and so four several statutes were passed to regulate the length, and breadth, and price of the clothes of our English forefathers.³ But these panaceas, as we can well understand, did not cure the evil. They were probably dictated rather from the selfish dread of the distinction of caste being lost among the decaying relics of feudalism, than for the benefit of the poor. They appear, moreover, to have been executed only by fits and starts,—multitudes of delinquents

¹ See the statistics bearing upon this subject in Eden on the Poor, vol. i., p. 49.

² *Utopia*, Book i.

³ 1 Hen. VIII., c. 14 ; 6 Hen. VIII., c. 1 ; 7 Hen. VIII., c. 6 ; 24 Hen. VIII., c. 13.

being passed by, unmolested and secure ; while Wolsey on one occasion threw an unfortunate youth into the pillory for wearing a riven shirt.¹

They did not, however, content themselves with this trifling legislation. They struck many blows at the root of the evil, and oftener still at the various symptoms as they became alarming. The preamble of the statute of 1531² records, "That numbers of vagabonds in all places of the realm increased, and do daily increase in great and excessive numbers;" and the penalty of the cart's-tail was inflicted on the sturdy beggar. In 1533³ it is still recited, "that the great number of idle people daily increaseth throughout the realm;" and in 1535 or 1536 (only five years after the former statute was passed), the penalties were made still more severe. The first offence was to be visited by the cart's-tail; for the second, the ear was to be slit and burned through with an iron; and the penalty for the "sturdy beggar" was death on the gallows. Be it remembered, that all these Acts were passed even before the dissolution of the smaller monasteries.

Again, in 1489 and 1515, severe statutes were passed by the Commons to prevent the evils of inclosure. But, alas! there was a Wolsey in head quarters, ready to be bribed, and thus to undo their work.⁴ In spite of their former legislation, in the statute of 1534 it is declared, that by reason of the same evil "marvellous multitudes of poor people are so discouraged to misery and poverty, that they daily fall to theft or robbery, or pitifully die from hunger or cold."⁵ The preamble of a statute passed in 1512⁶ recites, that "divers robberies, murders, and felonies, daily do increase more and more, and are committed and done in more heinous and detestable wise than hath been oft seen in time past;" and benefit of clergy was taken from such felons. In 1531,⁷ the jails throughout the country were repaired and made more sure; and more or less important laws were passed against felons in 1534 and 1536. Meanwhile men must starve or find food somehow, and to find food these unemployed multitudes must either beg or steal. The monastic houses threw away large revenues in indiscriminate almsgiving; but this perhaps, in itself, created more poverty than it cured. It must also be remembered, that whilst they may thus have cast their drop into the bucket, their exactions, in the shape of fees and tenths, kept up a constant drain upon the resources of the peasant population, far more than equal to the sums which

¹ Grafton, 7 Hen. VIII. ² 22 Hen. VIII., c. 12. ³ 24 Hen. VIII., c. 4.

⁴ 7 Hen. VIII., c. 1. "Divers, by compounding secretly with the Cardinal, exempted themselves."—*Lord Herbert*.

⁵ 25 Hen. VIII., c. 13. ⁶ 4 Hen. VIII., c. 2. ⁷ 23 Hen. VIII., c. 2.

they thus returned in the shape of daily dole at the convent gate. The idea that the subsequent poor laws were rendered necessary by the dissolution of the monasteries, and as a substitute for this daily dole, has been long since exploded. The first compulsory provision for the poor¹ was, in fact, made just before the dissolution even of the smaller monasteries, and was made to remedy the evils which had continued and increased throughout the very period of which we are speaking. With poor laws and dissolutions, therefore, we have nothing to do.

The alternatives yet remained. These ejected peasants must either starve, or beg, or steal. If they begged, they were punished as vagabonds; and if they stole, they were hung without mercy for stealing. But the evil increased; still they stole and still they begged. At last, as we have seen, both thieves and vagabonds were hung. They were hung so fast, that there were sometimes twenty on a gibbet.² Well may we ask what became of these poor ejected peasants. A partial answer may be found in the fact, that 72,000 persons, out of a population of four or five millions (*i. e.*, a number equal to the then population of London), are stated to have died upon the gallows in the reign of Henry VIII.³

No doubt these numbers may be terribly exaggerated, inasmuch as probably there were no data upon which a true estimate could be founded. Statistics are of modern birth. But however small the real number of thieves and vagabonds who were executed, the facts recently brought forward⁴ to explain away these figures, by showing that a very large proportion of those committed for trial escaped the severity of the law, whether by members of their own gang being upon the jury, by corrupt

¹ The statute of 27 Hen. VIII. contains the first compulsory provision for the poor; and by a subsequent statute of the same session, the smaller monasteries were dissolved.

² Utopia, Bk. i.

³ "There is not one year commonly wherein 300 or 400 of them are not devoured and eaten up by the gallows in one place and another. It appeareth, by Cardane (who writeth it upon the report of the Bishop of Lexonia), in the geniture of King Edward VI., how Henry VIII., executing his laws very severely against such idle persons (I mean great thieves, petty thieves, and rogues), did hang upwards of three score and twelve thousand of them in his time. He seemed for the time to have greatly terrified the rest; but since his death the number is much increased, though we have had no wars," etc.—*Harrison's Description of Britain*, vol. i., p. 186, 1586 ed. This passage is not inserted in some of the early editions.

The appalling numbers hung for theft was a notorious fact. It is mentioned by Fish, in his "Supplication of the Beggars;" and Bishop Latimer, in a sermon at St Paul's Cross, speaking of the statute compelling farmers to grow a certain quantity of hemp and flax, adds, "But it were all too little, were it so much more, to hang the thieves that be in England."—See *Froude's Hist.*, vol. i., p. 7, n.

⁴ See Froude's "History of England," vol. iii., pp. 406–425; and compare with the almost stainless and utopian picture presented in vol. i., chap. 1, of the "Social Condition of the People."

verdicts, or by a lax execution of the statutes,—all this, we say, adds emphasis to our conviction, and closes the last door by which we could escape the conviction, that to a very terrible extent, license, and disorder, and crime, held a wild rule amongst the people, in the place of that peaceful self-control which alone can bring happiness out of freedom.

But what, we may ask, should have been the remedy for all this? Was it the necessary result of external dislocations, or was there some element wanting, which, being there, might have conquered the consequent disorder into order and advantage?

True freedom being utterly impossible except on the basis of individual self-control, it becomes an infinitely important question, "Upon what may that quality rest, and from what sources does it, or can it, derive its power in a national point of view?"

A more universal education and extended intelligence would, no doubt, have furnished valuable materials, and, in some measure, tamed even the unemployed and half-starving peasant into greater obedience to the civil power, or schooled him into something of a sense of civil responsibility. But history has abundantly proved that the mere influence of civil responsibility, and the terrors of the law, are no firm basis upon which it can rest,—that the controlling influence of material civilisation and intelligence, of railroads, and telegraphs, and cotton-jennies, is but the controlling influence of selfish interest, and is dependent upon the haphazard of the temporary interests of selfish men coinciding with the interests of others, and the laws of morality.

The power of self-control rests, and can permanently rest, alone on a true individual sense of *moral* responsibility, and further than this, the only power which can in the long run give that individual sense of moral responsibility; and therefore, that self-control is the power of an *individual conscience*.

The priesthood of the dark ages held in spiritual bondage the English peasant of the age of which we are speaking, because it forebore from the people that individual sense of moral responsibility which alone, in the long run, can give the power of self-control. In a word, Christianity was dislocated from its true relations to the peasant. It came to him as conferring a gloomy and despotic power to a priesthood, instead of as the harbinger of light and freedom to himself. It taught him responsibility to a priesthood, instead of to the Great Disposer of all things!

We may indeed tremble when we look back upon the terrible underworkings of this dogma in each human heart, even before it forced itself above the surface. We have before hinted that physical hardship may be mixed in the cup of a nation, even in a very high national condition. Christianity teaches that in the world there must be tribulation; but true Christianity also teaches

us the alleviation. It teaches to the man of misery and poverty, whose downward course must of necessity end in the workhouse, or in a narrower home, something which prevents even life's darkest picture from being utterly hopeless! Yes, brother (it says to him), faint not! look up! But the Christianity of the priesthood of the dark ages taught him no such thing! Its pompous Latin spoke no joy or hope in peasant ears. It put its cold hand upon the breast, and chilled the thrilling life-blood of its peasant votaries. And even now, in spite of advanced civilisation, wherever it still continues, it prolongs the darkness of those ages, and entombs a nation's happiness and hopes in it. Whatever was the secret motive, whatever was the potent guiding-spring of its policy, however deep and devoted its love and zeal, it stands eternally engraven upon the brow of the priesthood of the dark ages, that its religion was a religion for a priesthood, but no religion for the poor. Just as little Gretchen says of Mephistopheles—

“Es steht ihm an der Stirn geshrieben
Dasz er nicht mag eine Seele lieben.”

We have thus endeavoured to sketch the leading features of the social condition of England during the period immediately antecedent to the dissolution of the smaller monasteries. We have confined our remarks very much to that antecedent period, because the events which followed in quick succession upon it, ushering in the great Protestant Reformation, formed, as we have said, a kind of watershed which opened out new channels and gave a fresh direction to the hopes and destinies of the nation, and we were anxious to secure our picture from any tinge which might otherwise have been derived from their influence.

And now, in conclusion, let us ask, what is it that in the course of the last three centuries *has given* to the British people that amount of self-control which tempers the freedom it enjoys? It is not the effect of sanguinary laws, nor is it wholly attributable to the political experience which it has passed through, or the material civilisation to which it has attained. The great secret is to be found in the fact, that Christianity has been placed more in its true relation to the people; that Christianity has become embedded like stiff knee timber in the sides of the constitution of our country; that the influence of her ten righteous men has made itself felt, and, to a very large extent, commanded the whole tone of public morality, so that, by the silent power of quiet example, it has proved a little leaven which, in some measure at least, has leavened the whole lump. Our freedom rests upon the basis of our Christianity, and our liberty is controlled by Christian conscience.

- ART. IV.—1. *The Epistles to the Corinthians; with Critical Notes and Dissertations.* By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, M.A., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Canterbury. Second Edition. London: Murray.
2. *An Exposition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.* By CHARLES HODGE, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton. London: Nisbet.
3. *The Resurrection of Life: an Exposition of First Corinthians XV.; with a Discourse on our Lord's Resurrection.* By JOHN BROWN, D.D., Senior Minister of the United Presbyterian Congregation, Broughton Place, Edinburgh, and Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United Presbyterian Church. Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Sons.
4. *Life in a Risen Saviour: being Discourses on the Argument of the Fifteenth Chapter of First Corinthians.* By ROBERT S. CANDLISH, D.D. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.

IT is a remarkable fact, that the oldest book in the world is the very book in regard to the meaning of whose contents the world has not yet had time to make up its mind, or to come to any common or even tolerably harmonious understanding. The Bible, beyond all comparison, has been more read and more misread than any other written composition. The reproach, not of Protestantism, but of our common professing Christianity, is the great diversity of sects and interpretations which seek shelter under the one language of Scripture, and pervert every page, if not every sentence of it, to different and opposite meanings. Nor is this due to the remarkable singularity which distinguishes the Bible from every other book,—the singularity, that it is the only book in the world the author of which is God. We might not perhaps be able *à priori* to anticipate in what way, or to what extent, the circumstance that the Bible contains the eternal thoughts of Jehovah embodied in human speech might affect the ease or the difficulty of interpreting it. But the fact has shown that the mind of God can be uttered in human language without altering or affecting its meaning or its laws as found upon our lips; and that the words which contain in them the burden of uncreated wisdom, and the revelation of Divine truth, are words which men may both speak and understand not less easily than if they had been their own. The highest and strictest views of inspiration are consistent with the doctrine, that the inspired volume is to be understood in the same way, and to be interpreted by means of the same methods,

as any human composition might be understood or interpreted. The very fact that Infinite Wisdom and Infinite Power have devised and provided the means whereby the thoughts of God in heaven may be conveyed to the mind of man on the earth, is itself the best of all guarantees for the attainment of the object contemplated by the revelation,—namely, that it come to us in a shape to be understood. If it be a communication from God, it must be intelligible to man; and there can be no sufficient cause in the written Bible itself for the diversities of meaning that have been attributed to it, for the opposite interpretations that have been imposed upon its text, and for the melancholy, yet too patent fact, that there is no truth in Scripture so clear that it has not been disputed, and no sentence so plain that it has not been variously rendered and understood. If there were needed a monument and evidence of the fatal tendency of the human understanding to darkness and error, they would be found in the treatment which men have given everywhere, and at all times, to the revelation of God embodied in human speech; and in those unnumbered misinterpretations of its language and perversions of its meaning by which they have so often succeeded in resisting the omnipotence of Scripture truth, and in turning to foolishness that Divine Word, the entrance of which giveth light, and maketh wise the simple.

There are certain familiar and fixed principles of interpretation applicable to all human language, whether oral or written, which make its meaning to be definitely and accurately understood in the communications of men with each other, and which are no less applicable in the revelation made by God to His creatures. No doubt there are important limitations of these principles, which must be taken into account when they are applied to interpret the Bible, not necessary to be attended to in the case of other books. To these limitations we may have occasion afterwards to advert. But there is nothing in these to interfere with the great principle, that the same laws of interpretation that fix with certainty and define with clearness the sense of other books are available for the Bible also, and able to regulate with no less precision and effect the inquiry as to the meaning of its text. Words have the same sense in Scripture as in any uninspired book; there is no greater latitude in the use of terms in the one case than in the other; singly and in combination, they are subject to the same laws of interpretation in both instances; language has no exemption from the ordinary rules of construction when found in the Bible, any more than when found in human compositions; and there is no uncertainty of meaning or irregularity of use, as respects its application, which is not also experienced in written or oral communications between man and

man. It is not, then, in the want of sound and certain principles of interpretation, nor yet in any inability which these principles, in their application to Scripture, underlie of bringing out a definite and sure result, that we must look for the source of the manifold misinterpretations under which it has suffered.

The principles of interpretation common to the Bible with other books, are to be found on the very surface, and can be expressed in the briefest terms. Take the *Institutio interpretis* of Ernesti, or any other treatise on hermeneutics, and it is not difficult to see that the scientific principles there announced, so far as they are sound and real, are substantially the methods, expressed in the terms of science, which every intelligent student of the Bible, however unskilled in exegetical learning, has been practically employing in his private perusal of the Word of God, in order that he might arrive at a right understanding of its meaning. The different schools of Scripture interpreters, from Origen downward, have done nothing more than bring into prominence, or embody in a scientific shape, some one or more of those practical methods which, without any pretensions to critical attainments, Bible readers have unconsciously followed in searching out for themselves the mind of God in His revelation. Let us suppose some such Scripture student, of competent scholarship, and sufficiently versed in the original languages of the Bible, with their cognate dialects, to set himself to the systematic interpretation of its pages, and what are the methods or processes which, in following out his investigations, he would naturally, and apart from all artificial rules or hermeneutical systems, be led to pursue?

First of all, it is plain that his object must be to discover the proper meaning and grammatical value of the words employed in Scripture, as these are determined by the general laws of language, and the more special structure and use of the dialects of the sacred volume, according to the manner in which they were spoken and written in the author's day. It is chiefly, though not solely, a work of the grammar and the lexicon—an attempt to ascertain the true *usus loquendi* of the words of the inspired writers from an application to them of general philological principles and the particular rules of the language to be interpreted,—from a comparison between them, as found in Scripture, and as used by contemporary authors,—from the light thrown on them by the cognate dialects,—from their place and relations in the context in which they occur,—from their etymological derivations, their peculiar constructions in other passages, and their idiomatic diversities,—from, in short, an estimate of all those grammatical considerations that affect the sense and determine the meaning of language, whether literal, figurative, or allego-

rical. According to the maxim of Luther, "*the knowledge of the sense can be derived from nothing but a knowledge of the words;*" and as the inspired writers had no new language given to them in order to embody the Divine revelation, but only employed the old, according to its established laws and customary use, it is plain that a knowledge of the meaning of its terms, acquired through the ordinary grammatical studies by which in other cases we ascertain the sense of words, must lie at the foundation of all Scripture interpretation. The *grammatical method* of interpretation has therefore been generally recognised, both in practice and in scientific treatises, as the primary method to apply to the Bible.

But it is a mistake, which, however often it has been committed by mere scientific interpreters of Scripture, was never yet fallen into by the practical student of the Word of God, or the ordinary reader of any other book, to imagine that the grammatical method of interpretation, *taken alone*, can truly or adequately give the meaning. The sense of words, besides being regulated by their philological value and grammatical use, is in all cases affected, and in many, materially determined, by the purpose in the mind of the author for which they are employed, and the special train of thought and argument in the expression of which they are made to form a part. Words, when used by a man who writes with simplicity and in earnest, are but the image of his thoughts and feelings within, and are ruled and influenced in their meaning by the current of his ideas, the complexion of his feelings, and the object of his argument. It is at all times unsafe to judge of the meaning of language, seen only in the shape of extracts, and severed from the general train of thought and reasoning of which it forms an integral part. It is hardly ever possible to realise correctly or fully the value of words by any grammatical analysis and estimate of their meaning, however carefully and elaborately made, if we are kept ignorant of the object of the author in the use of them, and the place in his scheme of thought which they were intended to occupy. And hence, in addition to the grammatical method of interpretation, we must have the *logical*,—or that method by which we seek to be aided in fixing the meaning of words by discovering the object in the mind of the author for which they are employed, and their connection with his general train of thought and opinion, or his special line of argument. We must, in short, understand something of the man and of his mind, in order fully to understand his words. In addition to a grammatical analysis and estimate of language, we must therefore have, *secondly*, a logical understanding of the connection of thought and special aim manifested by the author in his written composition.

No inquiry into the grammatical value and use of words, taken by themselves and apart, even taken in their connection with the course of thought and special object of the author in his application of them, will suffice for the interpretation of Scripture or any other book, unless we also take into account the sense in which the words must have been understood by those to whom they were addressed. It must be taken for granted in all ordinary cases, that a man speaks and writes in order that he may be understood by the parties addressed, so that we cannot suppose that he willingly or knowingly uses language unintelligible, or in such a sense as to lead to misunderstanding or mistake. The sense, then, in which words were commonly or inevitably understood by the parties addressed, when it can be ascertained historically, must always be an important element in interpreting an author, more especially in the case of language of an abstract kind, referring to or implying peculiar opinions, philosophical or theological. In such a case the language, in the sense it was received by those to whom it was spoken or written, can only be construed by a regard to the views and opinions of the people and time,—involving an historical inquiry often of a difficult and delicate kind. The history of opinion, theological and philosophical, the phases of thought as well as the peculiarities of manners and customs at the time, may sometimes go far to fix the sense of words current among the parties addressed, and, consequently, the sense of words as actually spoken or written to them. A *third* method of interpretation, therefore, useful, or rather necessary, for the right understanding of Scripture, is the *historical method*, not to the exclusion of other systems, but in addition to them.

But another principle of interpretation, and one not less important in itself or less extensively applicable to Scripture, is the necessary care that must be taken to interpret one passage of an author's writings in such a manner as not to contradict his avowed opinions or acknowledged statements in other passages. This is a rule that falls to be applied to the writings of every man who writes with ordinary intelligence and truthfulness, and is especially to be kept in view in the case of documents, like the Scripture, drawn up with the view of exhibiting and recording a harmonious and related system of doctrine and opinion—diversified in form but one in substance. No man intentionally or consciously contradicts himself, and records statements which cannot possibly be all true, because antagonistic to each other; and it is only when no alternative remains, and no other interpretation can possibly be accepted, that we are justified in putting a meaning upon any document which makes it to be inconsistent with itself. In every credible and authentic writing we must in all ordinary cases proceed upon the principle that the author is not

self-contradictory, and that there is in his composition that common unity which results from it being the product of one mind and the exhibition of a harmonious scheme of opinion. In how much higher a sense this is true of Scripture than of any credible and authentic human composition, must be acknowledged by all who admit that it is the authorship of the one God and the revelation of the one scheme of Divine wisdom and truth. And hence the *fourth principle of interpretation*, in addition to those mentioned above, that Scripture must in every case be interpreted in such a way as to be consistent with itself, or, as it was expressed by the old divines, in accordance with the *regula fidei* or the *analogy of faith*.

Such principles of interpretation as these hardly admit of any dispute when announced generally, or applied to uninspired writings. Even in reference to Scripture, there are not many who would be inclined to controvert them as general hermeneutical canons, although multitudes have perverted and abused them in their practical application to the actual work of exegesis. Taken together, and applied aright to the exposition of the Word of God, with proper care and competent scholarship, they would go far to fix its meaning with as much certainty as we attain to in regard to the interpretation of any uninspired book; there being no more and no different sources of ambiguity or uncertainty in Scripture language than in any other, and the laws of interpretation being as competent to educe a right and determinate sense from its words as from the words of any other volume. It is in the frequent and extensive abuse of these principles, when they come to be reduced to practice in Bible interpretation, that the pregnant source of error lies. By some interpreters, one or other of the hermeneutical canons to which we have adverted, as so essential to the right exposition of Scripture, is practically denied or set aside as inoperative. By others, an undue and exaggerated predominance is given to the one principle above the rest, so as to neutralise or contradict them. By others these rules are unfairly and erroneously applied to the different passages of Scripture. The history of hermeneutics, from the earliest times, affords an ample illustration of this. We have the history of different schools of Bible expositors, glorying each of them in some distinctive name significant of the one principle of exegesis by which their Scripture expositions are regulated, to the total exclusion or undue subordination of every other; as if the Word of God was to be interpreted by one and not all the methods of elucidating its meaning which critical science or practical experience has found to be applicable to it. We hear of the *allegorical* school of interpretation, as if the laws of allegory had a monopoly of Bible language. We have the *grammatical* school, as if the truth of God in His volume were tied to insulated words or sen-

tences, and had no large connection with the Divine thought in the mind of the inspired man—with the circumstances, or feelings, or opinions of the parties to whom it was revealed—with the import and bearing of the whole connected system of Divine doctrine. We have the *historico-grammatical* system, as if the teachings, if not of grammar alone, yet of grammar and history combined, could reveal all that the Spirit of God meant to convey, apart from every other consideration. We have the *historical school*, as if the history of philosophical opinion and religious belief at the time were sufficient to explain the peculiar doctrines of revelation, and as if the latter were a mere accommodation to the former. And we have the *dogmatical* school, as if the analogy of faith, apart from any textual interpretation, were enough to assure us of the sense and value of the words which the Holy Ghost has uttered and recorded. If not taught by the very nature and reason of the thing, we might be constrained by the history of past failures to believe that not one, but all the aids which hermeneutical skill suggests, and these in their due and equal application, are necessary, in order that we may successfully reach the heights and fathom the depths of the Divine Word; and that no mistake is at once so absurd in itself, and so injurious to a right Scripture exegesis, as the idea that we may safely take one and reject the rest of those lights that shine upon the Scripture page in order to guide devout inquiry to its meaning, or that we may lawfully give exclusive or unjust predominance to one principle of interpretation over others.

Limiting ourselves even to recent times, it is not difficult to find illustrations of these remarks; and to be convinced that the leanings of interpreters to one predominant line of exegesis, and an unjust under-estimate of the importance and necessity of others in combination with it, have often led to results in the way of Scripture interpretation unsatisfactory, if not positively erroneous.

I. Within these few years we have seen the revival, after a period of undue neglect and depression, of the great principle that declares the necessary and intimate connection between the “*bonus textuarius*” and the “*bonus theologus*,” and teaches that the discovery of the grammatical sense of the words, in the first instance, is the sure foundation of all sound Scripture interpretation. One of the benefits we have derived from German example and scholarship, is the wholesome direction that has thus been given to the efforts of Bible expositors, in the way of a more thorough dealing with the grammatical sense and structure of the original languages, with a view to fix the meaning of Scripture; for there can be no doubt that a loose style of interpretation, founded mainly on a dogmatic basis, to the exclusion of other considerations, had, to a large extent, prevailed among

native expositors, deficient both in critical learning and its grammatical accuracy. One of the very best fruits of this new impulse given to a right Scripture exegesis, is the interesting series of critical and grammatical expositions of Paul's Epistles, for which we are indebted to Mr Ellicott, and which exhibit in such rare and striking combination the highest learning and skill of the accomplished scholar, with the profoundest piety of the devout theologian. His labours, and those of kindred scholars in the same department, have done incalculable good in the way generally of restoring the grammatical principles of interpretation to their right place and influence among the Biblical scholars of this country, and also in the special contributions made particularly to the exegesis of the New Testament—in rectifying, for instance, the loose and erroneous notions as to the use of the article, in giving more definite meaning to the tenses of the Greek verbs, and reducing to something like intelligible order the use and application of particles.

But while recent interpreters belonging to this school have done something for the right exposition of Scripture, and probably believe that they have done much more than they actually have, there are not wanting symptoms of the approach of the danger, so often realised in the past history of hermeneutics, of expositors becoming ensnared with merely one predominant idea in their work, and giving unlawful preference to a single favourite principle of interpretation, without respect to the limitations assigned to it from its combination with others. There is a danger, perhaps, that in the reaction which has so strongly set in on behalf of a more stringent grammatical and verbal exegesis, we may be reduced once more to mere textual barrenness, and to profitless and vain devotion to the letter rather than the spirit of the Word. We do look with some regret and even jealousy upon Mr Ellicott's theory of interpretation,¹ whereby, under the plea of a division of labour, he discards all methods of exposition except the one so ably exemplified in his commentaries, and reduces his treatment of the Scripture text to one "*exclusively critical and grammatical.*" Scripture interpretation, alone and purely critical and grammatical, is simply impossible, and even if possible, were strongly to be deprecated. But we believe that Ellicott's practice is better than his profession, and that, in point of fact, his expositions are far from being exclusively governed by such a principle. Were they really so, we should look upon them as founded on a false theory, and essentially defective. For there appears to us to be no truth in hermeneutics more elementary and fundamental than just the truth, that any sound exposition of the Word of God must not proceed upon a single and

¹ Ellicott, *Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to Galatians*—Preface.

insulated law of exegesis, but must gather to itself the strength and fulness of all the elements which Biblical research or Christian experience teaches us to be available in bringing light and evidence to the interpretation of Scripture. The announcement, by a scholar like Mr Ellicott, of such a theory, and his defence of a commentary "exclusively critical and grammatical," seem to us to indicate a tendency of thought and feeling which has already run beyond the line of truth, and may eventually lead to a system of interpretation one-sided and fatally defective,—hostile to the spirit, while in bondage to the letter of the Word.

II. But it is not the devotees of the grammar and the lexicon alone who illustrate the abuse of hermeneutical canons, by the arbitrary and artificial preference given to one line of exegesis or one principle of interpretation over others. Perhaps it is a higher attainment in the Scripture expositor than any mastery over the philological details of a passage, to be able to grasp their bearings and relations so as to reduce them to the unity of the one truth and object in the view of the author,—to throw oneself into the current of his ideas, or the train of his reasoning; and after full converse with his inner thoughts and feelings, to return again with the key thus supplied, to open up the difficulties and grammatical obscurities of his language. No one who has studied the Scripture expositions of Calvin, especially his commentary on Romans, who can fail to have noticed and admired the ease and the completeness with which he first rises up to the level of the inspired author, and enters into his loftiest thoughts, and takes sympathetic possession of his very mind, and then comes down with a light kindled there to illuminate and clear up the dark places of the sacred page. In the ability and success with which he brings the logical method of interpretation to bear upon the philological difficulties of the text, Calvin, as an interpreter of Scripture, has few rivals and no superior. But it requires a master's hand to wield the instrument with safety and success. Necessary and most valuable in its place, it is very apt, in unskilful hands, to be pushed beyond its province, and to degenerate into excess. There may be no materials or insufficient data for discovering the ruling idea or guiding aim in the author's mind that influences his language; opinions truly held by him may not be the opinions which gave their turn or complexion to the special passage to be interpreted; and where at best it must be a matter of inference and indemonstrable, there must always be in our attempts to discover the train of thought that governed the words employed, room for uncertainty and danger of mistake. The logical method of interpreting Scripture, in adequate and skilful hands, is a powerful instrument for eliciting its true meaning; but used by unwise or unwary interpreters, it is prolific of error.

Was the Apostle Paul governed or not governed in his inspired writings by his knowledge of the philosophical thought and religious theories of his time, so as to lead us to recognise in the Pauline doctrines the impress and form of the psychological views, the scientific speculations, and the quasi-theological doctrines of Plato and the school of Alexandria? That an educated man like Paul, well versed in the learning of his day, may have been acquainted with the opinions and speculations of the Neo-Platonists, both as regards psychology and theology, is at least a possible thing, which no orthodox interpreter of Scripture has any interest to deny; although there is no direct evidence for the fact, and indeed no evidence at all, except the alleged impress which such speculations are said to have left upon a few of the peculiar expressions employed in his Epistles. But if we ask information on this matter from Professor Jowett, he will tell us that the Apostle Paul was “a practised Platonic dialectician;”—that the man who so passionately denounced “philosophy and vain deceit” was himself an adherent of the Alexandrian school, notwithstanding the semipanthem or Sabellianism of its Platonic Trinity,—and that his inspired writings bear the strong impress of the modes of thought and peculiar theology he learned there. It is sufficiently startling to find a school¹ of theologians holding high influence and occupying a distinguished place in the Church, in the present day, explaining away some of the most important and vital points of the Pauline theology by a reference to the teaching the apostle received at the feet of Philo, and evacuating of all real meaning some of the fundamental articles of the Church’s faith,—such as the article of the Trinity,—by reducing them to the level of the Neo-Platonic creed. There is no sufficient evidence at all to show that Paul had any knowledge whatever of the quasi-theological speculations of the Alexandrian school; and even though it could be proved that he had, it were a frightful misapplication of the logical principle of interpretation, to allege that that knowledge suggested, or supplied, or determined, or can account for the language of his Epistles in reference to the awful mystery of the Godhead, and that we are to learn from that language nothing beyond the doctrine which he himself had learned there of a semipanthemistic or impersonal Triad.

It is with deep regret that we are compelled to say, that the language of Mr Stanley, on this point, is anything but clear and unambiguous. Throughout the whole of his Exposition of the two Epistles to the Corinthians, although the unmistakable doc-

¹ In connection with this point we would refer to an able and interesting work recently published, “Modern Anglican Theology.” By Rev. James Rigg.

trine contained in them supplied him with ample opportunities of furnishing it, we are not aware that we can lay our hand upon a single passage in which we have a frank and unequivocal statement of the great article of the Church's creed, as to the real distinction, yet true unity of the three persons in the Godhead. There are passages indeed which seem to speak of this doctrine, but in terms that might be adopted and accommodated by a man who denied it. We do not take it upon us to affirm that Mr Stanley really belongs to the Neo-Platonic or Sabellian school, in the absence of any such acknowledgment on his part. But there is one passage in his work, pointing in this direction, which is too significant to be overlooked. Commenting on 1 Cor. xv. 28—"And when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, *that God may be all in all*,"—Mr Stanley has these remarks:—

"This passage, as expressing what the apostle looked to as the consummation of the world, must be regarded as the consummation of all his teaching. In almost all later systems of religion and philosophy, there has been an element corresponding to this apostolic aspiration—a belief that God is, or is to be, everywhere, and in all things. The apostle's words (*ὁ Θεὸς πάντα ἐν πάντιν*) may almost seem to have given birth to the name literally based on them, though now always used in reproach,—*Pantheism*. It is not necessary here to distinguish these words from the grosser or more exclusive form of this belief, to which the name Pantheism is usually applied. But the expression shows, that the belief in God's universal and all-pervading presence was not inconsistent with reverence for the Divine nature, and the sense of human responsibility which ran through all the writings of St Paul. Two points seem especially intended:—*First*, This is the most striking instance of the mode in which he always endeavours to carry up the feelings of his readers from Christ to God. His intention is not to lower or disparage the Divine union of Christ with the Father, but to point out that there is a height yet beyond, from which all the blessings of redemption, no less than of creation, flow. It has sometimes been customary to represent God as the object of fear, Christ as the object of love; God as the source of justice, Christ as the source of mercy. The apostle's object here is, if one may so say, directly the reverse—Christ is spoken of as the representative of authority, of control; God is spoken of as the Infinite rest and repose, after the close of that long struggle, for which alone power and authority are needed. The Pagan views of the divinity never shrunk from multiplying the agencies, the persons, the powers of God: wherever an operation of nature, or of man, was discernible, there a new deity was imagined. It is this feeling which the apostle throughout combats. *Even if, in this world, a distinction must be allowed, between God, the Invisible Eternal Father, and Christ, the Lord and Ruler of man, he points our thoughts to a time when this distinction will cease, when the reign of all intermediate ob-*

jects, even of Christ Himself, shall cease, and God will fill all the universe (*πάντα*), and be Himself present in the hearts and minds of all (*ἐν πάντων*)."¹

Certainly no language could be better adapted than the latter part of this extract, to suggest the Sabellian theory, that the distinction of persons in the Godhead is not an essential or permanent one, but only phenomenal and temporary; and it is language in which the christianised Platonism of our recent school of theologians would readily find its expression.

III. We cannot doubt, however, that the source of error, most frequently found, and most extensively mischievous in Scripture interpretation, is the abuse of the *historical* method. It is a plain and important principle, that the language of the inspired penman, like that of other authors, must be expounded with a due regard to the way in which the language was understood and used by those addressed; and that historical evidence, of the sense in which the phraseology of Scripture was employed or apprehended by the original reader, must enter as an essential element into the interpretation of it. This is properly the *historical principle* of interpretation;—one most valuable and necessary in combination with others. But although, in obedience to this Hermeneutical canon, we must accept of words in the sense in which they were used by those who spoke and wrote them at the time, and interpret them in conformity with this law, yet we are not bound or required to accept the philosophical systems, or religious doctrines, which such words, in the lips of the original parties, may have helped to express. The proper or primary meaning of such words we are bound to accept, according to the usage of the time; but not the technical meanings which they may have been made to bear when used by parties to express their own peculiar views in philosophy or religion. It is the oversight or neglect of this obvious and most important distinction, that has led to the manifold abuses of the historical principle of interpretation in recent times, and has tempted Neologists to assert and act upon the false and mischievous canon, that because a word had a certain technical sense assigned to it in the philosophical or religious systems of the time when used by the Scripture writers, it must have retained that sense when employed by them to express the doctrines of revelation. For example, the word *regeneration*, may or may not have had a certain technical sense in Jewish theology in New Testament times; it may or may not have meant, when used as part of the ecclesiastical phraseology of the day, and of the men to whom the Scripture author addressed himself, the admission of a candidate, by baptism, into the Jewish Church. But when that word was used to express a Christian doctrine by New Testament

¹ Stanley, p. 315.

writers, we are not forced to assume that it must have had this technical sense imposed upon it by Jewish theology, to the exclusion of the original and genuine sense of it, as denoting a certain change analogous to our entrance into the world by natural birth. The *regeneration* of the New Testament is a new birth, as distinguished from the old birth; this is the proper and primary meaning of the word, whether used by Jews or by apostles; and this sense or value of the word we are bound to accept, in any interpretation of it, as the true one, and sanctioned by contemporary and acknowledged use. But the technical sense superinduced upon the word in Jewish theology, as denoting figuratively admission by baptism to church privileges, is a secondary sense, which we are not bound to accept, merely because it may or may not have been current at the time among certain Jewish religious sects. We are willing to retain the original and genuine sense of the term, as expressing some change analogous to natural birth; and it remains as a question to be separately determined by the grammatical connection of the word, and the dogmatic import of the context in which it is found, whether in Scripture it is applied figuratively to Jewish baptism, or to the Christian renewal of our spiritual nature. The practical denial or extensive neglect of this distinction among Scripture Expositors has led to incalculable evil. Under the plea of following out the historical method of interpretation, many have emptied Scripture language of all Christian doctrine, and forced it to express the current notions, philosophical and religious, of the times; they have made the words of the sacred writers a mere echo of the modes of thought and forms of opinion of their age; and, in their Bible expositions, they have advocated the doctrine, or acted upon the principle, of *accommodation*, as if the revelations of apostles and evangelists were not really expressed according to the mind and truth of God, but largely accommodated to the prevailing views, and mistaken ideas, and defective sentiments, of the men and the day. The historical principle, so misunderstood and misapplied, opens a ready entrance to every kind of exegetical licence. Because the inspired penmen necessarily employed the common language of their day to express Christian truths, the Bible is expounded as if that language must still retain its Jewish or heathen ideas; because the words applied to assert Gospel doctrine are words previously used to denote the religious and spiritual opinions and customs of the time, they are interpreted as pregnant with their old meanings in their new application; and Scripture thought and doctrine are thus reduced to the level of Jewish theology or unbaptised philosophical speculation, and divested of all that makes a Divine revelation to differ from human truth, or the Gospel of God to be superior to the beliefs of men.

The extreme abuse which the historical principle of interpretation has recently suffered in the hands of Scripture expositors, has been mainly and most painfully illustrated in the case of the Neological school on the Continent. But there are not wanting frequent examples of the misapplication of it among ourselves. Both the strength and the weakness of Mr Stanley's exegetical achievements are connected with his use and abuse of the historical method. The eminence of Mr Stanley, as an author and a scholar, are sufficiently known and acknowledged, and, therefore, of the general merits of the work mentioned at the head of this article—"The Epistles of St Paul to the Corinthians, with Critical Notes and Dissertations"—it is not necessary to speak, beyond saying, that it is marked throughout by the impress of his known taste, ability, and scholarship. It is written in the clear, calm, and academic style which distinguishes the accomplished author and the well-read scholar. If oftentimes deficient in the logical accuracy and precision of thought so necessary in a critical and theological work, it is seldom obscure and never uninteresting; it is replete with the graceful illustrations and attractions which extensive, varied, and ready scholarship can so well supply; and especially in the critical and grammatical details of his Commentary, there is to be recognised no small power of acute and refined thinking. No one can peruse the work without being struck with the fine historic eye which Mr Stanley evidently possesses for the scenes and incidents of apostolic life referred to in the Epistles, and with the nice historic touch with which he delineates and illustrates them; and few can have risen from the perusal, without being led to acknowledge, that the graphic outlines or the more finished pictures of historic events, his parallels and illustrations, gathered from far and near, have given a fresh interest to the familiar truths with which they stand connected, and sometimes shed new light over their meaning and application. But Mr Stanley is too often tempted to see, in the inspired words, nothing, or little beyond the historical import of them, as limited to contemporary events, and illustrated by passing opinions and customs; the theology of the Epistles is often with him a local thing, scarcely rising above or beyond the modes of thought and the usual faith of the country and age, and not unchangeable verities for all time and all generations of men; the standard of Paul's inspired revelations is lowered and stinted to suit the carnal theology of the Jew or the empty philosophy of the Greek; and the truths which the Spirit has recorded, are deprived of their heavenly wisdom, that they may be interpreted as the echo of the beliefs and professions of the apostle's contemporaries. In studying the notes and dissertations of the Professor of Eccle-

siastical History at Oxford, we are at times tempted almost to believe that he recognises no value in these Epistles except as authentic monuments of the thoughts and practice of the age when they were written,—that he acknowledges in them the presence of no divine and unchangeable element, apart from the local peculiarities and historical sentiments of the country and time—and that he holds as a rightful Hermeneutical canon, that the ideas attached to the apostle's teachings by those of his contemporaries, who misread and misunderstood them, through the prejudices natural to the Oriental or Jewish mind, must be the ideas intended by the Holy Ghost. We have seldom read an exposition of any portion of the sacred volume, with a more painful conviction, that all that is peculiar in Pauline doctrine or even Christian truth, has been swallowed up and made to disappear in the historical interpretation, and that the apostle has been taught to speak, not in his own tongue, but in the hybrid language of some half-bred Christian Platonist. With every disposition to do justice to Mr Stanley's Commentary on these Epistles, in so far as regards general ability and scholarship, we feel constrained to say that the exposition is founded on a defective system of interpretation, and a still more defective theology.

No one who has read the First Epistle to the Corinthians, can have failed to mark that noble burst of enthusiasm, in the first chapter, when the apostle, grieved and troubled with the tidings of contention and party-work at Corinth, breaks forth with the declaration, that Christ had sent him “not to baptise, but to preach the Gospel; not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect.” To shame them out of the littleness and sin of their internal divisions, he proclaims the greatness of that common salvation in which they were interested, and the preciousness of that cross, in the profession or enjoyment of whose benefits they were bound into one,—“We preach *Christ crucified*, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness, but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God.” He reminds them of the greatness and loftiness of “*this calling*,” which was not shared by many of the wise men, or mighty, or noble after the flesh, but which they, the foolish, and weak, and base, in the world, had been made partakers of, in order “that no flesh might glory in God's presence.” He explains what the privilege of this calling was,—“Ye are in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: that, according as it is written, he that glorieth let him glory in the Lord.” And finally, at the beginning of the second chapter, he sets forth yet farther the importance of this salvation through the cross that he

had preached, by reminding them,—“ I brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech, or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God : for I determined not to know anything among you save, *Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.*”

Now, if there be any passage in Scripture which more undeniably than another asserts Christ crucified to be the sum and substance of Gospel truth, which represents all saving blessings as coming to man through the death of a Mediator, and which exhibits the atonement of the Redeemer made upon the tree as the “ power of God” to save the sinner, and the “ righteousness” of the sinner who is saved,—as “ the wisdom” of the Most High to rescue the lost, and as the means for “ the sanctification” of the lost who are rescued, it is surely this very passage. And yet Mr Stanley’s historical interpretation can find no such doctrine in it. The cross of Christ is a common cross in his eyes, and nothing more. It is the tree on which He was nailed,—the instrument of death after the Roman manner of execution. “ *Christ crucified,*” in the language of the apostle, means simply Christ put to a suffering and a shameful death. The “ *Cross of Christ,*” although it is spoken of as the *power* of God to them that are saved, signifies nothing more than its grammatical and historical sense bears—the piece of wood on which He died. It is not at all the *symbol* of atonement made to God for sin, and of forgiveness through blood, secured to the guilty,—of the “ wisdom” of the Most High manifested in the means provided for his reconciliation, and of “ the righteousness” imputed to the sinner for his acceptance,—of the divine provision vouchsafed for his “ sanctification,” or of the fulness of sovereign grace purchased and laid up for his “ redemption.” It is not the brief, but full and pregnant word, ever on the apostle’s lips, to embody and express all these precious doctrines ; it is simply and barely, according to its philological and historical meaning, the instrument of a death undergone of a humbling and suffering kind. It is thus that Mr Stanley comments on the passage, and gives the interpretation of it in his paraphrase :—

“ The Gospel which I preach is no system of mere words, fair without but hollow within. I did nothing to conceal the simplicity and offensiveness of the humiliation of Him whom I preached. That very humiliation, expressed in its strongest form on the cross on which He died, was in itself a power to convince the hearts of men far beyond any system of human philosophy ; and in Him whom the proud Jew and the intellectual Greek reject as a crucified malefactor, His followers recognise the true satisfaction of all their wants. Nor is it only in Christ but in His followers that the same law is visible ; you have only to look at the quarters from which the ranks of Christians are filled, to see that you owe nothing to your own wisdom, or power, or station, but all to God ; by whom you have, in the person of Christ,

been called as if to a new existence in this His second creation. He is your true wisdom; and, not only so, your righteousness, and holiness, and freedom. What I have thus stated generally I have realized to the letter in my own practice; in my determination to preach not theories but the fact of Christ's crucifixion; in my own personal insignificance, as contrasted with the greatness of my cause."¹

Now, with the apostle's rich and thrilling words still ringing in our ears, we feel that *this is too bad*. It is a mode of interpretation, or rather of no interpretation, fitted to give not the true meaning of any passage of Scripture, but rather to secure that it shall have no meaning at all. There is, or what seems to be, a studious attempt in "the paraphrase" to retain or to imitate the peculiar language of the Apostle, as it is commonly used by evangelical Christians to express their views of Gospel truth. But while the language might, on a superficial view, be almost mistaken for that of Canaan, the substance and reality of orthodox truth are ignored or denied. If there were wanting, which there is not, any farther proof that this is the case, we have it in the separate Dissertation which immediately follows upon "the main subject of the Apostle's preaching," as stated in the passage paraphrased.

Mr Stanley there tells us, that in his preaching the Apostle chiefly dwelt "*on the manner of Christ's death,—the cross of Christ,—Christ crucified.*" Of this subject,—*the cross of Christ*,—two points especially commended it to his mind at Corinth,—(1) its Simplicity, and—(2) its Humiliation. A third point appears more prominently in the other epistles—(3) its Sufferings. The *first* of these characteristics of the Apostle's Gospel consisted in the absence of all appeal to the miraculous, as unworthy of the highest and best form of the Christian revelation, and the plain declaration of the historical fact of Christ's crucifixion; together with the abnegation of all philosophical theories or speculations. The *second* characteristic of his preaching was, the prominent place given in it to the humiliation of that death which Christ endured, and to the intimate connection between Christianity and humiliation. And the *last* peculiar element of the Gospel announced by Paul, was the image of suffering conveyed in the crucifixion; a suffering shared not only by Christ, but also by His followers. So far as we can gather from Mr Stanley's dissertation, *this is the sum and substance* of the Divine truth which Paul preached, and which a man is to believe in order that his soul may be saved:—a Gospel which robs the doctrine of the Cross of all that makes it suitable to a sinner's need, or worthy of a sinner's acceptance.

The exposition now quoted as a specimen of Mr Stanley's powers as an interpreter of Scripture, might be paralleled by many other examples of a similar character and merit. Let one

¹ Stanley, p. 48.

more instance suffice, illustrating, as it does, in a striking way, how readily Mr Stanley's historical method of exposition can bring down the loftiest Christian truths from their mysterious and peculiar heights, and reduce them to the level of the common run of human thoughts and theories. Speaking of the things undiscoverable by man's reason, contained in the Gospel, the Apostle says:—"But God hath revealed *them* unto us by His Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God. Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth."

Most interpreters, certainly *almost* all if not all orthodox interpreters, have recognised in the words of the Apostle the evidence of these two prime articles of the Christian's faith; *first*, the personality and supreme Godhead of the Spirit; and *second*, His special sphere of operation in the revelation of Divine truth, to Prophets and Apostles, and in the supernatural inspiration given to enable them to record it. The former of these doctrines is established by the fact, that the Apostle ascribes to the Spirit personal agency in the way of searching into the mind of God, and infinite knowledge in apprehending all things, even the deep things of God,—His consciousness of the Father's thoughts being imaged and defined by our consciousness of our own. And the latter of these doctrines is established by the fact, that he tells us that the wisdom spoken by Apostles and Prophets, was a wisdom not known or discoverable by the men of the world, but revealed by God, and *that* not in the words which human knowledge could suggest, but which the Holy Ghost alone could teach. But the easy-going exegetics of Mr Stanley have not stumbled over any such doctrines in this passage, and in their slipshod course, find no difficulty in interpreting it without them. The following is his "paraphrase" on the occasion:—

"And as the subject of this wisdom is spiritual, so also is the manner of communicating it; there is a Divine language, which is known to those who have received the new spiritual faculty of Christians, which is unknown to those who are guided only by their natural human intellects. This also was exemplified in my own conduct towards you; for this is the reason why I was unable to speak to you on more exalted subjects; it was impossible to introduce them into a sphere of jarring passions and factions, which stunt the growth of the spiritual faculty within you."¹

¹ Stanley, p. 59.

In order to prevent any misunderstanding of his meaning, Mr Stanley devotes a dissertation to the subject of this "*spiritual faculty*," which does the special work of the Spirit of God in Christians, and renders the supposition of His personal and supernatural operations in inspired men to be quite unnecessary. He tells us that—

"There is in Christianity an element which, though not itself intellectual, is analogous to that by which intellectual wants are gratified;" that "this element of Christianity the Apostle here introduces under the names of 'wisdom' (*σοφία*) and 'the Spirit' (*τὸ πνεῦμα*);" that "the most natural meaning of the words is to be found in the deep spiritual intuitions which have always been regarded as the highest privilege of advanced Christian goodness, which were possessed in an extraordinary degree by the first converts." "The faculty or state by which this wisdom is obtained, is described emphatically as 'spiritual,' 'the Spirit.'" "The word is chosen partly from the frequent use of the phrase, both in Greek and Hebrew, to express the intellect—chiefly as expressive of a direct connection with God. It is the '*inspiration*' which in Scripture is ascribed to every mental gift; but which is especially applicable to the frame of mind which (to use the modern form of speech founded on the same metaphor) breathes the atmosphere of heaven."¹

And in another part of his Commentary Mr Stanley favours us with this additional information as to inspired prophets:—

"In all these cases in the New Testament, as in the Old, and, it may be added, in the Koran, the prominent idea is not that of prediction, but of delivering inspired messages of warning, exhortation, and instruction: building up, exhorting, comforting; convincing, judging, and making manifest the secrets of the heart. The ancient classical and Hebrew sense prevails everywhere. Epimenides and Mahomet on the one hand, Elijah and Paul on the other, are called prophets; not because they foretold the future, but because they enlightened the present."²

Such is the kind of Scripture interpretation in which Mr Stanley indulges, in order to make out that degrading theory which dethrones the Spirit of God from His sole pre-eminence as the personal Revealer of the Father's truth and the personal Inspirer of apostolic men—which would make the sphere of His supernatural influence to comprehend within it all discoveries in secular science and common truth, and the subjects of His power to be Epimenides and Mahomet not less truly than Elijah and Paul—and which reduces the inspiration He bestows on evangelists and prophets, to the level of that undefined and undefinable thing called *spiritual insight* which every Christian may claim, and to which philosophers and religionists of every class and name refer

¹ Stanley, pp. 60–62.

² Stanley, p. 254.

all those feelings and fancies, scientific and theological, to which they feel themselves puzzled to attribute any other origin. It is a kind of interpretation as destitute of hermeneutical sanction as it is hostile to theological truth, proceeding, as it does, on a principle which would lead a man to assert that, when the word *prophet* occurs in the Bible in reference to the servants of the Most High, it must mean the same thing as when found in the Koran in reference to Mahomet; or that, when the term *inspiration* is met with in reference to the mysterious work of the Third Person of the Godhead on the souls of men to whom the word was given, it can mean nothing better than the frenzies of the oracle of Delphi. There can be no more serious abuse of the historical method of interpretation, than thus prostituting it to the service of a negative theology, by discharging from the Scripture text all that is peculiar to Scripture truth.

IV. But the abuse and misapplication of our fourth hermeneutical canon, is hardly less common than the mischievous perversion of the historical method of interpretation. The poor justice that is not denied to any human composition, of being interpreted in a way consistent with, and not in contradiction to, the avowed sentiments and public statements of its author in other portions of his writings, is not seldom grudgingly and imperfectly granted to the writings of the inspired penmen. The principle of the *analogy of faith*, when applied to Scripture interpretation, however much it may have been decried by Dr Campbell, Professor Stuart, and others, is really nothing else than a recognition, in our attempts to elucidate the word of God, of the principle readily acknowledged in every other department of human investigation when directed to the discovery of truth—*namely* that, in all cases, we must proceed to apply the clear to illustrate the obscure, and the well-known and certain to explain the unknown or doubtful. In the word of God, as well as in His works, we are entitled to assume that there are unity and harmony throughout; the interpretation of Scripture, as well as the interpretation of nature, proceeds upon the well-warranted supposition that all truth is consistent with itself, and that *that* which is less understood in one of its revelations, is to be explained by what is better understood in another; and it were a practical reversal of all the principles that have guided discovery in every branch of knowledge, if we were to deny that, in the elucidation of the sacred text, we are entitled and required, when the grammatical meaning of one passage may be doubtful, to explain it in the light cast upon it, by the plainer statements or the confessed opinions of the same author in other passages. There is a “*harmonia apostolica*” as truly as a unity in nature, which warrants us to do this. No doubt the principle may be greatly misunder-

stood and greatly abused. It has been so—and, instead of gathering their theology from the Bible, and moulding it according to a right interpretation of its text, there have been men who have brought their theology ready-made and labelled to the word of God, and made it speak according to their preconceived opinions. But still, it is not to be forgotten that there is such a thing as the *analogy of faith*, and that a most important place is occupied by it in the true principles of hermeneutics. There can be no trustworthy interpretation of any one passage of Scripture disjoined from every other; grammatical acuteness and critical dexterity, or a happy conjecture, may light upon the meaning of an individual text, but it requires a competent knowledge of the general teaching of Scripture, and some acquaintance with its whole system of dogmatic truth, to become a Bible expositor; and, if it be true that a man must be a good interpreter of the sacred volume, in order to be a good theologian, it is no less true that a man must be a good theologian in order to be a good interpreter.

We confess that we have formed no very favourable estimate of Mr Stanley's qualifications in this respect. So far as we are aware, the present volume, apart from sermons, is the first attempt that he has made in the way of theological writing or discussion; and if we are to judge from it, of his place and rank as a theologian, we should not be disposed to place them very high. In one important respect he is conspicuously defective—in that masculine grasp of Scripture truth and logical precision of thought which are essential to the systematic and accurate theologian. There often indeed seems to be a studious avoidance of everything like definite or dogmatic statement of opinion, so that without any absolute obscurity of language, it is yet extremely difficult to discover what Mr Stanley's theological views really are, or whether he has any at all. He seems to belong to that school, so prevalent in the present day, to whom objective truth is positively distasteful, and who shun, as they would leprosy, any thing like a logical definition or precise statement of what they mean. After studying his Expositions of these Epistles and his Commentary, occupying a large octavo volume, we would feel it to be the most difficult of all tasks to tell to what system of theological opinion his views belong; and we are only relieved from the difficulty, by coming to the conviction, that among divines, the Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford has no standing at all, and that his place as a theologian is nowhere.

If any one would desire to judge of the theological qualifications of Mr Stanley for interpreting Scripture, let him turn to the fifth chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians, and having read it in the language of Paul, let him peruse the exposition by the commentator. It refers to the great question of

the *reconciliation* of a guilty world to God through the death of Christ. First, we have the Apostle's view, as stated in these words,—“And all things *are* of God, who hath reconciled us to Himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation; to wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed to us the word of reconciliation. Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech *you* by us: we pray *you* in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God. For He hath made Him *to be* sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him.”

Now it is obvious that the meaning of this remarkable passage, to a large extent, depends on the sense of the important words “to reconcile” (*καταλλάσσω*) and “reconciliation” (*καταλλάξις*). Was there any obstacle to friendship on the part of God to be removed as well as on the part of man? And is the reconciliation a mutual one? Or was there no cause of offence to be removed on any side but man's, and is the reconciliation simply on his part consisting in the removal of his enmity to God? It is well known that this very question is the testing one which on this subject divides the orthodox from the Socinian schools, and involves an essential difference of opinion upon almost all the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, such, for example, as the character of God as a Righteous Lawgiver, the nature of Christ's death as a proper atonement, and the grounds of a sinner's acceptance. Looking to the statement of the Apostle, and leaving out his reference to Christ, “*as made sin for us that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him,*” in the last verse, we admit that there may not be enough in the use of the term, “reconciliation” in this passage, taken alone, to fix down with certainty its signification to one rather than to the other of the senses above-mentioned; and that there might be a difference of opinion in regard to whether the reconciliation was on both sides, or on one only. And this, therefore, is precisely one of the passages where, in order to discover its true import, it is indispensably necessary to call in the aid of a philological comparison of it with other passages of Scripture where the same doctrine is asserted, and to interpret it in the light of the general principles and teachings of the Word of God. When the term “*reconciliation,*” taken by itself, or even in this insulated passage, may admit of one or other of two interpretations, the whole analogy and bearing of Scripture theology must be brought in to aid us to determine its meaning. We have no intention to enter on such a wide and difficult task. It would require us to review well nigh the whole theology of the Reformation in its aspects toward the Socinian theory. Crellius, one

of the early disciples of Socinus, in his advocacy of that theory, defends the opinion, that the reconciliation spoken of here and elsewhere in Scripture, means nothing more than man being reconciled to God, and not God being reconciled to man, and the point has been argued over and over again since his day. It is enough for our present purpose to say, that we think these positions can easily and satisfactorily be defended by an appeal to the Word of God: *First*, the Scripture delineation of the character of God as a Righteous Ruler and Judge in his moral government of this world, necessarily implies that there is cause of offence on His part towards sin and sinners, which needs to be removed before friendship can be restored. *Second*, the Scriptural account of the ancient sacrifices, embodies in type and prophecy, a promise of satisfaction to be made to God for sin with a view of removing this offence. *Third*, the Scripture statements, in regard to the death of Christ, represent it as an "atone-ment made,"—a "propitiation rendered,"—a "ransom paid," in order to remove the offence and restore friendship. *Fourth*, the death of Christ is spoken of in the language of a substitution, and His sufferings can be accounted for in no other reasonable way than as actually being a substitution in place of sinners. And, *Fifthly*, this word "reconciliation," according to Scripture usage in other passages, implies the removal, on both sides, and not merely on one, of the obstacles to friendship between God and man. The discussion of such general Scripture positions as these, plainly opens up a very wide field of theological argument, and yet is all necessary satisfactorily to determine the nature of the *reconciliation* of which the passage speaks.

Now let any one read the free and easy style in which Mr Stanley interprets the words of the Apostle and comments on them:—

"Their sense may be thus summed up:—The world had been in a long estrangement from God; His dealings had awakened in the hearts of mankind a sense of hostility and offence. Suddenly a great manifestation of Divine love was announced, which, wherever the tidings were brought, awakened feelings never before known. These feelings resolved themselves into two kinds. The present was felt to be parted from the past by a separation so complete as to be compared by the Apostle to a new creation. The whole world, not Jewish only, but Gentile, was called, after long absence, to return to God. The Jewish nation was by this one word delivered from the yoke of the Levitical ritual. So even in times of great human sorrow or joy, the burdensome ceremonial of social life is dissolved by a stronger and more universal sense of brotherhood: "If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why are ye subject to ordinances?" "Touch not, taste not, handle not." The Jewish and Gentile classes were reconciled to each other by the sight of His common

love exhibited by Christ to both: ‘He hath broken down the middle wall of partition, having abolished in His flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; for to make in Himself of twain one new man, so making peace; and that He might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby.’ And finally, the great mass of the Gentile world were delivered by this Divine act of love, from the slavery of the sins of their age and country and long contamination of false morals and worship: ‘You that were sometime alienated and enemies in your minds by wicked works, yet now hath He reconciled in the body of His flesh through death.’ . . .

. . . “The apostles view of Christ’s death, as throughout the New Testament, represents it as the effect and manifestation, not of the wrath or vengeance of God, but of His love; of the love not only of Christ, but in the most emphatic sense, of God also. It was not God that was reconciled and man that thereby was induced to love; but God that showed His love, and thereby brought back mankind from its long enmity to Him. It was not God that was to be appeased, and Christ that was to appease, but *God was in Christ*. Man is not described as seeking after God, but God as seeking after man—be ye reconciled to God. He says not (thus writes Chrysostom on this passage) reconcile God to yourselves, for it is not God who is an enemy to you, but you who are enemies to God.”¹

We have no right to quarrel with Mr Stanley because he adopts the Socinian view of the atonement, and of the passages of Scripture that bear upon it, if he really believes and is ready to show that there is a sufficient ground for his doing so. Neither do we stop to complain of the misrepresentation in the above extract, of the views of orthodox divines. But we simply say, that after the array of theological learning and exegetical skill, from the Reformation downward, that have been marshalled on the side of the evangelical doctrine on this point, we cannot but regard his attempt to reintroduce the exploded views of the Socinian school without a single allusion to the arguments of their opponents, or a single reason, critical or dogmatic, against them, as discreditable to his pretensions as a scholar, and still more so to his knowledge as a theologian.

But if Mr Stanley descends to the level of the Socinian school, in connection with the doctrine of atonement and reconciliation, he occupies a position lower still on the subject of the Lord’s Supper. The account given of it in 1 Cor. xi., may be variously understood, but it could scarcely be interpreted in a sense that more completely divested it of all theological or even Christian ideas, than that in which it has been explained by him. According to the Romish theory, the bread and wine of the Supper are actually the substance of the “body and blood” of the Lord; according to the Calvinistic theory, they are the sign and the seal of

¹ Stanley, p. 454–6.

them ; according to the Socinian theory, they are the sign. But according to the theory of Mr Stanley, they neither constitute nor seal nor exhibit, literally or spiritually, the body and blood of the Redeemer.—“ *The body of Christ*,” we are told by him, “ here as is elsewhere in the apostle’s language, is not the literal frame of our Lord, but the body which He has left behind Him on the earth in the human race—the Christian society, or its members severally. If this truth were recognised, then the Lord’s Supper would be properly celebrated ; but if Christians regarded themselves as having no connection with their brethren, the Supper would be profaned and turned into a common meal.”¹

In short, it is a social meal, where Christians may meet in company and enjoy themselves in fellowship together, and unite to commemorate their Master in the same way as the members of some political club or party may dine together to proclaim their own principles, and to commemorate their leader ; but it is not an ordinance having, in the true sense of the words, any sacramental character or virtue. It is thus that he paraphrases the account of it by the apostle :—

“ You remember the account of its original institution, as I communicated it to you from Christ Himself ; you remember how He called the bread His body, and the cup the covenant sealed by His blood, and how He spoke of it as continuing for a memorial of His death until His return. Every unworthy celebration of this meal, therefore, is a sin against His body and blood. His body is the whole Christian society ; it is in yourselves, if you will but look for it there. To partake of the Supper without this consciousness of solemn communion with Him, and with each other, is to provoke those judgments of sickness and death which have in fact been so frequent among you.”²

In the work by Dr Hodge, mentioned at the head of this article, we have an interpretation of the inspired account, by a divine of a very different school and calibre,—one who, with erudition and scholarship quite equal to Mr Stanley’s, and with a logical and comprehensive grasp of the apostle’s thoughts, and a mastery over theology, to which he can make no pretensions, has given us in his “ *Exposition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians*,” one of the very best examples of biblical interpretation recently published, and which is as rich and full in Scriptural truth as it is trustworthy and penetrating in Exegetical analysis. We would desire to put in contrast the two Expositions. Referring to the expression—*this is My body*, Dr Hodge says :—

“ Probably the history of the world does not furnish a parallel to the controversies occasioned by these simple words. The ordinary

¹ Stanley, p. 212.

² Stanley, p. 214.

and natural interpretation of them is, that the pronoun *this*, refers to the bread. 'This bread, which I hold in My hand, and which I give to you, is My body ;'—that is, is the symbol of My body ; precisely as we say of a statue, it is the person which it represents ; or, as the Scriptures say, that the sign is the thing of which it is the symbol ; or, as the Saviour says,—' I am the vine, ye are the branches'—' I am the door ;' or as in the preceding chapter, it was said,—' that rock was Christ ;' or as in John, the dove is said to be the Holy Ghost—or as baptism is said to be regeneration. This is a usage so familiar to all languages, that no one disputes that the words in question will bear this interpretation. That they *must* bear this interpretation would seem to be plain,—(1.) From the impossibility of the bread in Christ's hand being His literal body, then seated at the table, and the wine the blood, then flowing in His veins. (2.) From the still more obvious impossibility of taking the words, '*this cup is the New Testament*,' in a literal sense. In Matt. xxvi. 28, it is said, ' This (cup) is My blood.' But Romanists do not hold to a transubstantiation of the *cup*, but only of the wine. But if the words are to be taken literally, they necessitated the belief of the one as well as the other. (3.) From the utter subversion of all the rules of evidence and laws of belief necessarily involved in the assumption that the bread in the Lord's Supper is literally the crucified body of Christ. (4.) From the infidelity on the one hand, and the superstitious idolatry on the other, which are the unavoidable consequence of calling upon men to believe so glaring a contradiction. It is only by denying all distinction between matter and spirit, and confounding all our ideas of substance and qualities, that we can believe that wine is blood, or bread flesh. The Romish interpretation of these words is, that the bread is the body of Christ, because its whole substance is changed into the substance of His body. The Lutherans say it is His body, because the body is present in and with the bread. Calvin says it is His body in the same sense that the dove is the Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost appeared under the form of a dove, which was the pledge of His presence. So the bread is the symbol of Christ's body, because with the one we receive the other. What is received, however, and what Calvin calls Christ's body, and sometimes the substance of His body, is not the body itself, which he admits is in heaven only, but a life-giving power (*vim vivificam*) which flows to us from the glorified body of our Lord. The only presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, admitted by Calvin, was this presence of power. The Reformed Churches teach that the bread is called the body of Christ in the same sense that the cup is called the New Covenant. He who in faith receives the cup, receives the covenant of which it was the pledge ; and he who in faith receives the bread, receives the benefits of Christ's body as broken for him. The one is the symbol and pledge of the other. . . . The *body of Christ* cannot mean the Church, because His blood is mentioned in the same connection, and because in the institution of the Lord's Supper the bread is the symbol of Christ's literal, and not of

His mystical body. To partake of His body, is to partake of the benefits of His body *as broken* for us."¹

The contrast between these two specimens of interpretation markedly exhibits the difference between the two interpreters.

We have spoken hitherto of the use and abuse of those hermeneutical principles that are common to the Bible with other books. But before bringing this article to a close, we would wish in two or three sentences to advert to a few of those principles of interpretation that are peculiar to Scripture, and must be regarded as limiting or modifying the general doctrine,—true in the main, though not true to its full extent,—that the Bible is to be expounded precisely in the same way as any human composition. There are peculiarities about the Bible that, to some extent, necessitate a limitation of that canon, and demand that the treatment it receives, when we proceed to interpret it, shall be somewhat different.

First, the very fact that it is the inspired record of a supernatural revelation, obviously requires that we deal with it differently from the way in which we would deal with a purely human composition. As the record of supernatural events, we must accept them as beyond the reach of that historical criticism which we would warrantably apply to similar events recorded by a profane historian; and especially as the inspired record of such events, we must be prepared to deal with them upon different principles. Take the earlier pages of history,—such, for example, as the narrative by Livy of the pre-historic period of the Roman State, and we deal with the legends and prodigies which it records as events not trustworthy, and with the historian as mistaken. The mythical theory of interpretation, which reduces such histories to the level of unhistoric legends, or the naturalist theory of interpretation, which brings its supernatural events within the circle of common things, and the range of common criticism, may, in such cases, each assert its claims to a hearing and be allowed. Indeed, with regard to any human book, however authentic and credible it may be, criticism must proceed upon the principle of at least the *possibility* (however small the chances may be) of unintentional error in the facts recorded, and of unconscious mistake in the author. But these sources of fallacy are shut out if it is granted that the book to be interpreted is the inspired record of a supernatural revelation. In such a case there *must* be superhuman events embraced in the narrative, which are not to be dealt with in the

¹ Hodge's Exposition of First Epistle to the Corinthians, p. 189, p. 224-5.

same way as similar events recorded in any human history might be dealt with, and to which no mythical or naturalist method of interpretation can rightly apply ; and the authors of the narrative, because inspired men, must be judged of as infallibly true in what they assert. The principles of Scripture interpretation must take for granted, and proceed on the supposition, that the Scriptures are the record of supernatural events, and that the penmen are not mistaken, but inspired. The work of the Christian apologist precedes the work of the Bible expositor ; and the latter is entitled to take for granted as a fact admitted or proved, that the Bible is true when it tells us of miracles wrought, and that the penmen of the Bible were kept from error in their statements of fact or opinion. And the principles of interpretation applicable to other and fallible books must, when transferred to Scripture, be to this extent limited and modified, so that in their application to an inspired revelation they shall not charge it with error or defect.

The acknowledgment of this limitation as one obviously to be put on the principles of interpretation applicable to Scripture, would, if frankly and fully made, save us a vast deal of trouble in regard to Bible exegesis. If there be any doubt as to the sacred volume containing a record of a supernatural revelation and miraculous events, let us argue the question and decide the dispute. Further, if any one denies that its authors were inspired and kept from error, let us investigate into the matter and settle the point. We must do this before it is worth our pains to proceed to interpret it. But the matter having been judged and decided, let us frankly and fully admit, in proceeding to the investigation of its contents, that no principle of interpretation applicable to human books can be lawfully applied to it which is not modified and limited in the sense of this fact. Mr Stanley, so far as we can understand him, has not yet made up his mind whether or not the supernatural, in the proper sense of the word, be a possible thing, or at least whether or not it has been really asserted in Scripture as having occurred to the extent generally supposed. And hence the miraculous gift of tongues at Pentecost, and the exercise of it in the Corinthian church, are facts which, following Neander and others, he explains as by no means supernatural, but paralleled in ancient and modern times, both within and without the Christian Church. He tells us that the account given by the apostle of the gift, as witnessed in the Corinthian church, is fitted to remind us of "the unconscious utterances which accompanied the delivery of the ancient oracles ;" and that in recent days we have an instance of a similar kind in "the paroxysms that attended the preaching of Wesley," and the "so-called gift of tongues in the followers of Mr Irving." In a similar way, Mr Stanley is in

doubt as to the extent and degree in which the sacred writers were inspired, or rather, he is in no doubt at all that their inspiration was perfectly consistent with manifold errors in their writings; for he tells us that the apostles were quite mistaken as to the date of the end of the world, and recorded very imperfect views, which modern opinions have corrected, as to the nature of marriage. Now, in opposition to all such crude exposition, we say, *settle the question*, whether or not the Bible is a record of supernatural events and its penmen inspired; and this question, once decided, goes to modify the canons of hermeneutics applicable to its case, and to shut out such false and defective methods of interpretation.

Second, The peculiarity that the Bible, though made up of many treatises, written by different authors and at different times, is yet one organic whole, as the authorship of one God, and the truth and wisdom of His one Divine mind, also modifies the principles of interpretation applicable to it in common with other books. That unity of thought and consistency of opinion which, in human compositions, are found within the limits of one author's writings, and which so powerfully aid us in the right interpretation of them, are in Scripture extended over the many authors' writings which it embraces from Genesis to Revelation, because all the product, not of the same human pen, but of the same superhuman inspiration. Our Scripture principles of interpretation must be modified in accordance with this fact. It evidently warrants and requires us to bring in to our aid, in the elucidation of the Bible, to a greater extent than in profane writings, the canon, that the one part of it must be interpreted by another, and that the doctrines and revelations of earlier and later times, the principles of past and present dispensations, must be equally taken into account, as throwing harmonious light upon its meaning. How very far this principle has been practically set aside, more especially in the neglect of the Old Testament, by modern interpreters, is obvious enough.

Third, Another modification that our principles of interpretation must suffer, when applied to the sacred volume, arises out of the consideration, that necessary and manifest consequences drawn from Scripture are as really part of Divine revelation as Scripture itself. It is not so in the case of man, and of human writings. The inferences drawn from human expressions of opinion, even though they be necessary and lawful inferences from such expressions, are not always to be taken as forming part of the opinions of the author. A man is not to be charged with the consequences of the opinions he avows, because he may not have foreseen or intended the consequences. But with God and the Divine revelation it is different. He both foresaw and in-

tended all that He has revealed, whether in the shape of express statement or necessary implication; what is virtually contained in Scripture, because the lawful and unavoidable deduction from its statements, is as really part of the mind of God as these statements themselves; and the doctrines or truths that necessarily result from the Word revealed are no less a discovery of Divine truth than the letter of the Word itself. And hence it is a principle which orthodox divines have generally, if not universally, asserted,—that “the whole counsel of God concerning all things necessary for His own glory, man’s salvation, faith and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, *or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture.*”¹ It is not difficult to see the modification, required by such a consideration as this, in the ordinary principles of interpretation applicable to uninspired books when they shall come to be applied to inspired Scripture. It demands a minuter and more anxious inquiry into the letter of Scripture, and a more thorough investigation into the dogmatic relations and import of each passage, than would be called for in the case of other writings; and it warrants interpreters to educe a more extensive sense and a profounder meaning from its statements than could be safely elicited from human compositions. It is needless to say how different this is from some of the superficial methods of interpretation practised in the present day.

And, *lastly*, we must be prepared to find in Scripture what Butler found, and to modify our hermeneutical principles accordingly—viz., intentional obscurity. In human writings we expect that the author shall express himself with as much clearness and precision as he can command, in order that he may secure his desired object of being understood. But God had a further purpose in view. He sometimes designed to reveal Himself but in part, and sometimes to make the imperfect distinctness of His revelations a discipline to the hearts and a trial of the faith of His people. His revelation is not given in the shape or language that is the most simple and furthest removed from difficulty or obscurity. In prophecy this is acknowledged by all; but it is not less true of other portions of revelation. And hence the simplest and most obvious sense of a passage is not always the true one. In interpreting the inspired writings we must not rashly proceed upon the principle applicable to human writings, that the clearest meaning is always the best.

Such peculiarities belonging to the Book of God evidently go to limit and modify the ordinary maxim, that it is to be interpreted in all respects as if it were a human writing; and they have not been sufficiently attended to by modern interpreters.

¹ Westminster Confession, ch. i. 6.

The works by Dr John Brown and Dr Candlish mentioned in the list at the beginning of this article are confined to the exposition of a single chapter in the Epistles to the Corinthians, and are popular and practical in their aim, as well as critical and exegetical. They are both works of merit, containing much interesting and valuable matter.

The Exposition of First Corinthians XV., by Dr Brown, is the production of a man who has devoted a long and earnest life to the interpretation of Scripture, and has abounded therein largely to the profit of many; and who, with energy and zeal unabated, has, in the evening of his day, with something upon his spirit of the softening, but with none of the darkening shadows which the evening casts, sat himself down with the apostle to study the "Resurrection of Life." Dr Brown began his exegetical labours in the field of Scripture criticism at a time when he enjoyed few of the facilities for critical investigation, and fewer of the excellent patterns which our day has witnessed. He was one of the first in recent years to recognise, and to exhibit in his own Biblical expositions, the importance of a strict philological treatment of the text as lying at the basis of all sound exegesis, although he has never been led to give it an exclusive or unjust pre-eminence, to the neglect of the logical and historical and dogmatic methods. He has brought to his task the resources and advantages of an acute and ardent intellect, the scholarship of a competent philologist, the various learning of a well-read divine, and that earnest love of, and fearless faith in the Word of God, which are the best security against party or theological bias in the interpretation of it. We especially recognise in the work before us one of the best and rarest qualities of an expositor,—the power of casting himself with thorough intelligence and sympathy into the deep and powerful current of the apostle's argument, and of explaining his words by being able to read his thoughts and aims; and no one can rise from the perusal of Dr Brown's Exposition without feeling that it is one fitted to edify the scholar by its learning, and the private Christian by its piety.

The work by Dr Candlish, on the same chapter, is considerably less of an orderly and systematic exposition, and does not aim at the same strictness of critical and theological method. It is not intended to be a regular or exhaustive commentary, but rather a series of popular discourses, following the general line of the apostle's argument, opening up his views, and applying them to the practical wants and edification of a Christian congregation. It is oftentimes fresh in thought, acute and ingenious in argument (sometimes too acute and too ingenious¹), and not seldom striking and powerful in appeal. Although occasionally charge-

¹ Under the head of reasoning "too ingenious," we would take the liberty of

able with the repetition and diffuseness incident to spoken discourse, it presents not a few passages of powerful and eloquent writing; and its views of Divine truth generally are earnest and spiritual. But we cannot part from Dr Candlish without entering a grave protest against the doctrine which, in various passages, he appears to maintain as to the original condition of man before the fall, and as to the quality or character belonging to Adam's bodily life or inferior nature, "*not only not in harmony, but apt to be in conflict, with the spirit's lofty and adoring worship of the Incorruptible and Eternal.*"¹ We hope that we are mistaken; we possibly are so; but the sentiment is repeated again and again, in such terms as could hardly have occurred through inadvertence, and can scarcely admit of being misunderstood. If it mean anything at all, the view inculcated by Dr Candlish amounts to something very like the Popish tenet of "*concupiscentia*," or of that conflict between the lower and the higher natures in Adam previously to the fall, which was restrained and held under subjection only by a supernatural gift. It is the doctrine taught by Bellarmine in former times, and by Moehler and Perrone in the present, as peculiar to the Romish Church, and has been strenuously opposed by all sound Protestant theologians, from Amesius and Turretine² downwards, as contrary to the integrity and the whole analogy of the Reformed faith. It is a tenet intimately connected with the views of the Church of Rome both on the question of original sin and on that of justification, and can hardly indeed, if consistently maintained, fail to lead to unsound opinions on these points. We have no suspicion that Dr Candlish sympathises with the Romanist system; but we should be glad to see that he employed language that did not, however unconsciously on his part, really assert (if it assert anything at all) one of its characteristic dogmas.

ranking his subtle, but to our mind groundless, distinction between "flesh and blood" and "flesh and bones."

¹ Page 215. See also pp. 193, 203, 207.

² The entire harmony of all the elements of Adam's nature among themselves and with holiness previously to the fall—the willing subjection and conformity of the natural to the spiritual part of the being which God gave him at his creation, which bore the Divine image, and was declared by the Most High to be "very good," is thus asserted by Turretine:—"Ad eum pertinet rectitudo et integritas seu dotes homini collatæ quæ nomine *Justitiæ originalis* exprimi solent quia fuit homini concreata et ab origine illi collata est, quæ complectitur, tum sapientiam in mente, sanctitatem in voluntate et rectitudinem et *σωφροσύνην* in affectibus, et talem harmonium inter omnes ejus facultates dicit ut membra affectibus, affectus voluntati, voluntas rationi, ratio Legi Divinæ obsequerentur et sic homo rectus et integer absque peccato existeret." . . . "Ut caro et spiritus physice accepta disparata sunt non contraria, ita etiam se habent utriusque appetitus inclinationes actiones per se; repugnantia quæ in illis deprehenditur nunc, per accidens ex peccato nata est; antea enim summa erat harmonia et *σωφροσύνη* in appetitibus; corpus quippe animæ caro rationi obsequebatur non violenter sed naturaliter."

ART. V.—1. *Notes on Some of the Principal Pictures Exhibited at the Royal Academy.* By JOHN RUSKIN. London : 1858.

2. *Catalogue of Royal Academy.* London.

3. *Annual Reports of Royal Scottish Academy, and Catalogue.* Edinburgh.

4. *Statement of Liverpool Exhibition.*

It is manifest that British art now holds a higher position than it ever did at any former period. The deep public interest taken in it, is evinced by crowded exhibitions, frequent notice by the press, the great demand for illustrated publications, and the very large sums annually laid out on works of art. Our Continental neighbours not only now acknowledge, what they have so long denied, that we have a *school*, but they characterise it as marked by “freshness and originality.” In the “Exposition Universelle,” in 1855, the works by British artists excited great interest, and were very favourably noticed by the Parisian press. One of the most popular writers on art in France, Théophile Gautier, in his work, “*les Beaux-arts en Europe*,” divides the art of the world into four strongly defined zones, namely, Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, and France,—Britain being distinguished by “Individuality,” a potent element in art, Belgium by “Skill,” Germany by “Ideality,” and France by “Eclecticism,” or a selection and combination of the qualities of all other schools.

Though a sort of private academy, of which Sir Godfrey Kneller was president, was instituted in London in 1711, it soon went down, as did similar attempts by Sir James Thornhill and others; and it was not till 1734–35 that the English School of Art was founded, when, at the suggestion of Hogarth, between thirty and forty artists hired a room in Peter’s Court, St Martin’s Lane, and instituted an academy for studying the figure. It was managed on the principle proposed by Hogarth, “that every member should contribute an equal sum towards the support of the establishment, and have an equal right to vote on every question relative to its affairs.” The purposes of this institution were successfully carried out for more than thirty years; further development was called for; and after several attempts—for various obstructions occurred from differences of opinion consequent on a remodelling, and on arrangements affecting private interests,—the efforts of the artists were rewarded by the establishment of the Royal Academy in 1768–69, and the British school acquired that important position which it now occupies with such marked distinction.

It has often been maintained, and many still hold, that the Academy should have no connection with Government, but rely entirely on its own exertions. Numbering in its ranks so many artists of eminence, it should be able, it is said, by the annual exhibition of interesting and important works, to realise such a revenue as to make it quite independent of Government aid. But we would be sorry to see the disruption of a connection that has subsisted so long with mutual advantage. Is it not an honour to Britain to number among its institutions a great school of art—national not merely by the character of its works, and by its being within the country, but by being connected with it by a bond of national acknowledgment? And really, as a mere question of debtor and creditor, taking into account what the Academy does for art education, the balance is in its favour.

But, in truth, when the Academy was founded, the countenance and support of the King, so strongly and openly given,—if we take into view the state of taste at that time in what may be styled the fashionable world,—was of the greatest consequence to English art. There was then a great desire on the part of the wealthy to acquire works of art; but the English school was in its infancy, and the limited number of artists had scarcely any opportunity of making their works known to the public and so acquiring a reputation,—an essential requisite,—and purchasers, according to the prevailing taste, esteemed no works worthy of their notice but those of the old masters. In a work, “*L’Etat des Arts en Angleterre, par M. Rouquet de l’Academie Royal de Peinture,*” etc., published in Paris in 1755,—that is, thirteen years before the Royal Academy was founded,—it is stated, “That in London, within these twenty or thirty years, many saloons or galleries have been erected for the purpose of picture sales. When a sale is advertised, the gallery where it is to take place is opened several days before the sale, and all but the rabble are admitted. One of the police, distinguished by his badge of office, is stationed at the door; and the public throng to these places in the same way as they in Paris go to the galleries when the works of the artists of the Academy are exhibited. . . . These kind of sales have made a taste for pictures very general in London; they help to form it; and there, to some extent, a knowledge of the different schools and masters is picked up. On the other hand, it is a species of gambling, where able players often put in practice all imaginable means of making dupes; and in this they generally succeed.”

M. Rouquet notes these picture auction-marts as institutions peculiar to London. No doubt, in France, pictures, like other property, would occasionally be disposed of in this way; but in

London these galleries were kept constantly in operation for this purpose alone, by a continuous importation from Italy, Holland, etc., of old pictures, or imitations of ancient works. Waagen, in his "*Works of Art and Artists in England*," says, "Collections which were formed by the end of the eighteenth century, are, however, of a very different character from those of the time of Charles the First. They betray a far less pure and elevated taste, and in many parts show a less profound knowledge of art. We, indeed, often find the *names* of Raphael, Correggio, Andrea del Sarto, but very seldom their *works*."

English art, then, at its commencement, had to struggle against the influence of a system that had become in a great degree national, or rather fashionable; and opposed by this, the individual efforts of those who ventured on the arduous career of art, were attended with little or no result. Combination was necessary. To Hogarth, therefore, English art owes more than to any other man. It was his genius that first drew the public to take an interest in it; while, by the academy set on foot by him in St Martin's Lane, the English artists were brought together, and besides studying, were enabled to discuss and arrange plans by which their *united efforts* could be made available for rearing the structure of a national school of art. Of course, the schemes proposed were numerous. One of the first was the foundation of a chartered Royal Academy, to consist of a president, thirty directors, fellows, and scholars. It seems Hogarth was opposed to this, and his objections to it have been quoted as against the present Royal Academy; but it was this attempt which was made in 1755 that he opposed, and not the Royal Academy, for it was not founded till 1768–69, and Hogarth died in 1764. But there can be no doubt he strongly supported the scheme of Modern Exhibitions, and opposed the dilettante rage for old pictures with great names attached to them. He contributed several of his works to the Modern Exhibition at Spring Gardens in 1761, and designed a frontispiece for the catalogue, in which Britannia is represented nourishing, with water drawn from a fountain surmounted by a bust of George III., three young trees, the trunks of which are entwined, and inscribed, "Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture," and the motto, "Et spes et ratio studiorum in Cæsare tantum;" and a vignette as a tail-piece, in which a monkey, dressed in the fashion of the day, figures with an eye-glass in one hand and a watering-pot in the other, assiduously labouring to refresh three decayed stumps of trees in pots, on each of which respectively is inscribed, obit 1502, 1600, and 1604, and on a label, "Exoticks." This piece of satire, thrown out in Hogarth's strong and pointed style, seems to have been relished by the public, for thirteen thousand of these catalogues were sold.

It is clear, however, that the main hindrance to the foundation of the Academy must have been the difficulty experienced by the artists in arranging among themselves the limits of membership,—who were to occupy the ranks, and who were to be the leaders. We have seen that the attempt to found a Royal Academy in 1755 turned out a failure. The artists next tried to draw attention to British art by gratuitously adorning with their works the Foundling Hospital, in the extension of which, at that period, the public had taken a great interest. At length, in 1760, having obtained the use of the great room of the Society of Arts Manufactures and Commerce, the first exhibition of the works of British artists was placed before the public; but, from the control exercised by the Society preventing the free development of the exhibition, more independent action was proposed, by an exhibition the following year in a gallery in Spring Gardens, hired from an auctioneer. Entire accord, however, in a body so loosely bound together, was scarcely to be expected. We accordingly find that in 1761 there were two modern exhibitions—one in the great room of the Society of Arts, in which the exhibition of 1760 had been held, and the other at Spring Gardens, by the majority, under the name of the Society of British Artists of Great Britain, and it was to that body that Hogarth gave his support, in the way above alluded to. The former of these societies, which numbered in its ranks 50 members, ceased to exist in 1775; and the latter, in which 211 members were at one time enrolled, may be said to have expired in 1780.

Thus we find the British school in its infancy represented by two societies, numbering between them 261 members. But how very few of this large body have left works that posterity has judged worth preserving! Every one who wrote himself artist seems to have been allowed to enter the lists; but, after a few years' trial, it was found that many of these only encumbered the field, and it would be matter of delicacy or difficulty to get them to withdraw. Those, therefore, who by their efforts had distinguished themselves, and had been noticed by the public, retired, and, under a new and more strictly defined organisation, as members of a body with the King at its head, and titled the Royal Academy of Arts, renewed those efforts which have tended so much to extend and consolidate the fabric of British art.

The members of the Royal Academy, were declared at the commencement to consist of forty academicians, twenty associates, and six associate engravers. Lately, an additional academician has been added, and two engravers are now admitted to that rank; and perhaps a farther extension would be a just measure, seeing the great increase of artists of talent at the present time; though, on the other hand, too wide an extension of membership

and lowering of its status would soon break up the Academy, as artists of very high standing would not care for entering such a body. The admission of engravers to the highest honours was a giving in on the part of the Academy to a temporary clamour raised a few years ago; for, admitting the high talent required for excelling in that art, it is brought out in a manner altogether different from that required for painting or sculpture, and, in place of the sort of limited affiliation accorded to engravers by academies of painting and sculpture, the members of that profession would find their status raised and their art benefited by being incorporated as an independent body. Although architects apparently enjoy unrestricted membership, the above remarks may to a great extent be applied to them. Indeed, several years ago, by a very general movement among the members of that profession, societies for the furtherance of their art have been instituted with such successful results, that architects will probably soon forego the advantages, little more than nominal, that they enjoy by being associated in academies where their works, like those of engravers, are thrown so much into the shade by those of painters and sculptors.

It has been seen that exhibitions of works by British artists were instituted by them for the purpose of proving to the public that British art had vitality and vigour, and that, if a portion of the encouragement so lavishly given to those auction-room exhibitions of pictures imported into England with the names of ancient masters attached to them, were bestowed on modern exhibitions, art would become an important national feature; and the result has been even greater than was expected.

The arduous struggle which British art had to engage in with the class of dilettanti satirised by Hogarth in the tail-piece to the Exhibition catalogue, has terminated; auctions of works of art are, no doubt, common enough yet, but they are generally conducted on principles different from those described as having been so much the fashion in the infancy of our school. But the feeling still exists; and, though now senile and unfit to enter on an open contest, as in times past, with British art, it seizes every opportunity to evince its enmity to it. This is manifested in various ways,—in attempts to revive the old creed, of the vast superiority of all the works of ancient masters to anything ever done by painters of the British school—that portrait painting is too much encouraged in this country—that academies are hurtful to art—that Modern Exhibitions injure art, and should be put down, as they induce artists to hurry up pictures to attract customers—that neither the Royal Academy nor any academy should receive encouragement from Government, in the shape of galleries or otherwise, as they are close corporations, and give special privileges to their own members.

Now, nobody who has any knowledge of art, denies the very high excellence of many of the ancient masters ; but the notion, that every genuine work by an old master is superior to one by a modern painter, is simply ridiculous. The opinion, that old masters had a method, now lost, of imparting brilliancy and durability to their colours, seems now almost exploded ; but it is still maintained by some connoisseurs that the old masters always employed their art on high subjects, while the moderns devote themselves chiefly either to portrait painting or to what is called genre painting. But, while admitting that many subjects commissioned by the Church afforded scope to ancient painters to exemplify the highest qualities of art, on the other hand, it is equally true that very often, by employment from the same source, the highest talent was wasted on silly legends and disgusting martyrdoms ; while the painters of what is styled the *cinque cento* period, when classic art was attempted to be revived, generally exercised their talents on compositions from heathen mythology, the main elements of which certainly cannot be characterised as being moral and pure. Are such subjects preferable to those which we now see yearly placed before the public in our exhibitions ? Do we not often find our artists striving successfully to realise events of deep interest in the history of our country, or striking incidents, in which heroism, patriotism, and the various feelings and passions evolved in human actions are brought out, for the purpose of exciting sympathy or emulation ? Do not our landscape painters place before us varied scenes,—some valued by us as vividly recalling places associated with cherished recollections, others from bringing before us scenery celebrated for grandeur or beauty, or as being localities where great events occurred ? Again, one is more inclined to laugh at, than speak seriously of, the invectives so often put forth with such vehemence against portrait painting. Some dilettanti seem to take special delight in hunting it down, and all are familiar with the stereotyped complaint regarding the “increase of portraits,” with which many critics invariably commence their first notice of every annual exhibition of modern art. It must be admitted that bad portraits are more offensive to people of taste than bad art of almost any other kind ; but good portraits certainly are most interesting, seeing that many important qualities may be combined in their production. Portraits by the old masters are, in many instances, as highly prized as their scriptural or mythological subjects. Indeed, to the influence of portrait painting may be ascribed much of the truth and individuality that characterises the works of the British school.

The outcry against academies, as hurtful to art, is one got up by dilettanti, and joined in by artists who, either from want of or from over-estimating the talent they possess, and finding that it would

not be recognised without proper trial, become irritable, and think themselves ill-used. The connoisseur, again, on the strength of his having a collection of the works of the old masters, wishes to lay down the law in fine art matters. But the public, influenced by modern art, made accessible to them by annual exhibitions, where they find works that touch their feelings, cannot be brought to admire subjects which they neither understand nor care for. The dilettante, annoyed at this, exclaims that modern works are low in aim and meretricious in colour and execution, as if historical events in Greek or Roman history are higher and more worthy of record than those in that of our own country, and as if virtue is honoured and vice censured in a more dignified manner by illustrating the labours of Hercules, the loves of Jupiter, or the intemperance of Silenus, than by events in which human beings are the actors. But the public have no faith in the household gods of the dilettanti, and this unbelief is the result of academies and exhibitions. So the dilettanti, and the irritable artists who expected that their brethren would have carried them shoulder high, and placed them in the uppermost seats of the academy, shout aloud, "High art is in danger! down with academies!" But for modern exhibitions the arts in Britain, typified by Hogarth in the catalogue of the Exhibition of 1761 as three vigorous saplings, in place of being represented, as now in 1858 they may be, by three mighty and outspreading trees, would more fitly have been designated as blighted and withered stems. And the sturdy English painter's design, in the same catalogue, of the monkey nourishing the three stumps, might have been changed into a monkey tending three luxuriant exotics in a spacious conservatory; and, had there been no academies to bind artists together for the purposes of mutual benefit and improvement, by exercising open and generous competition, there would have been no exhibitions of modern art.

From the time British art obtained something like a footing, by the establishment of the St Martin's Lane Academy, to the present day, it has been constantly advancing; but within the last ten or twelve years, certain changes in theory and practice have imparted to it increased vigour and development. These have been brought about by two events: 1. Certain theories, on which, during the course of British art, most artists had spent much valuable time, having been tested and set at rest, and they now no longer act as drags on its progress; 2. By the discovery of photography.

The artists who instituted the British school had much to contend against; and, amidst misgivings of their own powers successfully to carry on the struggle they had entered on, must have looked round on all sides for aid, in the way of studying the

history and the works of art in former ages, and in the shape of opinion and advice regarding their own efforts. This gave rise to an undue reverence for the works of the old masters, as these were held up as examples for them to imitate ; and any artist who attempted to execute works not strictly in accordance with rules deduced from the principles and practice of these works, was denounced by the connoisseurs, as following a low and vulgar style. " You are following," they said, " without its minuteness and finish, the low Dutch school ; imitate rather the great Italians ; they executed grand works for churches and palaces ; you paint for exhibitions, and cater for the public." The artists in the early days of British art seem to have generally admitted that these rebukes were quite deserved ; for we find several of them essaying the classical and mythological subjects of the old masters, and a still greater number, backed no doubt very strongly by the connoisseurs, calling loudly on Government and the dignitaries of the Church to give commissions to British artists, and enable them to execute works to cope with those of the old masters. Accordingly, such subjects as " The Continnence of Scipio," " the Death of Dido," " Venus Chiding Cupid," Ariadne, Cupid and Psyche, etc., were now taken up ; and although Lebrun, Guido, Albano, and others of similar calibre, had each repeated them over and over again, we find even an artist like Reynolds wasting his time on them, and trying to impress the English public with these absurd notions. Others, again, caught at the idea, that high art consists in painting large compositions on walls ; and among those, Barry concussed the directors of the Adelphi into allowing him to immortalise himself by decorating their hall. Sir Joshua, however, most fortunately did not devote very much of his time to this sort of high art. The works he executed in that way are his worst, though better than any by the masters above referred to. His genius led him to paint pictures more suited to his own taste and to English feeling—portraits of beautiful women and distinguished men, and exquisite embodiments of the purity and simplicity of childhood,—all which now rank with the *chef d'œuvres* of Titian, Rubens, Vandyke, and Velasquez. Barry's name will be handed down more on account of the pertinacity with which he maintained his notions, than for anything that resulted from them, and by the fact of his having commenced the struggle for Government patronage, carried out by West, Fuseli, Hilton, and Haydon,—the last of whom, by his energetic appeals, or or as he styled it, " by fighting the battle of high art," contributed in no small degree to strengthen the reasons that induced Government to grant a trial of the question, whether employment by the State was necessary for the prosperity of the British

school. Accordingly, measures for that purpose were taken by Government with reference to the Houses of Parliament. The premium competitions called forth a great amount of talent. This might have been expected; for there are artists in this country competent for any kind of art that may be demanded. But the commissions given, though liberal enough in point of remuneration, were necessarily so limited in number, that in themselves they can effect but little for a school composed of so numerous a body as that of Britain; and the example set by Government does not seem to have affected the public. Paintings on walls often interfere with those arrangements, based on comfort and convenience, so much studied in houses in this country. Pictures that are portable are preferred. They are objects of great value. Many a rich merchant has on his walls property of that kind to the value of ten, twenty, or thirty thousand pounds, who would hesitate to spend a tenth part of such sums on works of art attached to a particular mansion, and which he could not take with him or dispose of, and convert into money, when he wished to do so. This was the practice of the Greeks when art was at its greatest height. "The Greeks¹ preferred moveable pictures, which could be taken away in case of fire, or sold if necessary." They reckoned pictures too precious to be permanently affixed on walls. Pliny says, Apelles never painted on walls. It is greatly to be deplored, that so many of the early Italian artists painted in this way; for many admirable pictures on chapels, which were disused and became ruinous, have thus been lost—some of Francias' best works in Bologna, for example; but indeed no great value was attached to these works when they were executed. There are written agreements still preserved, proving the small payments that Perugino and other eminent artists received, in which the mere colours form an important item, and are expressly stipulated for; in short, they were treated just as house-painters. It is to easel, that is, moveable pictures, therefore, that British artists now turn their attention. They have seen the vexed question of Government patronage set at rest, and are now convinced, that all that Government ever will do, or rather can do, is as nothing, compared with what in a rich community like ours is done by the public. And this fact, so honourable to the taste and liberality of the British public, is fully acknowledged by our continental rivals.²

¹ Wilkinson on Egyptian and Greek Paintings.

² Edmond About, a popular writer on art, commences a description of the state of the Fine Arts in England in this way:—"Les Anglais ont prouvé depuis longtemps qu'ils ont le génie du commerce. Ce qu'on sait beaucoup moins, c'est que ce peuple de fabricants et de marchands est passionné pour les arts." He then goes on to ridicule those grumblers in France, who exclaim against commercial pursuits as inimical to art, showing that in all ages wealthy mer-

Again, the absurdity of that often repeated dilettante notion, that high art can only be brought out on pictures of large dimensions, is rendered more and more apparent as, from facilities in travelling, and from acquisitions lately made and brought to this country, we get opportunities of inspecting the best works of the earlier masters—a class of art, specimens of which were but rarely exposed in the auction marts so much frequented in the last century. The works so much in vogue then, and which have long exercised an influence on English art, were chiefly those of the late Bolognese school, the overwhelming number of which, in the Manchester Art Treasure Exhibition, were calculated to call up feelings, to say the least, of regret. But by an examination of examples of the best period of Italian and German art, it is proved that large dimension is not by any means an essential quality in what those most competent to decide reckon to be the highest kind of art, namely, that evolving correct drawing, character and expression, composition and arrangement, colouring and effect, and truth to nature. It has been objected, that works of moderate dimensions “give no scope for that largeness of treatment, that force and sweep of hand, for which spaces and wide distances are essential.”—(*Memoirs of Haydon*).—Largeness of treatment is not at all dependent on the size of the panel or canvas. The Vision of Ezekiel, by Raphael, in the Pitti palace, Florence, in largeness of treatment perhaps excels any of his other works, and it is painted on a panel of about sixteen by eighteen or twenty inches; and many of the works of the old masters, specially celebrated for largeness in treatment, are small in dimension. As to force and sweep of hand, that would best be exemplified by a scene painter. Haydon records the achievement of mounting his table, and dashing in a large head. It is not by sweep of hand and dash that good works are executed; they must be gone about in a very different way, namely, with earnestness, patience, and care.

The favourable position that British artists attained so fully some ten or twelve years ago, was strengthened, and indeed pushed still farther, by the invention at that very time of photography. Here was confirmation to the student that the early masters had struggled earnestly, though sometimes feebly no

chants have been its greatest encouragers. He sneers at the Government rewards in France and Germany, which are chiefly medals of the third class, then of the second, and in the end of the first class, and perhaps the Cross of honour. He says, that in France and Germany, “Un bon peintre n’y est pas toujours riche, mais il est toujours décoré; il peut manquer d’habits, mais non de rubans. Il est autrement en Angleterre. Nos tres-industrieux voisins, nos tres-commerçants alliés, nos amis très positifs, ont un manière assez original d’encourager les artistes : ils achètent leurs ouvrages.”

doubt, to execute their works on the principle that truth is one of the most essential qualities in art; and by this discovery also the modern artist is put in possession, as it were, of a talisman by which he is enabled to investigate nature with a minuteness that was denied to the old masters. That some have used this power rashly, or have relied too much on it, may be admitted, but there can be no doubt that its operation, whether under the name of pre-Raphaelism or any other designation, will always be strongly felt by its healthy influence on the British school.

It is a question often put, whether there is any difference between art as practised in the southern and northern portions of Britain, and whether it is very distinctly marked, and likely to be maintained.

Art, like poetry, derives much of its character from the feelings of the people by whom it is produced being acted on by education—the circumstances in which they live, particularly if much influenced by stirring events in their former history—and the scenery around them. Now, all these motives are very different in England and Scotland, and there can be no doubt that the effect of these differences on the poetry and painting of the respective countries is distinctly marked, though much more strongly in the poetry; for language, the medium employed by the poet, is an element peculiarly national, and he has an advantage over the painter of being able to give expression to his efforts without any admixture of that mechanical labour which the artist must put forth, and for which he requires means and appliances to be only attained in favourable circumstances. These difficulties in the position of the artist have led some writers, who know little of the history of art in Scotland, to conclude, without inquiry, that in a country by no means rich, and long engaged in national struggles with a powerful neighbour, there could have been no encouragement for art, consequently, that till very recently there was none; and when it did at length arise, our national characteristics were almost obliterated, being blended with those of England; so art in Scotland never had a special nationality. But these theories are opposed by facts.

It is proved, by numerous examples all over the country, that architecture, of a tasteful and ornamental kind, was extensively encouraged in Scotland; and from this it may be fairly inferred that there was a corresponding refinement in other matters into which art entered. In every country, architecture is the art first introduced; but the others soon follow,—sculpture very closely, painting at a longer interval. No doubt the ecclesiastical remains here, as in every other country, are the most important and the most numerous; but there are many specimens of baronial architecture which prove that, in addition to strength

and security, decoration to a very considerable extent was stipulated for by those who employed the architects; and if we find, as we do in Scotland, the exteriors of buildings richly ornamented, it is fair to conclude that the interiors and the furnishings must have in some degree corresponded. Rickman, in his work on "The Styles of Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the Reformation," concludes his volume (3d ed. 1835) with a short account of the remains of architecture in Scotland and Ireland. He notices many of the ecclesiastical buildings of Scotland with high commendation, but he also says, "The castellated edifices of Scotland have not yet had sufficient attention paid to them; it has therefore been considered advisable to give the following list, that they may be more minutely examined and described. Of this list some are mere towers, others are ruins of great extent and magnificence." He then enumerates eighty-four, and even this list is very defective. And a reference to Billing's "Ecclesiastical and Baronial Antiquities" will fully prove the great importance of both those classes of architecture in Scotland. As it is now considerably more than two centuries since royalty permanently resided here, our palaces have fallen into ruin or decay; but there is evidence enough at Stirling, Falkland, and Linlithgow, to show that the owners of those palaces must have considered art a matter that contributed greatly to their enjoyments. At Linlithgow palace, amid the havoc and ruin on every side, there are still to be seen four figures of angels—two above the east entrance, and two within the court—which, for spirit in design, and in execution (stone is the material), are not surpassed by any sculpture in Germany or France of the same date,—namely, the period immediately preceding that in which classic was substituted for Gothic art.

Painting is always the art last introduced, and its productions are the most easily destroyed. In a country like this, where in almost every parish one can point to a battle-field, and where there is not a city that has not been sacked and burned over and over again, little indeed of such perishable property as paintings is to be expected; and the almost total want of any would not, in such circumstances, afford a clear inference that none ever existed. But considerable numbers do exist,—at all events, a sufficient number to warrant the conclusion that painting was an art known and valued in Scotland, and if there were at that early time no native artists, that the services of foreign artists were engaged; and we find that foreign artists chiefly were employed even in Spain in the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, and that in England the same course was followed during that period, and down even to a much later date. Even the Italian school of painting dates no farther back than

the beginning of the thirteenth, and did not arrive at maturity till the commencement of the sixteenth century; and miniatures in missals and church service books are among the earliest evidences of taste in painting in early times in any country. That such are scarcely ever to be met with in Scotland, is at once accounted for by the perishable nature of these art treasures,—by their portableness,—and by the fact, that at the Reformation the work of destruction being carried further in Scotland than in any other country, very few were preserved, and the most of these were sent abroad; indeed it is well known that some were deposited in the Scotch college at Douay till the French Revolution, when they were at last destroyed. Nevertheless, we can yet refer to three volumes, at present in the possession of Viscount Arbuthnott,—a missal, a psalter, and a volume of hours. They are ornamented with several miniatures, tolerably well composed and executed, and with borders of good design, in which various plants and fruits common in Scotland are introduced. These books are the work of James Sybbald, and were executed for the parish church of St Ternan of Arbuthnott, in the diocese of St Andrews, of which he was vicar, and were completed in 1482–3 and 1491–2. The name of another old illuminator was a priest named Sir Thomas Galbraith.¹ A most interesting specimen of illumination, or miniature painting, is still preserved among the archives of the Duke of Roxburgh,—namely, a very large initial letter (M), at the commencement of a charter granted at Roxburgh by King Malcolm the Maiden to the abbey of Kelso, confirming the grants made to it by David I. and others, 1153–1165. This letter contains portraits (full length seated) of King David I. and King Malcolm, executed in a style quite equal to that usually to be met with in missals of that period in any country. Painted cloths, arras, and hangings, are frequently mentioned in old inventories, still preserved, of the furnishings of churches and baronial residences, along with other articles evincing no small degree of refinement, particularly silver plate and jewellery. In the inventories taken immediately after the death of James V., a very great quantity of objects of value and taste are enumerated, and among these fictile ware of artistic design, always highly valued, and, since the Bernal Sale and Art Treasure Exhibition, to be only acquired at enormous prices.¹

¹ Two volumes of church service books were lately secured for the Advocates' Library by Mr Joseph Robertson, one of the most acute and indefatigable of our Scottish antiquaries. They were used in a chapel of the Sinclairs at Hermiston, East Lothian, and probably were presented when it was founded in 1250. In an artistic point of view they are noteworthy, chiefly from various drawings or outlines in pen and ink, done on the margin in a good style for the period, evidently early in the fifteenth century.

But we now limit our inquiry to Fine Art as strictly applied to painting and sculpture, which in early times were almost entirely confined to altar-pieces, shrines, and the like. It will be found that our iconoclasts made nearly a clean sweep of all such. However, an example of great value has been spared, namely, the celebrated altar-piece, lately, by the fine taste and feeling of Her Majesty, permanently placed in her palace at Holyrood, and thus restored to the city where in old times it had been located.²

But although, at the Reformation, altar-pieces were proscribed, there were other works of painting in Scotland;³ and various portraits, painted during and subsequent to the dark and stormy period of the Regency of Mary of Guise, have come down to us. We know the lineaments of many of the actors in the stirring events of those times; most of these, no doubt, were painted by foreign artists; many of them perhaps were done abroad, such as those of Mary or her mother, and Murray and Morton, whose portraits are preserved, were often out of the country as fugitives or on political business; but there is every likelihood that some were done here,—that excellent group, for example, of the Earl of Winton and his family, now at Dunse Castle, for it contains portraits not only of himself and

¹ After Mary was imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, the Regent Murray, by means of these inventories, made rigid investigation, and secured for the Crown everything he could collect; and, even after all the dilapidation of her father's property, this ill-fated queen had still so many jewels, that the main reason for the Regent's securing them was to prevent her converting them into money to raise troops. These inventories are soon to be published by the Bannatyne Club, edited by Mr Joseph Robertson. From inventories yet extant of the moveables of some of the nobles whose property was forfeited to the Crown, it is also proved that articles of great magnificence were in their possession—cloth of gold embroideries, etc.

² This is a most admirable work, and Scotland may well be proud of it; for, as Pinkerton says, "hardly can any kingdom in Europe boast of a more noble family picture of this early epoch, and it is in itself a convincing specimen of the attention of James III. to the arts." It may be added, that no altar-piece has been preserved in Great Britain that can be compared to it, either as a work of art, or in size and importance. It is a diptych (each leaf being 6 feet 10 inches by 2 feet 8 inches), and it undoubtedly owes its preservation to the fact of portraits of the King and Queen being painted on the outer sides of the panels, so when shut the portions intended for religious purposes, on which was a representation of the Provost, Sir Edward Boncle, adoring the Trinity, were hidden, and the portraits were respected from feelings of loyalty; indeed, James IV. had been a liberal patron to Edinburgh, and bestowed on it many special privileges. It would occupy more space than we have further to describe this excellent work. It is said there is no proof that it is painted by a Scotch artist—none has yet been discovered; but though executed by a foreigner, the very employment of an artist of such power on so important a work proves the high degree of taste and the munificence of the Sovereign of the country at that early period.

³ In the inventories of Mary's moveables, above referred to, the following entries occur—"Item, twa paintit broddis, the anc of the Muses, and the other of Crotisque or Conceptis. Item, aught paintit broddis of the Doctouris of Almaine."

his wife, but of various sons and daughters. And there is scarcely any break, in point of date, in the succession of portraits in the possession of the various old families of the country. Though it is probable that up to the time of Charles I., portraits were executed chiefly by foreign artists who came here for a season, after that time, the names of native or at least resident painters may be traced downwards to the present day. We have Jameson, his son-in-law Alexander, the Scougals, Nicolas Hude, Sir John Medina, Paton, William Aikman,¹—he was the friend of Allan Ramsay, and there is a well-known portrait of the poet by him,—Smibert, who went to America, and died there,—Richard and George Marshall, both pupils of the younger Scougall, were portrait painters, and Aikman's contemporaries.² An interesting step in the progress of art in Scotland falls to be noticed as having occurred at this time, namely, the fact that in Edinburgh, so early as 1729, "the painters and lovers of painting, Fellows of the Edinburgh School of St Luke, for the encouragement of these excellent arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, and improvement of the students, associated themselves and agreed to erect a public academy." The rules are in the form of an indenture, dated 18th Oct. 1729, and hours of attendance for the purpose of drawing during the winter and summer months are specified.³ The name of the institution, "The Edinburgh School of St Luke," was a title evidently suggested by some members who had studied in the Academy of St Luke at Rome; and the fact of honorary members, not artists, being associated—a part of the constitution not by any means tending to the endurance of the body,—was very likely adopted from some rule or practice acted on in Rome;—indeed, the British Academy, carried on there at present, had till lately a similar rule, which nearly was the cause of breaking it up. No minutes of the proceedings of this school being now extant, unfortunately nothing is known about its actings or its term of endurance. It is proved, however, by the indenture, that there was a considerable number

¹ He studied in Italy; his portrait by himself is in the Gallery of Painters at Florence; and on his return succeeded Sir John Medina, and after practising here with great success for thirteen years, settled in London by advice of John, Duke of Argyle, where he received full employment as a portrait painter.

² Marshall studied some time under Sir Godfrey Kneller, and also in Italy.

³ The original document is in the possession of that distinguished antiquary Mr David Laing. It is signed by George Marshall, preses, Richard Cooper, treasurer, Roderick Chalmers, secretary, and fifteen other artists, including Allan Ramsay, junior, then about nineteen or twenty years of age. It is also signed by Lord Linton, Lord Garlie, Allan Ramsay, and eight others, as honorary members. Marshall we noticed before as a portrait painter and pupil of the younger Scougall; he died in 1732. Cooper was a good engraver, and the master of Sir Robert Strange. There is a painting by Chalmers preserved in the Hall of the Incorporated Trades of St Mary's Chapel, in which portraits of the various deacons are introduced, working at their several crafts.

of artists in Edinburgh, contemporaneous with the rising body of artists in London,—some of them men who had studied art in the best manner, namely, under the ablest artists of the time, and in Italy, and were fully alive to the advantages, and indeed necessity of a school of art, and that to them credit is justly due for having given the first impetus to what, under various changes, and after oft-renewed efforts and repeated opposition, has come forth with undeniable strength as the Scottish School of Art, represented by the Royal Scottish Academy.

The next important movement was the effort made by the Foulis's, the celebrated printers, to establish a Fine Art academy in Glasgow, about 1754. Though this undertaking did not meet with the success it deserved, it was of great benefit to art in Scotland. These generous and enterprising men, to the memory of whom Glasgow should dedicate some memorial, supported and educated in their academy, and afterwards maintained at their studies in Rome, several young artists of promise,—among these, Cochrane, Maclauchlan, and David Allan. These students showed great talents, and, after returning, must have aided greatly in spreading taste in the country. Allan contended successfully for the prize of history painting in Rome;—his picture, the Invention of Drawing, was engraved by Cunego in his best manner, and is rated highly as a work of art. But though esteemed in his day as a painter of what was called high art, it was by his success in low art, as it was then termed, that his fame depends; and, indeed, such were his talents, that he is generally reckoned one of the best of our Scottish artists, and the one who introduced that style that Wilkie followed out with such success. This is proved by the various engravings from his drawings, in which Scottish life is illustrated with a keen perception of character and humour. His designs, engraved by himself in aquatint for the quarto edition of Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*, published by the Foulis's in 1788, is a work of the highest merit.

The next important event, in point of date, was the establishment of a drawing school, with reference chiefly to design in manufactures, by the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Manufactures; and this they did from funds which were a portion of the equivalent money agreed to be paid to Scotland in compensation for certain taxes previously imposed in England, which, after the Union, had to be borne proportionally by Scotland. This school was opened in June 1760, under De la Cour, a French artist. In 1768 he was succeeded by a countryman, Pavillon; in 1772 Runciman was appointed; David Allan succeeded him in 1786. John Wood was the successor of Allan; but within a year after his appointment John Graham was nominated, and conducted the school till 1818, when Andrew Wilson

was elected. On his resignation in 1826, Sir William Allan succeeded. Thomas Duncan was appointed after Allan's death. About that time certain changes were introduced into the school; the element bearing on drawing as leading to designs for manufactures having been more prominently developed. The present director of the Fine Art department is Mr R. S. Lauder, R.S.A.

Since this school was founded, most of the artists who have distinguished themselves in Scotland, and many who have attained great eminence in London, and amongst them Wilkie, received their elementary education under its masters; and so the notion is pretty generally adopted, that Scottish art owes its present position to its influence. It has been in existence nearly a century. Not much inquiry seems to have been made as to the state of art in Scotland at the time the School was instituted; but from the circumstance of the two first masters being foreigners, it is surmised that there were no native artists at the time, and that they had been brought here by the Board of Trustees to impart the elements of art education. But all these notions are at once dissipated by an examination of the real facts. The indenture before referred to was signed, thirty years before the school of the Board of Trustees was projected, by eighteen artists,—a number quite sufficient to carry out the purposes for which they had associated themselves, namely, a school “for the encouragement of those excellent arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, etc., and improvement of the students;” and De la Cour appears to have been resident here before he was appointed teacher to the Board.

But while it is but right to give the Board of Trustees full credit for the best intentions in founding this school, we are afraid that if the matter be closely looked into, it will appear that, in place of benefiting Scottish art, this school has served to keep it back.

It is proved by the whole history of British art, from the time Hogarth founded the St Martin's Lane Academy to the present day, that academies of art are managed best by artists, just as all matters proper to law or medicine are managed by those who follow respectively such professions. The Royal Academy received a gift of L.5000 and apartments in Somerset House from George III., but they were left free to manage their schools and exhibitions in the way they thought best. Now if Government had given a body of artists in Scotland encouragement of a similar kind, but limited of course to the status of the art body there, it cannot be doubted that the results now would have been very great. About thirty artists combined at Hogarth's suggestion; and in Edinburgh, at the same period, we find a fair proportion, eighteen artists, combining together to get up an academy for drawing. But the institution of a body of twenty noblemen and gentlemen, provided with Government funds to

found a school in which art was to be taught under their direction, did not serve to bind the artists together; on the contrary, it prevented them from uniting, because it supplied one of the purposes which, had it been wanting, must have led them to unite, namely, a school,—but a school which, though in many respects calculated to further art, was one from the management of which they were excluded. They were, therefore, except as regarded a Life Academy, superseded or thrust from that position as teachers in art, that has been long held so beneficially by their brethren in England.

There were no public exhibitions by Scottish artists till 1808; but various Scottish painters exhibited in the Royal Academy,—for example, Ramsay, Jacob More, Runciman, Hamilton; and, at a later period, Raeburn, Wilkie, G. Watson, Burnet, Nasmyth, Geddes, Williams, Duncan, Simson, etc., and several of them were elected academicians. In 1784, in 1791 by Alexander Nasmyth, and in 1797, attempts were made, without success, to found a Scottish Academy, and modern exhibitions; but it was not till 1808 that an exhibition of modern paintings, etc., by a body of associated artists, was tried in Edinburgh. This exhibition was at Mr Core's Lyceum, Nicolson Street, and met with such encouragement that the members opened another, the following year, in Mr Raeburn's room, York Place, and set on foot a Life Academy. During the four successive years this society's exhibitions were annually renewed, with increased encouragement, when, unfortunately, it was broken up. It had not been constituted by a proper and binding contract or agreement, with rules calculated to insure permanency; so some members introduced and carried a resolution to divide the surplus funds, after paying the expenses of the exhibition and Life Academy. In this way the opportunity of accumulating funds and acquiring property was thrown away; it became powerless as a corporate body, and ceased to exist after 1813. It is only just to record the names of those artists who opposed the division of the funds. If their views had been adopted, the Society of Incorporated Artists would now have been one of the richest and most influential public bodies in Scotland; they would have advanced Scottish art, and spared themselves, and those who succeeded them in the profession, many a hard struggle to recover what they had so unwisely abandoned,—viz., that position artists ought to hold as representing art. The artists, then, who stood true to their profession were George Watson, the president, Alexander Nasmyth, J. Foulis, J. Beugo, Henry Raeburn, A. Galloway, and J. Henning; and Nasmyth, seconded by Raeburn, at a subsequent meeting, made an attempt to get this ruinous resolution rescinded, which, though unsuccessful, ought not to be unacknowledged. Twenty-seven

artists contributed 178 works to the exhibition of 1808, and thirteen of these formed the associated body ; and to the last exhibition of the society, in 1813, the contributors were sixty-eight, twenty-five of them being members, and the works numbered 209. Three more exhibitions followed in 1814-15-16.

A society, instituted for diffusing taste for art by means of exhibitions of works of the old masters, was next set on foot, and in 1819 they opened their first exhibition in the gallery in York Place, where the modern exhibitions had been held. In 1820 they followed this up with another exhibition of old pictures ; but these two exhibitions having drained most of the collections available to them, and the receipts drawn barely covering the expenses, they proposed to the artists to open exhibitions of modern works, which they gave out would be conducted on principles that would benefit the artists. This appearing a feasible plan, by which, in particular, the presidential difficulty with reference to the claims of Raeburn and Watson, which had stood in the way of the three last modern exhibitions, would be got over, the artists went heartily into it, and modern exhibitions were commenced in 1821, under the management of the Directors of the Institution.

Accordingly the next four modern exhibitions, those in 1821-22-24-25, were conducted by the Institution. But the artists soon began to feel the effects of sacrificing their independence, and continual disputes arose between the Directors of the Institution and them. At length in 1826 a considerable number of the artists, who till that time had exhibited with the Institution, established the Scottish Academy, and commenced exhibitions of their own. These disputes engendered much bad feeling,—indeed, we doubt if they be even yet altogether allayed. Soon after the modern exhibitions were started, we find the artists remonstrating with the Directors ; and twenty-seven years after this, the Directors circulated an elaborate statement, drawn up by an advocate, with the view of defending themselves from claims made against them by the artists. But this learned gentleman, when preparing his clients' case, must have been very imperfectly informed as to the history of Scottish art ; for, writing in 1847, he views "the state of things twenty years ago" as peculiarly gloomy,—so dismal indeed, that matters could only be brightened up by "the pecuniary contributions and personal influence" of the members of the Institution ; and he says, "it may be questioned whether any form of management could have been adopted among them (the artists) which would have sufficiently commanded the confidence of the public." If he had searched for facts, he would have found that the receipts of the last four exhibitions of the "Associated Artists" amounted to L.2828, 15s. 6d., and after paying all expenses a sum of L.1633, 8s. 6d. remained to the artists ;

while the first four exhibitions managed by the Institution only yielded L.1870, 3s., and after paying expenses only L.400, 12s. 9d. remained. So the exhibitions by the artists were more encouraged by the public, and conducted at much less expense, than those managed by the Institution ; and they paid the same rent (L.100) for the exhibition rooms, and the same salary (L.50) to their secretary.

Only a portion of the artists left the Institution in 1826. Some difficulties arose regarding who were to be academicians, and who associates in the new Academy—and liberal promises by the Directors, and a sum of L.10,000 left by Mr Spalding to the Institution for the benefit of the artists, induced a large number to remain ; and till 1830 there were two exhibitions annually held in Edinburgh,—one by the Scottish Academy, the other by the Institution. However, in 1830, those artists who had remained with the Institution asserted their independence and joined their brethren, leaving the Directors clutching at the management of Spalding's eleemosynary fund, and in possession of the entire receipts of eight modern exhibitions, a small instalment only of which they refunded some years afterwards.

We have gone thus fully into details regarding modern exhibitions and academies, because we think the opinion, expressed so often and so strongly, that they are injurious to art, is quite unfounded ; for the present state of art has been brought about by means of modern exhibitions and academies, and is higher now than it ever has been at any previous time in this country,—a state, indeed, immeasurably higher and more prosperous than the most enthusiastic among the founders of these academies could ever have imagined in his brightest day-dream on art.

We have already referred to the work of an intelligent foreigner, Rouquet, the enamel painter, who lived many years in England, and wrote an account of the state of the arts there, just about a hundred years ago. He says—"The English evince a taste for works of art, the productions of talent cultivated in other countries ; but they do not aim at cultivating native talent at home." We have already quoted his description of the passion of the public in London for rushing to auction-rooms to buy old pictures, where he draws a contrast, rather gratifying to a Frenchman, between the state of taste in his own country and in England, when he says, "The public throng to those places (auction-rooms) in the same way as they in Paris go to the galleries where the works of the *artists of the Academy are exhibited.*" But look how the public in this country throng *now* to the exhibitions of the artists of the Academy, and to the numerous other exhibitions of modern art in London, and all over the country ; the crowds that attend the exhibitions of the Academy

in Edinburgh; the thousands of visitors to be seen there in the evening, after their day's work is over, eagerly enjoying, and intelligently commenting on, the various works placed before them. Again, contrast the encouragement formerly given, with that accorded now. Think of the prices obtained by Hogarth, who could only get his pictures disposed of by a sort of auction, and who, for his six pictures of "*Marriage à la Mode*," received only a hundred and twenty guineas. Little more than forty years afterwards they brought a thousand guineas. The *Rake's Progress* brought fourteen guineas each; *Strolling Players* twenty-six guineas; and his other works similar prices. Then take Reynolds' works: "*A Girl with Mousetrap*," L.50; *Sleeping Shepherd Boy*, L.50; *A Strawberry Girl*, L.50. Each of these works would now bring (and one of them was lately sold at) above L.2000. And, coming later down, the works of Wilkie, Turner, Etty, Calcott, Collins, and others, have risen, since they were executed, three, four, and five times in value. In the Royal Academy Exhibition this season, the prices for pictures of note ranged from 300 to 1000 guineas. For one picture there, a sum of L.3000 was paid; and the enterprising publisher who has purchased it has made a good bargain, for, though he will probably lay out L.5000 or L.6000 more on an engraving from the picture, he calculates on selling, at the outset, a thousand twenty guinea proofs. No doubt, from the enormous wealth concentrated there, London is the place where most encouragement is given, and to which the rich Lancashire merchants generally resort for pictures; but the knowledge of art is now spreading widely, and many purchasers annually visit our exhibition in Edinburgh. Collections of modern works there, are fast superseding those of old pictures—belief in which is now very hesitatingly yielded,—and the wealthy merchants of Glasgow, Greenock, Dundee, Aberdeen, etc., are forming galleries. The Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts, and the Glasgow Art Union, have also done good service in spreading a taste for art. It was thought at first that their operations would have a tendency to drive private collectors out of the field. At first, perhaps, to a certain extent they did so; but now these powerful bodies have to encounter such competition, that many of the most important works in the exhibition are generally secured by private purchasers.

We have thus endeavoured to give some notion of the present state of art in this country, by contrasting fairly the position it now holds with that which it held at former periods; and our review of the leading circumstances in the history of British Art fully entitles us to affirm, that Art is now more highly appreciated and encouraged by the public, than it ever was at any former time.

- ART. VI.—1. *Essays on the Drama.* By WILLIAM BODHAM DONNE. London: 1858. 8vo.
2. *Philip van Artevelde; a Dramatic Romance in Two Parts.* By HENRY TAYLOR. Sixth Edition. London: 1852. 8vo.
3. *Edwin the Fair, an Historical Drama; and Isaac Comnenus, a Play.* By HENRY TAYLOR. Second Edition. London: 1845. 12mo.
4. *The Saint's Tragedy; or, the True Story of Elizabeth of Hungary, Landgravine of Thuringia, Saint of the Romish Calendar.* By CHARLES KINGSLEY, Jun. With a Preface by Professor Maurice. Second Edition.
5. *Saul: a Drama. In Three Parts.* Montreal: 1857.
6. *Violenzia: a Tragedy.* London: 1851. 8vo.
7. *Merope.* By MATTHEW ARNOLD. London: 1858. 12mo.
8. *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art, and his relation to Calderon and Goethe.* Translated from the German of Dr HERMANN ULRICH. London: 1846. 8vo.

THE plays of Shakespeare are not only the highest examples of the English drama, but they may almost be said to constitute, in themselves alone, the beginning, fulfilment, and end of an art. There was nothing like them before; and whatever has been like them since, has owed its resemblance to imitation, not to related vitality. With the exceptions of Ben Jonson and Massinger, Shakespeare's cotemporaries and early successors did not produce dramas that have any serious claim to be considered as works of art. Fletcher, the next greatest in reputation after Ben Jonson, wrote plays full of fine passages of poetry, and of startling dramatic effects, but a predominating unity of idea, which is the first essential of every work of art, is no more to be found in his works, than in those of our modern spasmodists, whom, indeed, he in some respects remarkably resembles. Ben Jonson and Massinger, however, resembled Shakespeare far less than Fletcher did. Fletcher imitated his style at least; but Jonson and Massinger were independent dramatists of a wholly different school—of a school to which our best recent dramatists have belonged. This school of dramatists occupies a sort of middle place between the ancient and the Shakespearian drama, and we fear it must be described as differing from both by defect. It would not be difficult to show that the Greek and the Shakespearian drama are two opposite poles, between which there is no satisfactory artistic medium. These two arts are so different from each other, that they appeal to two entirely different states of mind, which can scarcely exist or be exercised at one and the

same time. The Greek drama, including all its successful modern imitations, requires of its auditor or reader a refined perception, and a condition of passive receptivity. It is so simple, that it demands no exertion of the reflective faculty for its appreciation; on the other hand, it is so perfect, that it asks for the utmost calmness and refinement of judgment and feeling. It is exactly like a pure and noble style of melody in music, which the hearer receives either easily and passively, or not at all. On the contrary, the Shakespearian drama, as it is found in Shakespeare, and in him only, is an infinitely elaborate harmony, calling upon the hearer for the active co-operation of his reflective powers, in the absence of which, it is no more than a musical chaos. Between the pure Greek drama, with its few and simple characters, its plain sequence of action, and its ostentatiously expounded morality, and the drama of Shakespeare, with its little world of people, its complicated unity, and its development of ethical results, too delicate and subtle to be expressed more briefly than by the entire work, there are innumerable shades of difference arising from the mixture of the two systems,—namely, that of *melody or rhythmus*, which is a simple and proportioned *succession*, and that of *harmony*, which is a simultaneous working of several such simple successions, the parts of which require, by a lively exercise of attention and reflection, to be contemplated in relation to each other in order that their poetic value may be perceived. It is of the essence of the Shakespearian art, as it exists in Shakespeare, to be practically unlimited. Like nature, the world of Shakespeare seems simple to the simple, and profound to the profound. It is only the Coleridges and Goethes who know enough of him to know how little they understand him. Every reader finds as much as he himself knows, in the works of Shakespeare, and the sense which every intelligent reader must have of the world of unknown meaning which stretches on every side, is the greatest charm of the Shakespearian art; it is the vanishing horizon, without which no landscape is perfect. Though this charm is widely felt, it is rarely that people can be brought to consider the quality of a depth beyond the reach of a commonly good understanding, as being other than an artistic fault. The fact however is, that that obscurity alone is faulty, which arises from defective expression. In Shakespeare language attains the highest conceivable perfection of expression; the obscurity which covers portions of his work arising from the reader's own remoteness from the writer's thought, and therefore being no more a fault of that writer, than the indistinctness of the stars in the galaxy, or of the separate trees and leaves in the forest on a mountain-side twenty miles off, is the fault of nature. There *are* the objects, to be seen by whomsoever has eyes strong

enough; meantime there are thousands of stars and trees sufficiently in the foreground to be well seen by the least telescopic vision, while those which are beyond such vision combine into masses of light and colour, which are not the less grateful to the eye, because we know that they are made up of infinite but separately invisible touches of creative skill. To this quality of practical infinitude in Shakespeare no critic has done full justice. The best of all his critics—not excepting Goethe and Coleridge—Ulrici, has allotted too little space to each play to allow of an effective indication of the marvellous way in which the *theme*, which this critic has always caught with admirable acuteness, is echoed from character to character, from event to event, and from word to word.

O hark, O hear! how thin and clear,
And thinner, clearer, farther going!
O sweet, and far from cliff and scar,
The horns of Elfland faintly blowing!

In the greatest works of the greatest composers alone, is there any resemblance to this quality of Shakespeare's art. In a long composition of Beethoven, you may hear the theme repeated in a very similar manner, and under a thousand variations and disguises, each of which is an additional illustration, as well as a repetition. In order that those of our readers who have never made a critical study of Shakespeare's method may understand it, and so appreciate the contrast which we propose to draw between it and modern dramatic art, we take "Love's Labour Lost," as being perhaps, of all Shakespeare's plays, that one in which the moral theme is developed in the clearest way. The following is Ulrici's criticism on this work:—

"The leading idea of the piece is the significant contrast of the fresh, youthful, and ever-blooming reality of life, and a dry, lifeless, and re-cluse study of science. Either member of the contrariety, nakedly opposed to the other, and placed in hostile opposition to, and wholly uninfluenced by it, becomes untrue, preposterous, and absurd. The science which abstracts itself from reality, and retires in lonely contemplation, must either quickly entomb itself in the barren sands of a tasteless and pedantic erudition, or else, overcome by the gay seductions of life, give itself up to excessive pleasure and learned trifling, and earn for itself the merited reproach of affectation or pretension. One of these results is embodied in the curate, Sir Nathaniel, and the village schoolmaster, Holofernes—those truthful representatives of the retailers of learned trifles—and in the pompous and bombastic Spanish knight, Don Adriano de Armado, the Quixote of a high-sounding phraseology. The other is indicated by the king and his companions. From the pursuit of wisdom, which they blindly hope to gain by abstract study, they soon fall into the veriest silliness and

fooleries of love-making; in spite of their oaths, nature and truth make themselves quickly felt, and gain an easy victory. But this victory over false wisdom is fundamentally nothing more than the defeat of folly by folly. For, on the other hand, nature and reality, taken by themselves, are but fugitive and illusory images when apart from the solidity of the cognizant mind; separated from this, the gaiety of love is checked and damped; talents, shrewdness, and acquirements, become a mere vain and superficial wit; and love itself, when unassociated with the solidity, earnestness, and moderation, which occasional solitude and contemplative reflection alone can bestow upon the mind, sinks into a tawdry show of tinsel and spangle; and to such meditation the prince and his courtiers are for a while consigned by the objects of their adoration. We have here the triumph of the fine and correct judgment of a noble woman, which is as complete as that of her social wit and clever management. The speech of the princess, in which she condemns the prince to twelve months of seclusion and self-denial, and the words of Rosaline, which indignantly expose the thorough worthlessness of wit and talents when exclusively directed to festive and social amusement, convey, as it were, the moral of the fable."

It is much to be regretted that neither Ulrici nor either of the other two or three critics, who have shown themselves able to comprehend the method of Shakespeare, and have stated, more or less clearly, the central thought of particular plays, have given to the world that minutely detailed criticism which could alone do justice to the subject. An adequate criticism of the least elaborate of Shakespeare's dramas would constitute a goodly volume, but it would be one which would teach the ordinary reader to understand Shakespeare better than twenty volumes of mere general criticism, however judicious. In this place we can, of course, undertake to do no more than give a few glimpses of that method which is Shakespeare's peculiarity, as distinguished from other, and especially modern dramatists, and without a knowledge of which some of the most remarkable defects of modern dramatists, who have almost all, more or less, imitated Shakespeare without understanding him, could not be appreciated. The following remarks will be more easily comprehended if the reader will be at the pains to read them with his Shakespeare before him.

In "Love's Labour Lost" the satire on the confusion of words with things—of false science with reality—which, next to pride, is perhaps the most prevailing error of mankind, is opened by the proclamation of the king and his courtiers of their intention to retire for three years space from the world, in order to "war against their own affections, and the huge army of the world's desires." Shakespeare, however, is careful to make the king state that their ultimate object in establishing this "little academe" is nothing more than a desire for the world's applause.

The unreality of the motive vitiates the enterprise, which has none of the moderation that would have been taught by a more real aim. Great emphasis is laid upon the oath which these gentlemen take to live for that time without seeing a woman, etc., etc.; an oath being the most solemn kind of word, and therefore affording the most forcible means of exemplifying, in its, in this case, inevitable fragility, the difference between words and realities. The king's three lords, Longueville, Dumain, and Biron, exemplify three different tones of mind in which such a scheme could be adopted. Longueville shows the greatest facility of deceiving himself by words, when he says,

I am resolved: 'tis but a three years' fast.

The mind shall banquet, though the body pine, etc.

He thinks that he can undertake the task as a new mode of voluptuousness. Dumain, however, professes that he is already to some degree "mortified" to the world's delights, and henceforth

To love, to wealth, to pomp, I pine and die,
With all these living in philosophy.

He is clearly a more hopeful hermit than Longueville. Biron, alone, has character enough to forecast the difficulties of the enterprise, and to protest against the impracticable features of it. He has no objection to live with the king in a three years' comparative retirement for the purposes of wisdom, but

O, these are barren tasks, too hard to keep;
Not to see ladies,—study,—fast,—not sleep.

What is the end of study? let me know.

King. Why, that to know which else we should not know.

Biron. Things hid and barr'd, you mean, from common sense?

King. Ay, that is study's godlike recompense.

Biron. Come on, then, I will swear to study so,
To know the thing I am forbid to know:
As thus,—to study where I well may dine,
Then when to fast expressly I am bid;
Or study where to meet some mistress fine,
When mistresses from common sense are hid;
Or, having sworn too hard-a-keeping oath,
Study to break it, and not break my troth.

Study is like the heaven's glorious sun,
That will not be deep-search'd with saucy looks;
Small have continual plodders ever won,
Save base authority from other's books.

These earthly godfathers of heaven's lights,
That give a name to every fixed star,
Have no more profit of their shining nights,
Than those that walk and wot not what they are.
Too much to know is to know nought but fame;
And every godfather can give a name.

A man so profoundly versed in the knowledge of life's reality was not likely to undertake the king's oath in a tone that could render it very binding on his conscience. In the moment of signing the compact he points out the impossibility of keeping it, since the French king's daughter and her ladies are about to appear at the court on political business of importance; and, moreover, when the king, on Biron's objecting to certain details of the general agreement, tells him, "You swore to that, Biron, and to the rest;" the answer is, "By yea and nay, sir, then I swore in jest,"—words in which a sensible man's "yea and nay" are put above an ill-considered oath. Biron, however, is himself not wholly exempt from the malady of wordy unreality; but it takes, in him, its least injurious form, namely, that of wit that runs riot for mere pleasure, yet without ever intruding on the more serious affairs of life, except in so far as the habit of such wit damages the general seriousness of mind which a right life requires—an injury which is pointed out, in the end of the play, by Rosaline, who imposes a discipline for the correction of the too exuberant wit of this, in other respects, wise man. When Biron has taken the oath, accompanying it with the declaration, that

Necessity will make us all forsworn
Three thousand times within this three years' space,

the king says, that for recreation in spare hours, they have Armado, a Spanish knight, "a man of fine-new words," "that hath a mint of phrases in his brain." The next character introduced is Dull, who abuses language and diverts it from its corresponding reality, not from lightness, as in the king, or wit, as in Biron, or extravagance, as in Armado, but from mere and excessive stupidity; then comes Costard, who perverts every word that is spoken by punning upon it, or otherwise misapplying it, until we forget the primary sense; then, again, we have Moth, who takes up the theme in a new way by his continual word-catching; and Jaquenetta further illustrates it with her poor country wit, in answering the words rather than the sense of the speeches made to her by Armado, who, being the wordiest of all the set who have undertaken the oath with the king, is naturally the first to break the law. Sir Nathaniel, the curate, and Holofernes, the schoolmaster, complete the circle of male characters, and afford additional variations of the theme with their different

modes of unreality in words, their whole style of conversation being exemplified by the first words they speak, which are touching a stag-hunt.

Nathaniel. Very reverent sport truly, and done in the testimony of a good conscience.

Holofernes. The deer was, as you know, *sanguis*—in blood; ripe as a pomewater, who now hangeth like a jewel in the ear of *cælo*,—the sky, the welkin, the heaven; and anon falleth like a crab, on the face of *terra*,—the soil, the land, the earth.

Nathaniel. Truly, Master Holofernes, the epithets are sweetly varied, like a scholar at the least.

Shakespeare, in all his plays, but in this more obviously and perhaps less artistically than in any other, proves his moral by the *reductio ad absurdum*. The fault satirised—and even his tragedies may be regarded as most solemn satires—is chased from the highest form to the lowest, and shown to be identical in each; and in this process, which is exhaustive, every disguise of the error is taken away, and we discover the identical mummer in as many characters as were ever assumed in one night by the elder Matthews. Shakespeare never attempts a general representation of the character of a man or woman, but, in each play, shows only the relation of his various characters to the particular moral idea on which the piece is founded, leaving us to infer the general character as well as we may from this particular development. This system is the foundation of a dramatic unity more complete than has been dreamt of by any other writer, and from that unity arises a system of harmonious contrasts not less singularly admirable. All other dramatists contrast their bad and good people in a general way; now, so small a portion of a man's general life can be directly expressed in the space of a drama, that, by this method, the poet is properly permitted to illustrate only the most common-place and obvious characteristics of such life; and he is tempted, for the sake of novelty, to the representation of violent individualities, which are not rightly the subjects of the drama, because very exceptional characters are not only un instructive, but, as far as they are exceptional, may be said to be unnatural, and out of the pale of artistic humanity. Shakespeare, as a philosopher, knew better than to represent men as differing from each other except in the *degree* and *manner* of their virtues and vices; and, as an artist, he bore in mind the maxim, that "dissimilar things cannot be compared." He therefore shows, in all his plays, not so much the diversity as the fundamental identity of human characters; the diversity being proved to be formal, the identity essential. None but a reader who is willing to give much more attention than the perusal of a play is commonly supposed to require, has any chance of dis-

covering more than one point in a hundred which the poet makes in his juxtaposition of his various characters under the one relation chosen. We have taken "Love's Labour Lost," not as the highest, but as the lowest and simplest exemplification of Shakespeare's system; and yet in a space which would serve for a tolerably full criticism of a play of any other writer, we can do no more than give a hint here and there of the abounding meaning. Let the reader observe that the inane pomposity of Armado is so extravagant, that it would not appear to be in any way related to the not very outrageous sacrifice of common sense to unpractical and wordy knowledge by the king and his courtiers, but for the medium of other characters, especially Holofernes, in whom the love of useless learning is deepened into stolid pedantry, expressing itself with the pomposity which, in Armado, is without even that ground of excuse. In the first case, the thing satirised is so like truth as to be scarcely distinguishable, by itself, as error; in the second case, we have, as it were, the first and imperfect distillation; but in Armado the elimination of the element of folly is complete, yet not so as to prevent the display of a further quintessential distillation in the language of the totally uneducated pomposity, pedantry, affectation, and nonsense of Costard, who, when in custody, says—"It is not for prisoners to be silent in their words; and therefore I will say nothing: I thank God I have as little patience as another man; and therefore I can be quiet." Holofernes criticises Don Armado for the faults of which he himself is so conspicuously guilty. "I did converse," says Sir Nathaniel, "this quondam day with a companion of the king's, who is intituled, nominated, or called, Don Adriano de Armado." *Holofernes*. "Novi hominem tanquam te: His humour is lofty, his discourse peremptory, his tongue filed, his eye ambitious, his gait majestical, and his general behaviour vain, ridiculous, and thrasonical. He is too picked, too spruce, too affected, too odd, as it were, too peregrinate, as I may call it." *Nathaniel*. "A most singular and choice epithet." [*Takes out his note-book.*] *Holofernes*. "*He draweth out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument,*" etc., etc. This is just what all the people in the play are doing, in some form or other, but especially Holofernes, who is always led by his word as an ass by the nose. But perhaps the crowning touch of satire is where, after a long discourse about common things, couched in the most uncommon phraseology, Holofernes, complacent at his own eloquence, exclaims to Dull, "Via, goodman Dull! thou hast spoken no word all this time," and Dull replies, "Nor understood none either," whereby the identity of the extremes of dulness and fantastical learning is intimated, and the advantage, if any, remains with dulness.

We purposely abstain from entering into the principal action of the piece, because we should be led by its pregnancy into a detail for which we have no space. The reader, who has accompanied us thus far carefully, will find no difficulty in discovering a thousand fresh allusions to and illustrations of the theme of this play, whose motto might well have been the following words of the Princess and Biron:—

Princess. Doth this man serve God?

Biron. Why ask you?

Princess. He speaks not like a man of God's making.

Our readers will at once perceive that a play constructed on the system observed in "Love's Labour Lost," and far more elaborately in various other of Shakespeare's dramas, is a work of which the parts must, by a separate activity of reflection, be relatively contemplated, in order that the writer's meaning may be discovered. In the absence of such reflections on the part of the reader, Shakespeare's works must always seem to be mere wildernesses, abundant enough in beauty and depth of character and incidental sayings to repay the reading, but still, as works of art, meriting nothing less than the epithet "barbarous," which has so often been candidly applied to them by French critics.

"Wonder," says Lord Bacon, "is broken knowledge;" and it is with wonder, rather than with intelligent admiration, that Shakespeare, until very lately, has been regarded by all, and is now regarded by all but the very few, who have studied his works so well and wisely that their knowledge of them, though necessarily falling short of the poet's full purposes, is no longer superficial or "broken." Now, it is a great misfortune for artists of any kind to have before them a model of overwhelming and unapproachable merit. To appreciate Dante or Shakespeare rightly, is to be effectually checked from employing moderate poetic faculties upon similar subjects in an independent manner; but to "wonder" at them, which is what all but all men do, and are compelled to do, is to be condemned to be the slave of an influence not understood, and to imitate, not Shakespeare or Dante, but that "broken" and disordered view of them which presents itself to the wondering copyist. Nothing can be more opposite to the spirit of Shakespeare than the works—including the great majority of English dramas since his time—arising from such an imitation. Every play of Shakespeare is a world in little, a perfect cosmos, in which the greatest variety and boldness of contrast is only a means of exhibiting the unity of humanity; but, to an eye which looks only upon the surface of this cosmos, and therefore sees nothing but the diversity, all appears to be chaos; and, accordingly, it is chaos, not cosmos, which most of the imitators of Shakespeare have produced.

In combination with an imitation of Shakespeare, we must take into consideration the fact of the total decay of the *acting* drama, if we would understand the condition under which modern dramatists write. We believe that the day of the acting drama, in Great Britain, has for ever departed, and we are convinced that neither society nor dramatic literature are likely to be the worse for it. The vast majority of a large British audience must always be appealed to by strong rather than by refined influences. Of all modern dramatists, Shakespeare alone was great enough to be perfectly true, and at the same time striking to the populace; we do not remember any other whose plays, having been long and greatly popular, are also capable of taking a position in permanent dramatic literature, whereas there are several plays which have been totally unsuccessful on the stage, and several others whose authors never dreamt of putting them upon the stage, which will occupy a place among the English classics. We need not pause to speak of the causes of the decay of the acting drama, further than to remark, that a fully sufficient reason, without the help of many others also at work, is to be found in the great levelling of external distinctions of all sorts which has of late years taken place, and is daily becoming more complete. Mr Donne, in his collection of "*Essays on the Drama*," has the following true and picturesque passage on this subject:—

"It is perhaps an inevitable result of advancing civilisation, that it levels, in great manner, the external and salient points of individual character, and thus deprives the drama of one of its principal aliments and attractions. Evil passions and evil natures are unhappily, indeed, the accompaniments of every age, but they do not, therefore, always exhibit themselves under dramatic forms. The crimes and woes of 'old great houses' seldom affect, in our days, either the annals of the world or the passions of individuals. Wars have lost their chivalric character. Politics are no longer tissues of dark intrigues revealed only by their results, but hidden during their process in impenetrable darkness. Society has ceased to be divided into castes, or distinguished by outward and visible signs of grandeur or debasement. Our manners and habits have grown similar and un-picturesque. A justice on the bench is no longer worshipful; a squire, except in the eyes of some poaching varlet, is no more 'the petty tyrant of his fields;' we take the wall of an alderman, and feel no awe in the presence of a mayor; lords ride in cabs; the coach with six Flemish horses, with its running footmen and link-bearers, has vanished into infinite space; a knight of the shire may be the son of a scrivener; our men on 'Change have doffed their flat caps and shining shoes; there are no bullies in Paul's Walk, and hardly a Toledan blade within the liberties of London. The toe of the peasant comes near the heel of the courtier. Our very inns have dropped their pictorial emblems; we write instead of paint our tavern heraldry. Town

and country are nearly one. Clarendon says of a certain lord of Arundel, that 'he rarely went to London because there only he found a greater man than himself, and because at home he was allowed to forget that there was such a man.' Lord Arundel's policy would be unavailing now. Our humours and distinctions are well-nigh abolished, and the drama, so far as it depends upon them, is deprived of its daily bread. The stage-poet cannot find his Bobadil in any lodging in Lambeth, nor his Justice Shallow in Gloucestershire, nor Ancient Pistol in Eastcheap. The 'portrait of a gentleman or lady' at the Exhibition may represent four-fifths of our similar generation."

With the disappearance of these picturesque distinctions in life, has disappeared, in great measure, the popular taste for beholding them dramatically represented; but the finer intellectual elements, which might and do make up for the want of these in our recent *written* drama, are not calculated to be effective on the stage. A premium on false effect is no longer offered to our dramatic writers, and, accordingly, the plays at the head of this article, all of which have been written within the last few years, present a very remarkable and favourable contrast to any equal number of dramas written in the first quarter of this century, when a capability of representation was considered as being of the essence of a drama. Another great advantage enjoyed by dramatists not writing for the stage, is the absence of limitation as to length. There is no reason why a drama should be limited, any more than an epic, to some two thousand lines; on the contrary, the dramatic development of an action demands far more space than the same action narrated. Two of the plays which we have chosen for special notice are each of them as long as "Paradise Lost," nor are they the least interesting and readable upon our list.

Mr Henry Taylor stands at the head of living dramatists, and almost at the head of living poets. We have heard, indeed, that Southey pronounced "Philip van Artevelde" the greatest play which has been written since Shakespeare; but Mr Taylor's style of mind is too nearly related to Southey's for either of these poets to be a very competent authority on the merits of the other. The excellence of Mr Taylor's writings has been fully and cordially recognised by the highest critical authorities, and the sale of many editions of his chief work has corroborated their verdict. We venture, however, to predict for the dramas of this writer a wider and deeper reputation than they have yet obtained. Mr Taylor had the merit, as well as the disadvantage, of writing in a perfectly sound and unmeretricious style, at a time when the popular taste had reached its greatest poetical perversion, and had come to regard the *defects* of certain remarkable poets—especially Keats—as the tests of poetic beauty. Unless every thought

and image came clothed in a haze of strange words and a certain vague and sensual beauty, it was not thought poetical. The name of poetry had come to be attached to only a few, and those not the most noble of its developments. The highest poetry, which may be defined to be truths of perpetual human interest perfectly (and *therefore* metrically) expressed, was not in favour; indeed, by the majority of those who talked and wrote about the art, was scarcely looked upon as poetry at all. Trees, flowers, sunsets, and other objects of external nature, and men and women reduced to the level of such objects by an extravagant admiration for them, and by the dominion of the senses, were the world of Keats, and of the whole poetic school of the time. Mr Taylor himself, in his short but exhaustive criticism, appended to the first edition of "*Philip van Artevelde*," in the year 1834, has expressed the truth concerning the schools of Keats and Lord Byron in words which cannot be improved upon. Byron's heroes, he says, "are creatures abandoned to their passions, and essentially, therefore, weak of mind. Strip them of the veil of mystery and the trappings of poetry, resolve them into their plain realities, and they are such beings as, in the eyes of a reader of masculine judgment, would certainly excite no sentiment of admiration, even if they did not provoke contempt. . . . All is vanity; their exertions being for vanity under the name of love or revenge, and their sufferings for vanity under the name of pride. If such beings as these are to be regarded as heroical, where in human nature are we to look for what is low in sentiment or infirm in character? . . . Nor can it be said that anything better, or indeed anything half so good, has been subsequently produced. The poetry of the day . . . consists of little more than a poetical diction, an arrangement of words implying a sensitive state of mind, and therefore more or less calculated to excite corresponding associations, though, for the most part, not pertinently to any matter in hand; a diction which addresses itself to the sentient, not the percipient, properties of the mind, and displays merely symbols or types of feelings which might exist with equal force in a being the most barren of understanding." Against this style of poetry, which has even now its apostles and disciples among us, "*Philip van Artevelde*" was a magnificent protest. It stands, among the poetry of the time, like a single oak in a land of flowering weeds. In it a great action is represented with the vivid sympathy and power of realisation, which show that the poet is morally related to the hero; and with a severe simplicity of language, of which the only fault is that it slightly tends to the extreme opposite to that of which it was, no doubt, an intentional reproof. It was an almost inevitable result, indeed, of such intention, that the "percipient" and

moral properties of the mind should have too marked a predominance, in Mr Taylor's poem, over the "sentient;" and the penalty of this predominance has been, that Mr Taylor is scarcely yet admitted to be a poet, by a large and not uninfluential class of readers, who pique themselves upon appreciating the verses of Keats and his school. During the past few years, however, there has been a marked advance, among the people and the lower literary classes, in the direction of the views advocated and exemplified by Mr Taylor. With the *cultured* classes, indeed, these views were never obscured, as is proved by the immediate and continued popularity among them of the play we are speaking of; but it is a curious fact that, for many years past, the so-called "literary" and the truly cultured classes have by no means been identical.

"Philip van Artevelde" is more free from the influence of Shakespeare than any other play of conspicuous merit in modern times. It is a perfect example of the simple or rhythmical drama, as we may call it, in opposition to the harmonic or Shakespearian drama. In its representation of a wise and heroic man, and his power of subduing the disorders of the world, we have the highest subject that could well be chosen; it is, however, as we have already suggested, an epic rather than a dramatic subject; and, accordingly, "Philip van Artevelde" holds an intermediate place in poetry, between the epic and the pure dramatic, as the latter exists in Shakespeare. To appreciate this play fully, the reader must be of a mature, grave, and thoughtful spirit; but, since its moral theme is general, and the characters, good and bad, are not represented under any partial and particular moral aspect, the moral standard which is ever present to such a reader's mind supplies the requisite commentary, and the separate and continually repeated efforts of reflection which are necessary for the right comprehension of a play of Shakespeare's would be superfluous here. And if Mr Taylor's work is thus clear of Shakespeare's system, it is also clear of the slightest mockery of that system, which cannot be said of the works of any other writer on our list. That Mr Taylor is himself fully cognisant of the quality of his poem, with regard to other dramatic schools, is shown by the title, "Philip van Artevelde; *a dramatic Romance*."

This work is so widely known, and its chief merits are of so simple and intelligible, though lofty a kind, that, in speaking of it, we shall limit ourselves mainly to indicating qualities which have often been denied to it by persons who have been made angry by its general opposition to the schools of poetry they admire. Mr Taylor, in exalting the "percipient" above the "sentient" faculty, has by no means neglected to appeal as often and as forcibly to the latter as was consistent with his higher views. Lyric poetry is the proper field for appeals to the "sentient" faculty,

and a man's power of making such appeals may be safely tested by his songs. Now, we feel quite secure in challenging the adverse critics of Mr Taylor to point out any songs, by poets of their favourite schools, superior to the songs in Mr Taylor's dramas. The song of Elena, beginning "Said tongue of neither maid nor wife," has scarcely its equal in modern poetry for pathos of theme and phrase.

We may be permitted to take one step out of our way to remark, that the beauty of this song is surpassed only by the design of Mr D. G. Rossetti (the founder of the Pre-Raphaelite school) in illustration of it, which was exhibited last year at the private exhibition of the Pre-Raphaelite artists. Under a trellis-work of leaves, "betwixt the shine and shade," are two dicers, one of whom is sitting entirely engrossed by his game, while his mistress has her arms about his neck, and is singing in the sun, with raised head, vine-crowned; the other gambler kneels at the stool where the dice are being cast, and holds with one hand the dice-box, and with the other presses to his lips the hand of his mistress, who buries her weeping eyes in her other hand, and droops her head in the direction of a little girl, who is innocently singing and playing on a musical instrument. On the side of the picture, opposite to this little girl, sits a baboon, who is scratching his neck with an expression of extreme animal-satisfaction. The way the story is told by these four "points," namely, the innocent and joyful little girl, the two guilty but not hardened lovers, the careless couple, and the ape, is a marvel of symbolical art, and is exactly in Shakespeare's method, as we have attempted to describe it above. Indeed, we can scarcely explain the difference between the two kinds of art, concerning which we have said so much, better than by comparing Mr Taylor's song with Mr Rossetti's picture. The one is the simple rhythmic expression of the idea; the other is the elaborate illustrative development of it, the thought not ceasing with the representation of the one unhappy woman, but being taken up and echoed through various persons and things, and losing itself in symbols so remote that we can scarcely feel certain whether their presence was intentional or not, as, for example, in the growth of tortuous and tangled branches, which bears up the "leafy honours" of the wood seen in the background, and which may or may not have been meant to afford an additional expression of the troubled mind that is hidden below the "jolly life" of guilt, and in the difference of the crowns of the two women, the singing woman having vine-leaves, and the weeping one roses with thorns.

Many readers of the present day have been so much accustomed to consider picturesque descriptions of nature and startling verbal beauties as constituting the substance, instead of being

merely the adornments, of poetry, that a poet who makes no more than a sober and moderate use of these adornments runs the risk of being rated very low by them. His "fine" or "poetical" passages, when they do exist, are likely to be overlooked by such readers; for these passages always arise so naturally from the context, and are always so well subordinated to the principal effects, that they are never "striking." No poem can be thoroughly good, if it contains any "striking passages;" yet nine modern critics out of ten reckon a poet good in proportion to his custom of producing such excrescences. Now, Mr Taylor's dramas contain innumerable passages which would be "striking," were they not so exactly the right words in the right places; as, for example—

Artevelde. See'st thou yon sweeping section of the road,
That leads by Ecdorf to the eastern gate?
My eyes are strain'd, but yet I thought I saw
A moving mass of men.

Van Ryk. I thought so too.
When I had held mine eyes a minute fix'd,
As in a morsel of dry moulder'd cheese,
I thought I could descry a tumbling movement.

These last two lines are as intensely descriptive as anything in Dante, the great master of intense description; nor is the concluding image, in the following passage, less remarkable for its imaginative realisation of a natural picture:—

How long since
Is it, that standing in this compass'd window,
The blackbird sang us forth, from yonder bough
That hides the arbour, loud and full at first
Warbling his invitations, then with pause
And fraction fitfully as evening fell,
The while the rooks, a spotty multitude,
Far distant crept across the amber sky.

"Philip van Artevelde" and Mr Taylor's other dramas, display qualities which make us ashamed to lay much stress upon the writer's skill in word-painting. It would, however, demand more than the entire space occupied by this article to do justice to the virile force, the simplicity, and the fulness of construction, which are the great merits of these dramas. None but a statesman could have represented statesmen as Mr Taylor has represented Van Artevelde, Van den Bosch, the Earl of Flanders, Dunstan, and Isaac Comnenus.

A certain sameness in the main characters is the necessary defect of the epic tendencies of Mr Taylor's dramas. He is quite right, for reasons already given, in avoiding the representation of

strong individualities in his heroes, for all strong individualities imply great defects and disproportions in character. The wise and good statesman, whether he occupies the time and place of Isaac Comnenus, or of Philip van Artevelde, will be one and the same character in the main; and the epic pitch of the two dramas which go by the names of those heroes involves too great a similarity of circumstance to allow of any very diverse development of characters, on the whole, so much alike. No poet should write more than one drama of this kind, if he would avoid the appearance of want of fertility.

“Violenzia: a Tragedy,” has not made a considerable reputation, only because its subject is one which excludes it from the reading of young people. The subject, however, has not been chosen in ignorance or wanton outrage of the world’s opinion, like that of the “Cenci;” but because a less terrible wrong than that done to Violenzia, and, through her, to her betrothed, could not have elevated the conduct of the latter to the highest pitch of the heroic. “Violenzia” resembles Mr Taylor’s dramas in some points. It keeps close and clear view of a single and simple action, and represents it strictly upon the *explicit and rhythnical*, and not the *symbolic and harmonic* method, and consequently it is easy and pleasant reading; in free and musical flow of verse it is superior to every other drama of the present day.

The story is that of an Earl of Felborg (Ethel), who, on taking commission in the army of the king, brings his betrothed, Violenzia, for safety, to the court. During the farewell festivities, the attentions of the king, a notorious voluptuary, to Violenzia, together with her manifest pleasure in them, alarm her brothers, Robert and Arthur, who also hold high commissions in the departing army, and somewhat grieve Ethel, who, however, knows Violenzia too well to augur serious evil from this display of feminine vanity in a woman who loves him deeply, and is too innocent to know how her behaviour may be interpreted by suspicious people, like her brothers, and by the king himself:—

Robert. What! do you mark it too? for in your eye
I read but small contentment.

Ethel. I do mark it;
Yet youth may plead her pardon; nor do I think
She spoke him much encouragement.

Robert. Spoke, man!
Her eyes did speak, with bright, triumphant sparks,
Delight to have a royal pursuivant;
Her smiles did sun the growth of his advances;
Her very gesture cast itself about
To be admired and bent to.

It is a great fault in the construction of this play, that no sufficient reason is shown for Violenzia being left (and for safety!) at the court of such a king. Directly Ethel and the brothers are gone, Violenzia's chamber is entered by Malgodin—a mere fiend of malice—a character which we believe to be totally contrary to nature, and therefore to poetry. The king, moreover, must have learned too much about women to suppose that they could be hopefully wooed by proxy, and by *such* a proxy. In this character, and in other parts of the play, the author shows that he has been injuriously influenced by the extravagances of Shelley and of the old dramatists. The “Cenci” is, in our opinion, a very imperfect as well as a very revolting play; and the writer of “Violenzia” would have had a good chance of producing a much better drama than any that Shelley could have written, had he depended more upon his own fine and poetical mind for guidance. But to follow the plot: Malgodin, finding Violenzia unpliant, circulates reports against her reputation, thinking that she will yield to his master's wishes the sooner for the destruction of her fame. Finding themselves disappointed in this hope, Malgodin advises, and the king adopts, the resource of Tarquin. The rumour that she has yielded to the solicitations of the king reaches the camp, and is treated with contempt by Ethel, into whose presence Violenzia, almost immediately after the rumour has reached him, rushes and tells him what has happened. Ethel, being second in command of the army, is urged by his indignant friends to seize the opportunity of vengeance, by turning its power against the king, the brothers of Violenzia, one of whom is commander-in-chief, being foremost in devising his destruction. Ethel treats such a proposition as treason; and, when the brothers endeavour to turn the forces from the enemy against their own country, they are seized, imprisoned, and condemned to death by Ethel, who assumes the chief command, gains a decisive battle over the Swedes, and then, regarding himself as called by Heaven to be a minister of justice, not revenge, turns his army homeward. In the meantime, the brothers of Violenzia have escaped from prison, and put Violenzia to death, in fulfilment of their vow. The deposition of the wicked king is an easy matter; and the play ends by Ethel's granting his request that he may not die, but pass his days in banishment and repentance, the crown being transferred to Haveloc, the younger brother of the king.

It is easy to build epics and dramas upon heroic events, but it is very difficult to treat them so that they become intelligible and credible, and therefore influential for good upon the mind of the reader. It is no small praise to say that the author of “Violenzia” has so represented a man heroically putting aside

the thought of vengeance, when there was the strongest motive and the most tempting opportunity—nay, when not to revenge himself exposed him to the scorn and misconstruction of his best friends, that we rise from the perusal of the play feeling that we could have done the same ourselves. Uncompromisingly Christian action, under such circumstances as those of Ethel, is a pitch of the heroic which no other dramatic writer, that we remember, has dared to depict; and in the choice, and in the power which has justified the choice, of such a subject lies the chief merit and originality of the play. This merit has the advantage of being a most seasonable one; for the old forms of the heroic have died out, and it is high time that the Christian heroic should come upon the vacant stage.

After what we have said in praise of this play, the author can afford to be told that it has very serious faults. We take it that these words, from the preface, involve a radically defective appreciation of the functions of the poet:—"There could be no other injury so intolerable, no other grief so great, as that which here forms the trial of the hero. For his action under that trial I am responsible as a poet only, not as a moralist. . . . *A poet cannot make his creations subservient to the enforcement of his own opinions, at least a dramatic poet cannot.*" Now, the great fault of the play results from this mistake of the author, in supposing that a dramatic poet is not bound to be clear upon the point of morality. We are left entirely in doubt, the poet himself is evidently entirely in doubt, as to the right of Ethel to assume regal and judicial functions for the purpose of chastising the sins of the king. The poet, we think, was bound not to leave his readers in darkness upon so important a question; Shakespeare never shirks morality in this way; probably because he never made our author's mistake, of supposing that moral ideas are merely our "own opinions." Every one of the plays of Shakespeare, every poem of every really great poet, has been made "subservient to the enforcement," not of "his own opinions," but of his own *certainities* in morality. A good poem or drama is never what is called "didactic," not because it does not enforce definite moral views, but because its modes of enforcing them are peculiar, that is to say, indirect, symbolical, and representative, rather than obvious and preceptive.

Intimately connected with this want of moral certainty in the mind of the author, is the evidently unintentional want of masculine force in his hero. We have said that this drama is so written that the action is credible to our sympathies, which is the great point in a poem; but we doubt whether this credibility remains when it is closely examined by reason and reflection. A man in the least moral uncertainty would not have had the

heart to bear him up in such a course as that pursued by Ethel; indeed, such uncertainty greatly damages the reality of his heroism, and suggests to our mind that he would have been more heroic still had he concluded to do nothing, when to do anything was for him to take a leap in the dark. His many long, sentimental, and philosophical speeches at junctures when most men would be too full of life and action to talk much, show Ethel to have had too much of the Hamlet in him ever to have pursued a definite course with a calm and heroic determination. We have, however, to thank this temperament of soul for some passages of verse which, as poetry, are superior, or at least equal, to the best in any of the volumes before us. For example, after the death of Violenzia:—

Ethel. Violenzia sleeps. Alone on the broad earth!

Olave. Your officers and soldiers love you dearly.

Ethel. I thank you very heartily. Is it strange
That our diviner impulses, great thoughts,
And all the highest, holiest life of the soul,
Should yearn for mortal sympathy, and not find it,
No, not in women? Nay, not dare to ask for't?

Olave. What is it you say, my lord?

Ethel. Do you not see,
It is the exceeding goodness of our God,
To bend our love into His Father's breast,
And press our heads to His bosom? *We are greater
As children than as brothers.*

Again, Olave thus defends the reputation of Violenzia against one who believes the rumours set afloat by Malgodin:—

Do you believe it? Why, man, let me tell you,
I, that did never more than once enjoy
The touch of her frank hand; that, in such courtesy
As one, till then a stranger, might exact;
And never more than once looked on her face,
A garden where the flowers of beauty sprang,
Troubling the sense with richness; never but once
Took through the dazzled windows of my soul
Her proud and innocent gaze; I that not knew her,
And of her musical speech heard no more tones
Than go to make a greeting; I'll believe
Rather the diamond should fade and rot,
Than she be turn'd to folly.

We must not close this notice without calling attention to a very fine point in the moral structure of this drama. So terrible a fate, as that of Violenzia, is shown to have been not unprovoked by herself. It is represented as the penalty—though a fearfully severe one—of her vanity, which unconsciously encouraged the

wicked king's desires until they became ungovernable. That this was the author's intention, is proved by the following words in the leave-taking, where Ethel warns Violenzia of the dangers which surround her :—

Ethel. Alas ! thou know'st not
What infinite perils set thee. Subtler genius
Than ever worked for good, shall with foul evil
Tangle thy soul, if thou should'st show like virtue.

Violenzia. It is my punishment.

Of "Saul : a Drama, in Three Parts," published anonymously at Montreal, we have before us perhaps the only copy which has crossed the Atlantic. At all events, we have heard of no other, as it is probable we should have done, through some public or private notice, seeing that the work is indubitably one of the most remarkable English poems ever written out of Great Britain. This copy was given to the writer of the present article by Mr Nathaniel Hawthorne, to whose recommendation of this, to him and to us, unknown Canadian poet, our readers and English literature generally are beholden for their first introduction to a most curious work. "Saul" is in three parts, each of five acts, and altogether about ten thousand lines long. In it the greatest subject, in the whole range of history, for a drama, has been treated with a poetical power and a depth of psychological knowledge which are often quite startling, though, we may say, inevitably, below the mark of the subject-matter, which is too great to be done full justice to, in any but the words in which the original history is related. What much adds to the startling effect of this poem, is the manifest fact that the writer is some person who has received little or no education, in the ordinary sense of the term. Not only does he make ridiculous mistakes in the commonest Latin quotations—for example, he has "*from DE PROFUNDUS*" twice over—but he is apparently ignorant of English grammar, and even of spelling. There are two things, however, which he proves that he knows, namely, the Bible and human nature ; and a poet cannot be said to be really uneducated who knows these well. Shakespeare he also knows far better than most men know him ; for he has discerned and adopted his method as no other dramatist has done. He takes not virtue and morality, and their opposites *generally*, as other dramatists do, but these under the single aspect of their dependence upon *spiritual influences*, of whatever kind : the direct influence of the Divine Spirit ; and the influence of good spirits ; and of the principalities and powers of darkness ; and even the mysterious influences of music, the weather, etc., upon the moral state of the soul. Like most of Shakespeare's plays, this drama has the appearance of being strangely chaotic. There are hundreds of

passages for the existence of which we cannot account, until the moral clue is found, and it would never be found by a careless and unreflecting reader; for the work is exceedingly artistic, and there are few things in recent poetry so praiseworthy as the quiet and unobtrusive way in which the theme is treated. In a work written upon this noble symbolic method, one is never sure of *exactly* stating the author's meaning—indeed, as we have said of Shakespeare, the meaning is too full to be stated more briefly than by the whole poem; but we are sure that we are not far from the writer's intention, when we say, that in Saul he represents a man who is *eminently* the creature of spiritual influences; who is of the happiest sensitive and perceptive constitution, but lacks the one thing needful, the principle of *faith*, which would have given the will to submit himself to the good influence and resist the bad. "Faith wanting, all his works fell short," is the only *explicit* statement in the whole poem of this idea; but the whole poem indirectly implies it. This view of Saul's character, which is amply justified by Scripture history, is carried out and illustrated with an elaborate subtlety of which it is impossible for us to give our readers an adequate idea. The evil spirit of the king is brought personally, under the name of Malzah, upon the stage; and we are made to understand Saul's nature, and the nature of all who are the more or less passive slaves of natural and spiritual influences *ab extra*, by the exaggeration of this character in the spirit himself, who is depicted with an imaginative veracity, which we do not exaggerate in saying has not been equalled in our language by any but the creator of Caliban and Ariel. Malzah is decidedly "well-disposed," like many another evil spirit, human or otherwise; he knows his faults; is almost changed, for the moment, into a good spirit by artistic influences, especially music; he has attained to be a deep philosopher through the habitual observation of himself; and does not at all like the evil work of destroying the soul of Saul—a work which he undertook voluntarily, and to which he returns as the fit takes him. The following passages will carry out what we have said, and will illustrate the oddity, subtlety, and originality of this writer's language. Malzah tries to exonerate himself, in soliloquy, from the guilt of destroying Saul:—

I've had no part in this. I'm sorry too
 (Like thee, king,) that I ever came to thee.
 Zounds! Why, I ought to have strong penance set me,
 Or else be branded with some sign of shame
 For having volunteered for his undoing.—
 There's no essential honour nor good i'th' world,
 But a pure selfishness is all in all.—
 Nay, I could curse my demonhood, and wish

Myself to be thrice lost for that behaviour ;—
But I believe I am a very mean spirit.

Even finer than this flippant, imbecile, and impotent penitence of Malzah is the following song, which seems to us to be scarcely short of Shakespearian, notwithstanding the *De Profundus* !

There was a devil, and his name was I ;
From De Profundus he did cry ;
He changed his note as he changed his coat,
And his coat was of a varying dye :
It had many a hue : in hell 'twas blue,
'Twas green i'th' sea, and white i'th' sky.
Oh, do not ask me, ask me why
'Twas green i'th' sea and white i'th' sky,
Why from Profundus he did cry.
Suffice that he wailed with a chirruping note ;
And quaintly cut was his motley coat.

Saul enters in a gloomy passion ; Malzah says :—

Now is my time :
I'll enter him that he may work his doom ;
His mind's defences are blown down by passion,
And I can enter him unchallenged, like
A traveller an inn, and, when I'm there,
He is himself now so much like a demon,
He will not notice me.

In this poem, for the first time, spirits have been represented in a manner which fully justifies the boldness involved in representing them at all. Malzah is a living character, as true to supernature as Hamlet or Falstaff are to nature ; and, by this continuation, as it were, of humanity into new circumstances and another world, we are taught to look upon humanity itself from a fresh point of view, and we seem to obtain new and startling impressions of the awful character of the influences by which we are beset. Seldom has art so well performed the office of hand-maiden to religion as in this extraordinary character of Malzah, in whom we have the disembodiment of the soul of the faithless, sophistical, brave, and generously disposed king of Israel, and a most impressive poetical exposition of the awful truth, that he who is not wholly for God is against Him. For proof of our opinion we can only refer the reader to the entire work, of which a few separate passages are no tests whatever. Although the language is often powerful, and the thought always so, the writer's want of literary culture is so great, that he seldom gives us many lines together without some obvious and often ludicrous fault. In proof, however, that this writer is a poet of no common order we append a few sentences, taken almost at random from hundreds which we have marked.

Saul has vowed the death of David :—

Aneen. Now, my dear husband, come and take some rest.

Saul. Yes, when I've done what I have vow'd to do.

I am beneath the tyranny of a vow,
Which I will honour whilst I am eclipsed,
That I hereafter may have power to plead,
I did it in the darkness.—'Tis the fiend :
He darkens, yet illuminates, my mind,
Like the black heavens when lightnings ride the wind.

Malzah is seen winging his way towards the palace of the king, whom he has been commissioned to possess :—

Lo, when yon demon, with increasing speed,
Makes his dim way across the night-hung flood,
Due to the Hebrew king, with onward heed,
Like to a hound that snuffs the scent of blood.

Saul, like Polonius, is full of wisdom, though it goes no further than his words ; for example :—

Full many things are best forgot ; and all
The dross of life, men's vices and their failings,
Should from our memories be let slip away,
As drops the damaged fruit from off the bough
Ere comes the autumn. . . . It were wise, nay, just,
To strike with men a balance ; to forgive,
If not forget, their evil for their good's sake.
Thus cherishing the latter,
We shall grow rich in life's pure gold, and lose
Only its base alloy, its dross and refuse.

The following is one of many passages which, by creating an intelligence of the greatness and subtlety of Saul's temptations, render his example more affecting and fearful. Abner, in reply to Saul's lamentations over his liability to the apparently irresistible possessions of the evil spirit, says,—

Jehovah's ways are dark.

Saul. If they be just, I care not :

I can endure till death relieve me ; ay,
And not complain ; but doubt enfeebles me,
And my strong heart, that gladdeth to endure,
Falters 'neath its misgivings, and, vex'd, beats
Into the speed of fever, when it thinks
That the Almighty greater is than good.

The power of this drama is centred in Saul and his "double," Malzah. The other characters are, on the whole, much inferior to these ; and we should be leaving our readers with an exaggerated impression of the merit of the piece, were we to conclude without saying that, though the writer has shown great poetical

lity, he has by no means, as yet, written a great work. His talent, however, seems to be so peculiarly adapted for the treatment of the particular theme he has chosen, that, should these roads ever meet his eye, we would venture to recommend him to reconsider, and in many parts re-write, his poem, at the same time greatly abbreviating it by the omission of those parts in which the symbolical reflection of the theme is wanting or weak. "The Saints' Tragedy" requires to be mentioned here for no more than the general merit of being one of the best of modern dramas. The author of "Violenzia" speaks of it as "a work which stands without a rival in the dramatic literature of the day;" but this is greatly to over-rate Mr Kingsley's piece, which, though in various ways admirable, is in no respect superior to the dramas of Mr Taylor, and in some respects inferior. Mr Kingsley himself, we are sure, would be the first to allow the great superiority of the character of Dunstan, in "Edwin the Saint," over Conrad in the "Saints' Tragedy." The "Saints' Tragedy," again, is full of mental anachronisms, such as: "I have prepared my nerves for a shock;" "I had something orthodox ready;" and almost every line in the politico-economical discussions in Act II. By passages like these, we are too much reminded that it is a modern writer writing about old times. This is never so in Mr Taylor's plays. There is also far more of what we have described as the unintelligent adoption of Shakespeare's manner, in Mr Kingsley than in Mr Taylor. The action does not go on singly, orderly, and plainly, as in "Philip van Artevelde," but is mixed with a good deal of matter which has more than the merely apparent irrelevancy of the subordinate play in Shakespeare. When, to these deductions from the perfection of the "Saints' Tragedy," we have added the fault of an unnecessarily obtrusive and didactic *sexuality* (not *sensuality*), which appears also in other works of Mr Kingsley, we may give free scope to our admiration of this remarkable production of his writer's youth. It has the merit of being what few poems of late years have been, namely, a thoroughly conscientious work; the author did not leave off until he had made his play as good as he possibly could at the then stage of his faculties. There is not one slovenly line in the whole; and the action is everywhere set up with a steady and equable vigour, which is not to be found elsewhere in recent dramas, if we except the dramas of Mr Taylor, to whom Mr Kingsley has evidently looked up, as to a noble model of masculine poetic power, especially in the lyrical portions of his work. Mr Kingsley has been too often and too highly praised in this *Review* for it to be likely that the "Saints' Tragedy" is unknown to the majority of our readers. We may therefore be excused from entering into any detailed notice of it.

Mr Matthew Arnold, also, has been so fully and so recently noticed by us,¹ and what we said about his addiction to ancient forms of art is so exactly applicable to "Merope," that we need say little more of it here than that, with the exception of "Sampson Agonistes," it is by far the most faithful, poetical, and learned revival of the Greek drama of which the English language can boast. We must confess, however, that Mr Arnold's admirable workmanship, and the weight which justly attaches to his opinion, have failed to impress us with the general feasibility of what he had attempted, or, rather, done. It seems to us that the forms of the Greek drama can never be revived among us, if it were only that their simplicity and severity exclude the representation of characters under other than very general aspects of good and evil. Our modern—shall we say "used up?"—intellects are entirely dead to causes which were powerfully moving in other times and under other conditions. Even among ourselves, in earlier days, an audience or a circle of readers might have been convulsed with excitement at the crisis in which Merope is on the point of slaying her son, mistaking him for her son's assassin; but, alas for the modern reader! "What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba," unless they are better acquainted than the nature of the Greek drama allows them to be? We must know Merope and Æpytus better, we must become personally interested in them as individuals, before we can care a straw for their fates as mere man and woman. We do not say that this is a right state of feeling, but we do say that it is the condition of all modern readers above fifteen years of age, and that it is fatal to the success of any thorough-going revival of the Greek drama.

¹ North British Review, vol. xxi., p. 493.

- ART. VII.—1. *The City of the Great King; or, Jerusalem as it was, as it is, and as it shall be.* By J. T. BARCLAY, M.D. Philadelphia: 1858.
2. *History of the Eastern Church.* By the Rev. J. M. NEALE. Two Vols. 8vo. London.
3. *History of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, from its Foundation, A.D. 44, to the Death of Heirotheus, 1846.* By the Rev. J. M. NEALE. Two Vols. 8vo. London.
4. *A History of the Church of Russia.* By A. N. MOURAVIEFF. Translated by the Rev. R. W. BLACKMORE. 8vo. London.
5. *Christianity in Turkey; a Narrative of the Protestant Reformation in the Armenian Church.* By H. G. O. DWIGHT. London.
6. *The Nestorians and their Rituals, etc.; also Researches into the Present Condition of the Syrian Jacobites, Papal Syrians, and Chaldeans, etc.* By Rev. G. P. BADGER. Two Vols. 8vo. London.

THE East, be it Persia, or Syria, or Egypt, does not by any means fulfil the dreams which most of us have had of it. He that has caught up visions of its splendour from the *Ghazels* of Hâfiz, or the *Lalla Rookh* of Moore, will feel considerably angry when he discovers the extent to which he has been duped by a large class of poets to whom it has furnished poetical capital almost inexhaustible, and who, in regard to it, have drawn as largely upon their own fancy as upon the credulity of the untravelled multitude. The myrtle hedge-rows of the Shûbra, the “gardens of gul in their bloom,”—the olive and orange groves,—

‘The shining streams, with ranks
Of golden melons on their banks,—

the note of the turtle, the song of the nightingale, the hum of the wild bee, the spicy breezes, the “unclouded skies of Peristân;”—these, with the beauteous forms and faces, too fair for earth, have been the materials out of which we of the cold cloudy North have constructed an Orient liker some Paradise that was never lost than a region of man’s fallen earth. A few days’ residence in an Oriental city, be it Cairo or Constantinople,—a few weeks’ travel through these regions of wonder, say the banks of the Nile or the Ghôr of Jordan, would modify the enthusiasm of many a modern admirer of “the land of the sun.”

Still it is a wondrous clime; so rich in its fruits, so gay in its flowers, so luscious in its odours,—the land of the palm and pomegranate, the vine and the olive;—and withal so exquisitely

sunny! What sunshine is that which bathes you as you sit gazing round you from the broad top of the old Pyramid of Cheops, or from which you hide yourself amid the giant-ruins of Abu-Sembel or Karnac, or through which you cut your way, as through liquid silver, in your white-sailed Nile boat! There is no sunshine like it; nowhere else does it seem so unmixed and unalloyed. Pass out of Egypt into the eastern desert; take your camel and pace along the shore of the Ælanitic gulf, from Râs Mohammed to Kalat Akabah; from that take your way to Wady Mûsa, and wander amid the ruins of Petra; it is still the same pure sunshine. Pass out of the desert into Syria; sit down by the two wells of Bîr es-Seba, or on the margin of Bahr Lût, under the reflection of the hills of Moab, or under the palms of Jenîn, or on the western slopes of the great Lebanon, with the blue sea before you and the long ridges of snow above your head; you are still conscious of being shone upon by a sunlight purer and more intense than you have known amid your northern mists. An Arab, gasping with heat and thirst on the broad sand-plain of Debbet Ramleh, might sigh for the coolness of the soberer West, as we do in our dreams for the glow of "the delicious East;" you yourself, climbing up the steep defiles of Et-Tih, might long for a cloudier sky; but still you cannot help acknowledging the purity of the matchless sunshine.

Of natural phenomena this perhaps strikes a Western most, and for a time makes the East so exhilarating. Its influence on character, morality, government, religion, is not now under discussion. Most certainly climate gives a helping hand to mould all these. Everything in a country that is *permanent* goes to form the characteristics of the nation,—be it mountain, or sea, or clouds, or sunshine.

The life and habits of a people are, to a large extent, moulded by their climate and the peculiarities of their land. Orientalisms and Occidentalisms are not altogether capricious and arbitrary. Many of them are the offspring of the sky and soil. Certain features must always be peculiar to certain nations, not merely because of their ancestry, but because of their physical distinctions; and though, to some extent, there may be a fusion of these, an interchange of peculiarities, yet there are certain great ridges or outlines which must remain unobliterated and almost unsoftened.

Not very far from our shores, and under our dominion, there lies a singular specimen of the East. A Mediterranean island, four days' journey from Dover, will introduce the traveller into some of the "lights and shades" of Oriental life.

It was Christmas-day in Malta. No English June could breathe more of summer than this Mediterranean December:

the sunlight was superbly yet calmly brilliant; the scorching bite of the sirocco had not yet found its way across the wave from the Lybian furnace where it is generated; the caper-plant hung itself out from the seams or splits in the bastion walls; the oranges gleamed from beneath their freckled foliage; the karûb and the prickly pear were beginning to look out for spring; while the carnation and the lily, luxuriating in the bright air, proclaimed themselves the winter flowers of this sunny isle.

All Valetta was in gala dress, tricked out for holiday, the Church's choicest holiday. Yet with the significance of that holiday nothing was in keeping; and all that was seen or heard seemed, if not a burlesque upon the ecclesiastical symbolism of the season, at least an inebriate outburst of that strange kind of extreme worldliness which finds fullest vent to itself in connection with the scenic ritualism of corrupted Christianity. There was nought to recall the Babe of Bethlehem, the Child of the stable and the manger. The purple robe, the reed, the mock homage,—these rather suggested themselves to the muser, whatever they might do to the participator of the glittering mockery. Religion and revel; worship and frolic; the confessional and the tavern; the church and the opera; the penance and the sensuality;—these were the alternations of the day for which the population was bustling to prepare. The tall yellow houses; the strait steep streets, with the bold *auberges* of the Templar age projecting at intervals; the frequent statues of guardian saints; the massive churches, that to the stranger seem half Eastern and half Western, half Arabic half Grecian, in their architecture; the varied dress of the men, and the sly *faldette* of the women; the crowds of sauntering priests, each one a Silenus or a Bacchus; the scores of British soldiers idling in the shade or drinking in the *cafe*;—these are some of the sights that give to the traveller characteristic specimens of the island on whose white rocks he is treading.

Malta is truly the East,—more so than Alexandria. In the latter the West meets the East, and predominates; in the former the East meets the West, and predominates. Lower Egypt is Occidental; Middle Egypt is Oriental (Cairo, its chief city, more Oriental than Calcutta); Upper Egypt, with its temples, tombs, and pyramids, represents the extinct dynasties and tribes of far antiquity. Malta is all Eastern, save in religion. The rock itself is a fragment of Africa; but the religion is not from Mecca, but Rome,—one of the most genuine relics of sensuous European mediævalism that either East or West can furnish. For this it owes something to the Crusades; and the Knights of St John share with apostles the honour of being its tutelary deities. The language, too, is quite unique. Its base is Arabic,

and three-fourths of its words are of that tongue; but Italian has come in, adding new vocables and corrupting the old. A Bedawi from Wadi Sudr or Wadi Mûsa would find himself more at home, in so far as language is concerned, among the Popish peasantry of Sliema or Citta Vecchia, than among his fellow Moslems of Stambûl or Bagdad. Hence Malta furnishes dragomen for Egypt, for the desert, and for Syria, Antonio of Valetta finding small difficulty in conversing with Sheikh Besharah of the Arabah.

With the *religion* of Malta England does not concern itself, giving full scope to the two thousand men who curse the island under the name of priests; nay rather, it would seem as if governors and generals were more anxious to withhold truth than to give it, more concerned about repressing Protestantism than restraining Popery. For *education* England does nearly as little as for religion. Why should not men die in the faith in which they were born? Why should children get instruction, without which their fathers, and their fathers' fathers, did sufficiently well? The moral responsibilities of power are nervously protested against by the political philosophies of the day, and totally set aside by the statesmanship that proclaims, as its fundamental axiom, neutrality in religion, the non-recognition of any revelation, liberty, equality, fraternity among all gods and goddesses, saints and prophets alike.

St Julian's College, we have said to ourselves, might do something for its own island. It trains labourers for Asiatic Turkey; and it does well. But might it not break ground in Malta? There is work for its students there. It need not fear to measure swords either with the priesthood or the peasantry around, for both are grossly unlearned. Its square towers seem to speak of strength for siege; let there issue from these the men whom it trains for other fields, to prove their spears upon their own.¹

Yet there are many things in Malta that speak well of British rule. In this island-gateway of the East justice has its seat, and law is revered. In spite of priestly sway and the imperiousness of Romanism, there is a large amount of northern fairness, and the *will* of the ruler is circumscribed by honest statutes. This supremacy of law over individual will is the real root of the differences in government between Europe and Asia. But the difference is easily effaced. Place a consul beside a pasha in some Eastern town, removed from the ventilation of Western

¹ See "Seventh Report of the Malta Protestant College" (1857). Nothing can be more satisfactory than the "declaration of principles," at p. viii; yet malicious men have cast at it the imputation of "Tractarian" (p. 27)—a convenient epithet, we find, for the unscrupulous. One hears it sometimes at home, and travellers pick it up in the East, as it is flung recklessly about to serve a purpose.

air, and, unless he be a man of integrity, he will soon imitate his neighbour, and make the "voluntas" stand both "pro ratione" and "pro lege." Set a Protestant bishop beside a Latin one, or beside a Greek patriarch, and, unless he be a man not coveting pre-eminence, nor arbitrary in purpose, he will assume the state of his fellows, and perhaps surpass them considerably in attachment to his own will. Nor, in so doing, would either consul or prelate be likely to incur much scandal, unless the "Eastern correspondent" of some London journal should see or hear things not intended to be seen or heard, and raise a clamour in the West, which for a season discomposes the wrong-doer and arrests the wrong.

Thus, as the East is the home of sunshine, so is it the native soil of despotism; that is, of power wielded by one will, irresponsible either to law or public opinion. Old Babylon is still the type of Eastern government. A "limited monarchy" found no favour with Mahomet, nor did he allow the Koran to proclaim the "rights of the people." He furbished the clumsy sword of ancient autocracy, and bent it into a flashing scimitar,—making despotism more despotic, because religious, and giving it freer scope for prompt and unfettered exercise.

The despotic atmosphere of the East, as it would seem, is rather infectious; so that Western consuls, breathing it for a little, do and defend things in their eastern acts of authority which they would not think of at home. The Austrian or Prussian consul would not hesitate to seize one of their countrymen in Syria, who might offend them, imprison him without cause shown, keep him in durance for days or weeks, as the case may be, and then pack him off to some continental *zuchthaus* with the next steamer that passes Beyroot or Jaffa. No English consul would thus act the Sultan,—hardly a French one; but travellers and "special correspondents" tell of more instances than one in which the Prussian representative has not hesitated thus to abuse his power and to disgrace his Protestantism. At Constantinople or at Alexandria this could hardly be ventured on; but between these two cities there is a large range of country, where things admit of being done more quietly and pleasantly, without the risk of an exposure.

The whole system of Consular government in the East requires amendment. These European representatives are too strong and too weak. They can defy and they can be defied, even in matters of law and justice. They are quite strong enough to oppress the feeble; they are not strong enough to resist the powerful. They would not, perhaps, defile their hands with a bribe like an Eastern kadi; but they are accessible to influences which are quite as corrupting; the blandishment or the menace

doing effectually the work of the bribe. Stimulated by rivalries, one part of their vocation is to thwart each other. Acting as political delegates from their several governments, their object is to watch each other's movements and countercheck each other's schemes. Ostensibly they come to care for the interests of the men of their own nation; in reality they concern themselves as much about the interests of those beyond their jurisdiction. Holy Scripture speaks of men who are "busybodies in other men's matters," or, as the word is, *ἄλλοτριεπίσκοποι*, that is, "everybody's bishop but their own;" and, perhaps, we might, without injustice to some at least, use the word here, and say that many of these men of authority are everybody's consuls but their own. Espionage becomes the consulate as ill as the embassy; but, in the present jealous condition of Western politics, the consul is compelled to act the part of spy, or at least sentinel.

The East, having no politics of its own, has been and is still made the arena for the politics of the West. One does not wonder at seeing Constantinople made a centre of Western influence or intrigue. If the prestige of ancient *Byzantium* cannot account for this, the magnitude and importance of *Stambûl* will fully justify it. It is a city for embassies and ambassadors; and even the stranger feels that the bold flags of Europe are not out of place in a city of such name, a city whose history is by no means yet concluded.

Nor is one surprised at the large consular establishments of Alexandria; nor the smaller but equally numerous vice-consulates of Cairo; nor at the recent elevation (a few months since) of the French vice-consulate at Suez into a regular consulate. Suez, indeed, is little better than a large khan, a station on the great Haj road to Mecca through the desert; nor can it ever be a port, on account of the shoals of the Red Sea, and the drifting sands on both sides, which are yearly compelling its waters to retreat; but then its importance as an *entrepôt* both for France and England cannot easily be over-rated, at least until the Euphrates Railway shall attract into the Persian Gulf the commerce that now passes up the blue strip between the peninsular peaks and the bluffs of Râs Atakah.¹ Cairo, both for size and Oriental

¹ The question as to the piercing of the Isthmus by a broad *canal* must of necessity be one in a great measure of national partisanship. Russia and France must always desire this, in order to get free access to the East, and thereby compete with Britain, and perhaps humble, or at least rival her, in the Southern Seas. Turkey and Britain can never cordially desire it. To Turkey it would be like allowing the Euxine to become a Muscovite lake; to Britain it would be like drying up the English Channel, throwing India open to continental aggression; it would be the preparation for resigning the supremacy of India by putting the high road to it at the disposal of her enemies. A canal could be more easily dug from the Bay of Acco across the plain of Esdraelon into the Jordan, from which it would pass into the Dead Sea, raising its waters

celebrity, has some claims upon European notice, though, from its position, it is not likely to be a focus either of enterprise or intrigue. Alexandria, certainly, is the great centre where East and West meet, and in it Europe ought to be well represented,—England, above all, for she has the most at stake. Yet, if report speak true, the diplomacy, the nerve, and the influence, are monopolised by France, which, always true to its national interests, seeks out men for places, not places for men, and sends *talent* to courts or consulates where England is content with *title*.

But it somewhat surprises one to find some six or eight European consuls or vice-consuls at Jerusalem. What can they be doing there?

It is an inland town, some thirty miles from the nearest ripple of the sea, and thirty-eight from the nearest port. Girt with precipices, and approached only by mountain-passes, where the path gives footing only to the Syrian mule or the Arab camel, skirted by no Danube and washed by no Levant, El-Kuds seems to repel commerce as much as Stambûl woos it. With a population not exceeding 18,000, and these not commercial, not warlike, not literary, it seems isolated as much from the politics as from the sympathies of Europe.

Yet we do not find it so. All nations, both of West and East, seem to gravitate towards Jerusalem. Its past history explains the convergence towards it of European *sympathies*, but its present condition does not so easily account for such a concentration of European *politics* within its walls as we find there. The civilisation of the world seems as if it sought to be represented in that city. For reasons, which some of them perhaps could hardly explain,—it may be love or hatred, it may be self-interest or jealousy of others,—far distant courts despatch their political delegates to watch each other here, as if yielding to some secret necessity which neither to themselves nor to one another do they openly acknowledge. If their procedure have any tangible meaning at all, that meaning must be that Jerusalem is something more than it seems; that it has a future as well as a present, and that its future is too closely twined with all their interests not to render it a place of political interest, a centre of diplomatic stratagem. It seems as if this idea had taken possession of politicians, and that, consciously or unconsciously, it was swaying and shaping their plans as well as quickening their intrigues.

The ecclesiastical element certainly must not be overlooked;

and making them fill up the Arabah (as perhaps once they did), and flow into the Gulf of Akabah. The whole country, from the Sea of Galilee to Akabah, being so much under the level of the Mediterranean (from 1000 to 1300 feet), would afford great facilities to the undertaking.

nor, in such a place as Jerusalem, could it fail to be otherwise than powerful. During the first six centuries, Palestine quite rivalled Italy in Christian superstition, and Jerusalem might have kept up a formidable competition with Rome had not the Mahommedan flood burst over the whole East with such unsparing ferocity as to smother for centuries everything that wore the Christian name, whether false or true. But the Crusades bore back upon their tide the banished symbols of the Christian faith; and though, by the time they had spent their force, they had beggared half the nobility of Europe, they had succeeded in restoring to Jerusalem something of the mysterious magnetism which it had so long possessed, and to Palestine a portion of the ecclesiastical influence which it once enjoyed, and which has remained with it unbroken and unlesened to this day.

Ecclesiastical influence necessarily attracts political; and it is with the dynamics of the former that the latter has always operated most powerfully in its management or oppression of nations. Ecclesiastical influence has always brought a high price in the political market,—quite as much in the nineteenth as in the twelfth century; and hence any region or city where this commodity is to be had,—specially if it be tolerably cheap,—is sure to be made a practical market-place, a diplomatic fair. At Rome it is too dear, at least for Protestant courts; at Jerusalem it is considerably lower in price. A first-rate power, like England, might, if it were not so passive and easy-minded, secure a very much larger share of power in Rome than she has at present; but a second-rate power, such as Prussia, has little likelihood of success, whatever energy she might throw out. At Jerusalem, however, Prussia has a considerably better chance. She has but to send a tolerably clever consul, not over-scrupulous or modest, with instructions to spare neither chicanery nor violence, in cajoling, menacing, and bullying Pasha, Effendi, or fellow-consul. And if the supposed Prussian consul can only get himself backed by one or more ambitious ecclesiastics, as tools and co-operatives in the great continental work of humbling England, and edging her gradually out of her position in the East, the cabinet of Potsdam may congratulate itself on being able to drive a tolerable business in the East, and bring on political complications, of which Latins and Greeks will take prompt advantage.

It would be a very shallow mistake to suppose that the capture of Sebastopol ended the quarrel between the Greek and Latin churches in Palestine. The conflict was suspended for a season, till sword and cannon had done their work in the Crimea. Had Russia conquered, the Syrian crisis would have been precipitated, and European influence would have ere this been ebbing out of Jerusalem. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre would have been

in her hands, and the imposture of the Pentecostal fire would have been triumphant. Had she, on the other hand, carried on the contest a little longer, say even for another year, the state of the East would have been entirely altered, and England would by this time have had the whole of Syria at its feet. Russia was exhausted ere her Crimean fortress fell, and would have had to withdraw her pretensions in Jerusalem as head of the Greek Church. But France, too, was no less exhausted; and by the time that another campaign had terminated, England would have been the only power capable of lifting a sword. The dictatorship of the East would have fallen into her hands without a struggle. But Russia paused in time; and by pausing as she did, in January 1856, she saved herself from total humiliation, and prevented what, by January 1857, would have been the inevitable conclusion of the warfare, the establishment of British supremacy both in Syria and Egypt. Our statesmen were terrified at the prospect of having to carry on the war alone against the Northern Emperor, as in a few months longer we should have had to do; but the conflict was one to which our resources were thoroughly equal, and the issue would have been worth all the cost,—though the disturbance of the balance of power would have been great indeed.

The warfare having ended in the Crimea before France and Russia were drained of men and gold, it could be revived, after a season, on the spot where the quarrel originally began. Accordingly it has been so renewed. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is surmounted by a dome,—large and somewhat clumsy. In 1853 this dome had fallen somewhat into disrepair. On its south side, some feet from its base, time and weather had worn away the outer covering, and a large rent or hole disfigured the outward aspect of the building and made it uncomfortable within. It must be repaired. By whom? Greeks or Latins? For to both the church belongs. Let it be remembered that this was not a case in which the parties were desirous of evading the expense of repair, and of casting the burden off their own shoulders. Nor was it a case in which each party was merely claiming the honour of doing such a work. It was not the honour, but the *power* which the doing of the thing would confer upon the party doing it; for in the East the man who assists in repairing a house has a claim over the house, almost amounting to actual property. Hence France stepped in, and in the name of the Latin Church insisted on her right to be the repairer. Russia stepped in, and in the name of the Greek Church maintained her right in the matter. The Pasha quietly made offer, it is said, to take the cost upon himself. But France would not yield to Russia; Russia would not yield to France; neither would yield to the Pasha. The *power* at stake was too great to be easily conceded.

Hence to this day the dome has remained in miserable disrepair; and the last accounts were, that the rent was getting so wide that the rain poured in.

It was the question, "Who is to repair the dome?" that led to the Crimean War! During that war the question was held in abeyance, in the hope that Crimean victories would settle it. The war ceased, but the question remained unsettled; the dome, of course, remained unpatched. The point has been stirred again. M. de Thouvenel, a French envoy at Constantinople, has revived the Latin claim to the cupola; and Russia is mustering all her diplomatic influence to maintain the rights of the Greek Church. Around the supposed tomb of the Prince of Peace, the battle of the two churches is again renewed. Neither nation is in a condition for war; yet both have sufficient power to fan the ecclesiastical animosities of a thousand years, and to hinder any adjustment of the question. No one can tell when this old cupola may be repaired; for a compromise between the parties seems almost impossible. They will rather allow the edifice to go to wreck. Another war may at any time be the result. The *direct* interest of Britain in these disputes about sacred edifices is not very obvious; but her indirect interest is great in the extreme. It is of no moment to her who patches the holy dome, or who possesses the "Church of the Resurrection,"—in so far as the dome and the church are concerned. Why should she then be drawn into the strife; and why should she incline to the side of the Latin rather than the Greek Church? The reason lies close at hand. The preponderance of the Greek Church is the preponderance of Russia in the East; and the first exercise of Russian supremacy in the East would be to bar out England from India. Better, then, that any other power than Russia should have sway in Syria and Egypt.

Foiled in her first attempt to sieze Palestine, Russia will be more wary now. Her object is now to gain silent influence, while she avoids open rupture. Nor will any effort, direct or indirect, be spared to accomplish this. As, during the war, she made Prussia her servile tool; and, by means of her, threw daily impediments in the way of the allies; so will she continue to do now. The game that Prussia is playing in Palestine, is as much for Russia as for herself; and while Russia carries on the diplomatic war with France, she with wily sagacity confides to Prussia the work of assailing and affronting Protestant England. The Prussian consul at Jerusalem is quite aware of the part that he is expected to play.¹ It is certainly not an unimportant one.

¹ Lord Clarendon, we have heard, was not asleep on this point. Lord Malmesbury is said to be less alive to the evil, and more disposed to let Prussia have her own way.

Yet it is one which calls for caution and prudence ; considerably more of these than he is supposed to possess. In the East, diplomatic schemes have facilities for oozing out which they do not possess in the West, as they who are entrusted with their execution are less upon their guard than with us, and at times betray their own secrets by their rashness and violence.

Travellers speak of the eagerness with which all nations are buying up the soil of Palestine. Each is making large purchases, and the land is gradually passing from the hands of the Moslem into those of the Christian Gentile. The Jew, as represented by Sir Moses Montefiore, has obtained a few small patches, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, on the right of the Bethlehem road as you travel southward. But it is Europe and Russia that are competing for the purchase of Palestine. Every year more of its fields are bought up by France, or Austria, or Prussia, or Russia ; in many cases not openly, but through the patriarchs of the churches, or some other such local agency. Large sums are thus laid out annually in the purchase of land ; and the extraordinary spectacle will ere long be presented, of a country bought up by foreign nations,—a country in which the land-owners are the sovereigns of Europe, or the representatives of the Greek and Latin Churches.

Nor has England forgotten her position or her interests. Through the shrewd, quiet energy of her present consul, some of the richest portions of Palestine have become the property of England, greatly to the annoyance of her Greek and Latin rivals. The Gardens of Solomon, hard by Bethlehem, and about seven miles from Jerusalem, have been secured by Mr Finn ; and it is not a little singular, that it should have been into our hands that this patrimony of the kings of Judah should have at length passed. These agricultural projects are warmly taken up by the representatives of the churches, as well as of the nations, save in the case of our own nation, in which our consul, unsupported by ecclesiastical power, and hindered often in his noble plans by those who ought to have seconded him, has for years persevered in his agricultural scheme for Palestine, and with but very partial aid from home has achieved no inconsiderable success. His operations, both at *Urtas* and *Kerim Khulîl*, are most praiseworthy ; and ought to excite much warmer interest than they have hitherto excited. For what he has done for the Jews, he is entitled to the warm thanks of Christians at home ; and for what he has done in maintaining both the honour and the interests of England, he may well claim the high approbation of Government.

England is the more called on to support her consuls in the East, because at present, as will be seen from Mr Porter's able

letters in the *Times*, the Turkish authorities are doing their utmost both to bully and to over-reach them. The Pashalic of Damascus is in a critical position, and Turkish fanaticism is gathering strength and fury. Strange to say, it is specially against England that this fanaticism is showing itself; probably because Continental hatred of our land bands European consuls together, and leads them to unite their influence and intrigues in stimulating against our consuls the smothered bigotry of Islamism. Should our Government show any vacillation in this matter, or any shyness in supporting vigorously the counsels and measures of its representatives, our peril is great and imminent; the Jaffa tragedy will be re-enacted at Jerusalem, and Mahommedanism will rush forth, scimitar in hand, from El-Khulil, Nablus, Esh-Sham, to do for the Christians of Syria what it has been doing for the Christians of Oude. A little more trifling and indecision on our part, a few more indications of timidity and submissiveness, and we have irremediably destroyed both our prestige and our power in these eastern regions.

In Syria there may be said to be three religions, the Jewish, the Moslem, and the Christian, including under the last all the various shades of false and true Christianity. Each has its own position, and exhibits itself in its own way. These three religions are the representatives of three moralities, very different in degree. The Moslem occupies the lowest scale, the abominations practised shamelessly among Turks and Arabs being almost inconceivable. The Latin and Greek, though low enough, are higher in the scale; and Christianity, even in its corruptest form, has not allowed morality to be dragged down so low, or rather to become so utterly extinct, as in Islamism. Judaism rises still higher; and fiendish or fanatical as you may find a Jew in his animosities, cunning or rapacious as you may find him in his dealings with the Goyim, yet among the families of his own race, there is an amount of purity and love which puts Latinism and Moslemism to shame. Hatred of the licentious Gentile may have done something towards this; but the influence of ancestral example, and the high standard of inspired law constantly presented to his eye, has done the most.

We who sit at home think of Syria as a Jewish land, and suppose that if we traversed it, we should be greeted at every turn by Jewish memorials. Travellers bring a different tale. Almost every trace of Jewish history has faded away or been buried beneath the soil. Rome is still Rome, and Athens has Greeks for citizens; but El-Kuds is not Jerusalem, nor Nablus Shechem, nor Sebustieh Samaria, nor Tsûr Tyre, nor El-Khulil Hebron. The localities are identical, but the identifying features are few, and these few half-effaced. The Italians still have Italy, the

Spaniards still have Spain, the Ishmaelite retains the desert ; but Egypt has ceased to be Egyptian, Syria is no longer Aramæan, and the Jew is a stranger in Palestine. Jerusalem is waved over by the flags of every European nation ; the Jew has no ensign there. Belonging to all nations, he has no privilege, no government, no law of his own, the unpitied victim of wrong and contumely.

Nowhere can a Jew feel insult and injury more than in his own land ; at no hands can he resent wrong more than at those of a Christian Gentile. The Moslem is a much more callous being, and is less sensitive either to kindness or unkindness. He can bear evil with as much indifference as he can inflict it. Let a Christian Jew be imprisoned, even his unconverted brethren would clamour round the prison and seek to undo the prisoner's bonds. Let an Arab be bastinadoed, his fellow-Moslems will smoke their pipes with all coolness amid his cries, uttering only the profane *Allah akbar* which is ever on their lips.

Among Englishmen the interest in the Jew is much greater than among other nations. One does not wonder that the men of France, or Spain, or Italy should be so contemptuous toward the Israelite. Romanism has taught them this ; and even the Protestants in these nations have imbibed, not perhaps dislike, but at least indifference. But it is more strange to find the Protestants of Germany so cold upon the matter. Luther's hatred to the Jews may have left its impress,—and his fierce vituperations have perhaps not been forgotten. Even some of the men who have gone out as Jewish missionaries have exhibited a want of sympathy with the Jewish cause, which one is disposed to wonder at. They will deal with the Jew as with a Moslem ; but they will not recognise any peculiarity in his case demanding a peculiar treatment. There are letters from some of these missionaries addressed to the "Friend of Israel," a Swiss periodical, in which the writer sufficiently betrays his coolness in the cause of Israel, and makes the reader ask, why he should be connected with such a work as a Jewish mission at all. The same remark applies to some German periodicals,—the *Jerusalems-Verein* for one, if we remember right. It is among the Christians of Britain that the Jew has ever found his truest, warmest friends. Somehow or other there seems an affinity, or at least a sympathy, between the Israelite and the Englishman, such as does not exist between the Israelite and the German. Among English consuls, too, there is a disposition to protect the Jew, such as is not displayed at the consulates of other nations. And it is remarkable that the greatest friend of Israel in the whole East is the British consul of Jerusalem. Since his appointment to the consular office there, he has laboured with such a cordiality and untiring zeal in their behalf, that one would be led to ask, if he were not the Jewish

consul. Securing labour for them, either in tillage or in building, he has permanently relieved the poverty of hundreds; while, by his unremitting patronage of all schemes for their temporal or spiritual benefit, he has been the channel of lasting blessing to them and to their children. Take your Syrian pony and accompany him to *Kerim Khulil* or to *Urtas*; mark the well-tilled fields and gardens and olive-yards; notice the busy hands that are there,—see the confidence which unconverted as well as converted Jews repose in him; and you will not be long in discovering what a patron and benefactor Israel has in that true-hearted Christian man, the fitting representative of the only nation that really befriends the Jew.

England is not *loved* in the East, any more than in the West. She is great enough to be envied, or perhaps admired, but too great, too strong, to be loved. That she is feared, is obvious enough; and much more feared might she be, were she as punctilious in claiming her position, and insisting on her rights, as some nations are. Her conscious strength makes her too easy and too patient; she lays aside needful vigilance and jealousy; she concedes to weakness what she would deny to power. The Moslem, indeed, if he does not love her, yet in some measure trusts her; for she is much more honest than others, and little disposed to aggression or cruelty; so that, unlike all others, she would rather suffer wrong than inflict it. But by all there is a recognition of her greatness; and even they that dislike her most, are proud when placed in circumstances which enable or entitle them to wield her power. A Syrian consul or a German ecclesiastic, entrusted with British power, is a proud man indeed. Ten chances to one, however, that he will abuse it. To have the power of such a nation committed to them, even in humble offices, is sufficient to turn some men's minds. Some of the most "fantastic tricks" that have been played in the East, have come about in this peculiar way. The position, which would not for a moment elate an Englishman, would at once upset a foreigner; nor does anything gratify him more, than when he can wield English power against some unhappy Englishman that may have fallen under his displeasure by his boldness and independence. Not more dangerous is it to place an English revolver in the hands of a Bedawi or a Syrian fellah, than to entrust English authority to foreign hands.

England is by far too remiss in regard to her own interests in Syria; and if our Government at home is not more vigilant and energetic, she will find herself gradually edged or elbowed out of the land. France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, have all their schemes of national aggrandisement there. The courts of Paris, Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin, are quite alive to the

importance of securing a strong position in the East. They instruct their consuls on this point, and they warmly back them. There is not one of their officials but knows that he will be vigorously supported by his Government in any scheme, however ambitious, or in any blunder, however gross, if only that scheme or that blunder tend to aggrandise his nation, or humble its rival.

Yet there is one portion of the East in which our influence must always be strong, so long as we retain India, and remain a maritime power. We mean Egypt. All that Egypt has become within these thirty years, she owes to England. Arrest English commerce, and Alexandria would collapse in a single year. Suez would, of course, become a mere pilgrim-khan, and her rackish well, instead of giving water to the three or four hundred noble camels that transport British merchandise across the sands, would degenerate into the annual drinking-trough of the Haj caravan. Cairo would suffer greatly, yet less, perhaps, than other Egyptian cities, as she is not quite so dependent on foreign traffic. But Alexandria would soon shrivel up into a fourth of its present dimensions; and not all the power of Greek enterprise or French ambition could prevent such a catastrophe.

Britain needed a short route to India; and this necessity has been the revival of Egypt. The faded cities of Egypt are reviving, and its buried villages shaking off the sand from their walls, and rising out of their debris. Across that narrow strip of land, the whole West pours into the East, and the East into the West. Europe empties itself into India, China, Australia, and the islands of the vast oceans of the antipodes; and these in return flow back to Europe. A narrow channel like this must, by such constant flow and reflow, be soon deepened; and, till British civilisation shall retreat, and British commerce dry up, this flow will continue. For, let it be remembered, that this revival of Egypt is only commencing; and the completion of the railway between the two seas will bring with it wonders on which we do not calculate. Five years ago the isthmus between Alexandria and Suez could not be traversed in less than six days—six days of weary travel, in which the Nile boat, the van, the camel, and the donkey, were alternately called into requisition. Now the run between Alexandria and Cairo is one of six hours; and that between Cairo and Suez will, as soon as the remaining twenty miles are finished, be one of four. At present the trains run only on alternate days,—soon they will be daily, or several times a day. At present steamers only come and go once a fortnight,—soon they will be, if not daily, at least on alternate days. The electric telegraph will, of course, shoot its wires over the desert, and under the sea, to India; and every change thus called up by British necessities, will be a fresh impulse to Egypt. In a

few years this neglected province of Turkey will be the wealthiest and most important of the Sultan's dominions; and the Pasha of Egypt will sit upon no second throne.

It is possible that affairs may take another course—a course which, though it will not wholly dry up Egypt, may materially arrest its prosperity. Should the Euphrates railway succeed, there will be two channels eastward instead of one. The Egyptian one will still be maintained, for it has advantages of its own; but the Assyrian one will be a mighty rival, and in its rivalry it may do for the buried cities of Babylonia what is now being done for the waste cities of Egypt. The stream of British commerce, pouring itself into the Persian Gulf, will raise up the old cities, and draw a new population to its banks. For a time, these two streams, flowing thus widely asunder, will leave Syria, or at least Jerusalem, untouched. But ere long the necessity of a junction will be felt, and the junction-line between Egypt and Babylonia, though it might only skirt, not traverse Syria, would, by its necessary ramifications, lead to a resuscitation of the cities of Palestine, and first of all, of Jerusalem itself.

As in India, so in Egypt and Syria, the Eastern mind is waking up; and one of the ways in which it shows this, is its desire for education. Whether this has been produced by the rivalry of others, or by the honour and gain now connected with education, or whether it be from the deep gnawings of mental hunger (for the intellect of the East has fasted long), we cannot say. Probably the human mind cannot subsist beyond a certain time in starvation or dormancy. When that time has passed, it awakes up by the very cravings of its own intellectual and moral appetites. These influences may be all at work in the present age, and producing that desire for something higher and better which we find so extensively prevailing. A European education is one of the objects of Oriental ambition.

To meet this craving, the different sects have established seminaries, supplied in many places with first-rate masters. In this educational movement, the Latin and Greek Churches have taken the lead. The Moslem avails himself of their institutions without scruple. In Egypt we find these schools; and also in Jerusalem. The seminaries which these churches are carrying on in the Holy City are, by all accounts, of a very superior order, and number their pupils by hundreds; while the Protestant institutions hitherto have been altogether unsatisfactory,—ill-conducted, ill-taught, and ill-attended. There can be no doubt that Protestantism is far behind in regard to education, and that, through the supineness, or perversity, or incompetence of societies at home and agents abroad, the education of Palestine is likely to fall into the hands of Greeks and Latins. The Jew,

indeed, converted or unconverted, will never submit to enter institutions where the symbols of Christian idolatry offend his eye. He cannot tolerate the Greek picture, the Latin image, or the German crucifix ; and he will find ways of educating his children without resorting to these institutions. But, excepting the Jew, no other will hold out, and even the image-hating Moslem will take education from the schools of a corrupt Christianity, rather than remain untaught.

It is passing strange that none of our great Missionary Societies, with all the funds and appliances at their disposal, should have thought it worth while to exhibit to the East the completeness of a Protestant education ; and while it saddens us to find education in Alexandria only in its infancy, when it ought to have been full-grown, it rouses one's indignation to its utmost to find an untaught Prussian mechanic the representative of the educational Protestantism of England in Jerusalem. With local jealousies and strifes we have nothing to do. Into none of them do we enter. We take the facts as we find them, and do not hesitate to say, that unless our societies do something for the East more than they have hitherto done ; unless they are resolved to educate in earnest, and compete with Greeks and Latins as only English energy can ; unless they have made up their minds to present to the Jew and Moslem a style and quality of education such as will, by its superior excellence, attract the Arab youth and command respect from all sects and nations, they had better quit the educational field and confine themselves to missionary work. Teach well, or let teaching alone. Beware of bringing education as well as Protestantism into contempt.

The churches of the East are giving signs of new life. It is not reformation ; it is not spirituality ; it is not Christian zeal. They have been put in motion, and are beginning to exhibit symptoms of ancient power. As into everything else in this age, good or bad, so into them vitality has come, and they show their revived vigour at many points, and in many ways. They are waking up to the idea of self-importance, unfelt for centuries. They build new convents, and repair or enlarge old ones. They lay out large sums on patriarchal palaces. They begin to dust their books, in preparation, doubtless, for reading them. They refit their book-shelves, and remove their libraries from the old lumber room to some conspicuous chamber. They are proud to show their learned stores, though chary in allowing you to handle them. They have not yet in all places learned to read their ancient manuscripts, and the Codex Sinaiticus lies uncolated in the convent of St Katherin, but they would not now part with them for a sovereign or a rusty gun.

Not that very much has yet been done. The present revivi-

cation is, as yet, more a sympathetic movement in connection with Western impulses, than a quickening from within. Still the stagnation of centuries has passed away. Whether the new life is to do God's work or Satan's is another question, and one of most serious import. But it is one on which we cannot enter, for it is one which we have no materials for deciding on. Had Protestant missions stood high in estimation, there might have been hope. But such is not the case. At Damascus, no doubt, we have the vigorous agency of the Irish Presbyterian Church; at Beyroot, Sidon, and Cairo, we have American labourers; but what have we at Alexandria,—what have we at Jerusalem? In the former we have neglect; in the latter, mismanagement; in both, Protestant influence is at zero.¹

We are glad to learn from Dr Barclay's work that the Americans have not deserted the Holy City. They are preparing to re-occupy the field which for three years they had forsaken; and if the present extraordinary movement in that land tell as it ought upon missionary enterprise, we may expect to find our Transatlantic brethren projecting and carrying out schemes, both educational and evangelistic, for Jerusalem, such as shall undo much of the evil that has been done there of late, and erect a Protestant banner round which multitudes shall rally. With a thoroughly Christian consul from the United States to co-operate with our own in his labours of faith and love, as well as generally to uphold the cause of Protestant missions, we may yet hope to see something accomplished for a city which has so long been the seat and centre both of Eastern and Western superstition.

But let us take a sentence or two from Dr Barclay's splendid volume,—a volume full of original information throughout. Though with some of its topographical conclusions we may not wholly agree, yet the amount of new detail with regard to Jerusalem and its vicinity is greater than that of any volume that has ever been published on the topography of that city. A residence of several years enabled the author to make many most important researches, the results of which he has given at length.

¹ For one or two years there were two missionaries in Alexandria, sent out by some Scottish Society. One has left, on account of health, if not both. We have heard several Eastern travellers speak very highly of Mr Brown, and regret his departure from Egypt. Jerusalem could spare some of its labourers, for either Alexandria or Cairo. It has four or five missionaries, two or three medical missionaries, three or four deaconesses belonging to the Lutheran nunnery, three or four teachers, and at their head a bishop. These are too many for so small a city; and to transport some of them to a larger sphere of usefulness would be a benefit to themselves as well as to the mission. Mr Holman Hunt, the eminent artist, in a most startling pamphlet, has noted the Jerusalem "jealousies," as well as other evils, among Eastern missionaries. See for further revelations a pamphlet by the lay Secretary of the London Jews' Society, J. Graham, Esq. The pamphlet called, "a Reply," answers nothing, but confirms everything which these two gentlemen have stated. The matter demands inquiry.

It is not, however, with these that we are at present concerned. We are making a survey of the East in its more general aspects, both secular and sacred, and we wish to cite Dr Barclay in regard to some of these. His sketch of the condition and relations of the city is thus given :—

In no other city, perhaps, on earth, are there so many and such distinct races of men and grades of religion as are to be found in Jerusalem—the sensual, fair-skinned Turk—the swarthy, turbulent Arab—the barbarous, ebony-skinned African—the superstitious, circumventing Christian of every hue and dye, and the down-trodden, Banquo-like Israelite, the wanderer of every clime—a stranger everywhere—at home nowhere—not even on his own heaven-given soil !

From Jerusalem as a central point 75,000 of the Arab family can also be reached in every direction. Situated on the medimarinean isthmus, between the continents of Asia and Africa on the one hand, and the Mediterranean or Western Sea and the Indian or Eastern Ocean on the other, leading to the abode of Japhet in Europe, and the Isles of the Gentiles in all Oceanica :—it is thus accessible to all nations, tribes, kindreds, and tongues. Nor is there another spot on the face of the earth so well situated as Palestine for the erection of a mighty Pharos, for the diffusion of moral light amongst those that are sitting in the region and shadow of death. Hence the importance of creating an immense Bible Magazine in Jerusalem. Equally obvious too is the importance of the Holy City as the most suitable place on all the earth for a “school of the prophets”—a great mission establishment for preparing missionaries for the whitening fields of the East—that “the law may go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.” What a noble and inviting enterprise !

The following statement as to the resources of the Jerusalem branch of the London Jews’ Society is curious, and confirms our idea as to what might be expected of such a mission, were it rightly managed both at home and in Palestine :—

How handsomely the Jerusalem station of this colossal missionary corporation is endowed with available funds, as well as with other ways and means, will also abundantly appear from the appended statement, taken also from the report above.

By Fund towards Stipend of Minister of Christ Ch., Jerusalem, Stock L.8500	.	.	.	L.8289	6	3
“ Fund towards repairs of Church at Jerusalem, Stock L.1000	.	.	.	975	4	5
“ Fund for Circulation of Scriptures in Palestine, Stock L.2000	.	.	.	1950	8	11
“ Fund for House of Industry at Jerusalem, Stock L.2000	.	.	.	9752	4	4
“ Fund for assisting to establish in business Inmates						

leaving the House of Industry at Jerusalem, Stock			
L.200	L.195	1	1
By Fund towards salary of the Apothecary to the Hos-			
pital, Jerusalem, Stock L.2000	1950	8	11
" Fund for the relief of Inquiring Jews, or Infirm or			
Aged Converts at Jerusalem, Stock L.4000	8900	17	9
" Fund for Widows and disabled Missionaries, Stock			
L.15,000	14,628	5	11
" General Fund, as per account	5904	4	2
" Fund for Relief of Jewish Converts, at Jerusalem	169	10	0
" Fund for Relief of Inquiring Jews, etc., do.	300	0	0
" Fund for assisting to establish in business inmates			
leaving the House of Industry at Jerusalem	9	0	0
" Reserve Fund	100	0	0
" Suspense account for sundry drafts of Committee			
charged to account of 1851-52, but not paid	3411	16	5
" Bills payable under acceptance	1711	19	5

In real estate possessions it is still more richly beneficed. Its splendid church edifice, the Anglican Cathedral—called at first "Church of St James," but now known as "Christ Church," is said to have cost—inclusive of the Consular Residence attached—several hundred thousand dollars, though only containing sittings for two hundred persons.

Our only other extract is 'as to what the author calls the "general principles" of the mission. It acknowledges as its basis the apostolicity of the Eastern churches; and greets the bishops, etc., of the Popish Church, as well as of the others, as "brethren in Christ." How a mission, sending forth its bishop with such a manifesto as we give in a note,¹ can be called a *Protestant*

¹ "The general principles upon which the mission was designed to be conducted, will sufficiently appear from the following manifesto of the Archbishop of Canterbury to his brethren—"their Holinesses" of the Oriental *Apostolic Churches*!

To the Most Reverend our Brothers in Christ, the Prelates and Bishops of the Ancient and Apostolic Churches in Syria and the Countries adjacent, Greeting in the Lord.

WE WILLIAM by Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, most earnestly commend to your brotherly love the Right Reverend Michael Solomon Alexander, whom we, being well assured of his learning and piety, have consecrated to the office of a Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland according to the ordinances of our Holy and Apostolic Church, and having obtained the consent of our Sovereign Lady the QUEEN, have sent out to Jerusalem with Authority to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the Clergy and Congregations of our Church, which are now, or which hereafter may be, established in the countries above mentioned. And in order to prevent any misunderstanding in regard to this our purpose, we think it right to make known to you that we have charged the said Bishop our Brother, not to intermeddle in any way with the jurisdiction of the Prelates or other ecclesiastical dignitaries bearing rule in the Churches of the East, but to show them due reverence and honour, and to be ready on all occasions, and by all the means in his power, to promote a mutual interchange of respect, courtesy, and kindness. We have good reason to believe that our Brother is willing, and will

mission, we do not attempt to explain, or even to comprehend. The title of "your holinesses," applied by Protestants to Popish prelates and Greek patriarchs, sounds ominously. This singular identification of Popery with Protestantism, which is the foundation-stone of the Jerusalem see; this bold recognition by English Protestantism of the apostolic churches of the East as true churches of Christ, must have wrought for evil, and "eaten like a canker" into the very heart of the mission, paralysing it in every effort.

But into ecclesiastical details we do not mean to enter. For these, however, there are ample materials, both as to the past and present. The High Church histories named at the head of our article will give the reader *one side* at least of the past; and for the other side of both past and present, he will require very much to shift for himself, as the region is one by no means fully explored. Materials may be found, but the man to classify and sift them has not yet arisen.

It is hard to say whether the Greek or the Latin Church has best succeeded in materialising Christianity. Walk into St

feel himself in conscience bound, to follow these our instructions; and we beseech you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to receive him as a Brother, and to assist him, as opportunity may offer, with your good offices.

We trust that your Holinesses will accept this communication as a testimony of our respect and affection, and of our hearty desire to secure that amicable intercourse with the ancient Churches of the East, which has been suspended for ages, and which, if restored, may have the effect, with the blessing of God, of putting an end to the divisions which have brought the most grievous calamities on the Church of Christ.

In this hope, and with sentiments of the highest respect for your Holinesses, we have affixed our Archiepiscopal seal to this letter, written with our own hand at our palace of Lambeth, on the twenty-third day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-one.

W. CANTUAR.

Signed and sealed in the presence of

CHRIS: HODGSON,
Secretary to the Archbishop.

The Lutheran Church sought an alliance with the English in conducting missionary operations in Jerusalem, at an early period of its history; and still maintains a cold and formal co-operation—in a kind of politico-ecclesiastical relationship. This singular copartnery was secured through the zealous efforts of the great Chevalier Bunsen, special envoy of the King of Prussia to the court of St James; who was instructed by his Majesty to ascertain "In how far the English National Church, already in possession of a parsonage on the Mount Zion, and having commenced there the building of a church, would be inclined to accord to the Evangelical National Church of Prussia a sisterly position in the Holy Land." His royal overtures of "aid and comfort" were received—as may readily be supposed—as graciously as offered. Amongst many other marks of the special favour by which Frederick William manifested his interest in behalf of the mission, was the donation of 75,000 dollars in aid of the Jerusalem bishopric. And all the consideration for which he stipulated in return for his munificent contributions, was the occasional use of the Cathedral when not occupied by the English; together with the right to alternate with Queen Victoria in the appointment of the incumbent of the See; who, by-the-bye, must always be an Englishman, by hook or by crook, before he can wear the mitre of Zion, and claim spiritual jurisdiction over Palestine, Syria, Chaldea, Egypt, and Abyssinia—his diocesan province!

John's at Valetta, St Mark's, Alexandria, St Katherin's at Jebel Musa, the Church of Nativity at Bethlehem, or the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem ; examine carefully the rites of both sects ; and the amount of materialism in both will be found so great, that you will find it impossible to express a preference for the one above the other. Both assume, as the basis of their ceremonies and services, the sensuousness of man's religious being, and meet this by an apparatus of materialism, which, set in motion by priestly hands at certain seasons, performs all of religion that is needful to satisfy the worshipper, or to appease God, or to fill the coffers of the convent. In Moslemism there is nothing material save the massive walls and the imposing dome ; and any one who has paced through the arches and recesses of the ruined but still magnificent old mosque of Cairo (more overawing than either St Sophia or Omar), will feel that the idea embodied in it was a spiritual, or at least a non-material one. In the apostate Christianity of the East or West, all is gross materialism, and the churches seem to vie with each other in their endeavours to express this in every part of their structure and adornings. Nothing can be more splendid, more fascinating as a piece of religious materialism, than the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is quite unrivalled, and must ever remain so ; for it has advantages that no other church can ever have. It is in Jerusalem. Not, certainly, on the very spot where the Son of God died and rose again—to that extent at least its influence is lessened—but not far off. On the slope of Zion, looking up to the Mount of Olives, and within half a mile of Gethsemane, circled by memorable scenes and spots, it wakes up at once crowds of sacred memories, which attach themselves to the vast old structure, both within and without. These memories, in themselves so spiritual, have all been materialised ; nor is there one thing connected with the great transaction on Golgotha, which has not thus been cunningly robbed of its life, and converted into an elaborate petrification.

This has done an evil work for pure Christian truth. The Moslem reviles Christianity as an assemblage of idolatries ; and the Jew does the same. And as the unity of God and the spirituality of His worship are two special points in the creed of both, it is not difficult to understand their abhorrence of a Christianity, of which the visible representative is a church such as the above. In its vicinity, or within sight of it, it seems impossible that a Moslem or a Jew could become a Christian. It is not that Godfrey's sword lies in yon well-adorned chamber, nor that Baldwin's lamp is burning o'er his shrine. The Mohammedan might forget his conqueror, and the Jew his persecutor. But everything on which the eye lights, from the "stone of

unction" at the door to the tomb and inner shrine, is so palpably material and idolatrous, that the very entering of such a place of worship seems the abandonment of pure and spiritual religion.

With singular tenacity the Lutherans cling to several of these symbols of religious materialism, both at home and in the East. They seem disposed, moreover, to ascribe to the narrow-mindedness of partially enlightened minds the keen English revulsion from such things. It is at this point that one of the striking diversities between the Protestantism of Germany and Britain becomes visible—we might say *tangible*. There is an amount of the material element in the former which does not exist in the latter. Luther's abhorrence of Rome was confined to some great points; and at these he was unsparing in his condemnation of her idolatry. But he was not always logical in his views of doctrine, and he sometimes failed in tracing out the ramifications of that materialism which pervades Popery. Hence his system retained consubstantiation; and in doing so it retained the root of the whole materialism of the apostate church. The Romish dogma of the real presence is one of the subtlest exhibitions of religious materialism. It assumes not only that matter can be spiritualised and spirit materialised, but that Deity can be materialised and matter deified,—both at the command of a man. Some might call this the *noblest* form of materialism; certainly it is the most subtle and perilous. This is the more remarkable, because of the transcendental tendencies of the German mind; from which one would have expected rather the extreme of spiritualism than any sympathy with materialism, either in religion or philosophy. In no way can this be accounted for, save that Luther allowed the seeds or roots of the evil to remain in the soil. To this, and not to the natural tendencies of the Teutonic mind, some of the phases of Germanic spirituality are to be traced; phases which go far to prove that mysticism and materialism, so far from being incompatible or mutually destructive, touch at many points, have a number of strong affinities, and secretly foster each other, even when openly doing battle. Hence, among Lutherans, the retention of semi-Romish ornaments, the use of the crucifix, bowings to the altar, ecclesiastical regeneration in baptism, and prayers for the dead. To the East the German Church has carried its un-Protestant peculiarities, and complaints have been made of the evil report thus brought upon the name of Protestantism. A Jewish missionary, visiting the Crimea some years ago, remarked in Simpheropol the numerous ornaments of the German Church there; and spoke strongly of the repulsive effect which such things have upon the Jewish mind. Not Jews only, but Mohammedans, identify them with idolatry. The difference

between Latinism and Lutheranism is not visible to the eye; for in both there is the crucifix, which the Jew especially abhors as the symbol of the Gentile idol. Beside us there lie some dozen of Scripture pictures, published in Stuttgart, but sold in the Bazaar of Jerusalem. They are Lutheran representations of scenes in the life of Christ; but they appear to us Popish throughout. The cross and the crucifix figure prominently in all of them; nor can we imagine anything more fitted to excite the indignation of the Jew or the sneer of the Moslem. Yet they are put into the hands of Jewish children in the Holy City. We have examined them once and again, both as specimens of Jerusalem wares and of semi-Protestant symbolism. We do not turn away from their rude execution,—that will pass with children; but the materialism which they embody, and the corrupt Christianity which they depict, are such as would lead us to hide them from the eye of every Jew, whether old or young, in whom we did not wish to rouse to its uttermost the old hostility to Christianity, and the ineradicable contempt for the idolatrous Goyim, against whose strange gods and graven images they and their fathers have for ages and generations been witnesses to the death.

The Jew in Jerusalem, whether of the Ashkenazim, or Sephardim, or Karaite, is a Jew every inch. In the street, or in the synagogue, or in the bazaar, or in the private dwelling, the son of Abraham does not forget, nor allow others to forget, his parentage. He is poor, but he is a Jew—a Jew in the city of David! Shall he then forget that his fathers were witnesses for Jehovah, and that Jerusalem was the place where the God of Israel set His name? Even if you could persuade him to cut off his ringlet, to doff his phylactery, to traffic in the bazaar on Sabbath, you could not induce him by any bribe, however large, to take a crucifix in his hands, or look at a *picture* of Messiah or an image of the invisible God.

Yet, while the Jew is the witness against materialism in religion, he is the embodiment of *externalism*; not of ritualism, as some would say, but simple externalism. It is in Paganism that the ritualist must seek his parentage; Judaism runs to seed in a bare but bigoted externalism, which nowhere shows itself more truly than in their four holy cities—Safed, Tiberias, Hebron, and Jerusalem. Yet in it, all is thoroughly Jewish. There is no admixture either of Paganism or Christianity. Even in its corruptions, Judaism exhibits the isolation which is the characteristic of the race. It is a system which can seek union with no other, and with which no other can either join or sympathise. It is too proud to urge its claims upon those around, or to endeavour to proselytise. Men may approach it, and receive it, if they please; they are welcome; but it goes not a hairbreadth out of its way

to seek any. It deals not in compassion for the worshippers of false gods, but in scorn for their worship and hatred of themselves. The Latin the Jew calls an Edomite, the Armenian an Amalekite, the Moslem an Ishmaelite—pitying none of them, but despising them all; and sitting down in his haughty poverty to await the era of his expected supremacy and honour. Whether gazing up at the mosque of El-Khulil, which covers the cave of Machpelah, or wailing by the old temple wall, or standing on the spur of Zion, where the sepulchre of David is at once marked and defiled by the Moslem minaret, or wandering up the western slope of Olivet amid acres of tombstones, each with its Hebrew epitaph, he feels that he and his religion are isolations, and that even in the land of Abraham the Jew is the stranger and the Gentile the lord.

Every movement, great or small, which the East of late years has experienced, has come from the West, and has been but a vibration produced by some continental shock, a ripple from the overspent storms of Europe, an impulse communicated by English energy and enterprise. Nothing of internal, or at least innate life, yet appears in the East. It is all derived, and of course fitful, as well as unnatural and unhealthy. It is galvanism rather than vitality. We have been startled by the announcement, made to us once again of late years, that the Turkish Empire was willing to become enlightened, or rather, was actually becoming so; and we were cheered with the news that Moslemism was sloughing off its bigotry. One is slow of belief as to either of these pieces of intelligence. A Turkish village is perhaps some night awakened by a band of English travellers, who, with lanterns, fire-arms, noisy mirth, and the like, do make some stir and introduce some light. But by next evening all the illumination and activity are gone. Such we suspect to be the enlightenment of Turkey,—an enlightenment which it could not help, which rather disturbed its rest, and which quickly passes off. Perhaps, however, it may be more permanent, and may lead to something higher. We shall see. As to Moslemism, there are few symptoms of liberality, either the true or the false. Religious fanaticism and savage intolerance are still the badge of the system. A slight leaven of infidelity has spread among the better educated, or among those who depend for their livelihood on European gold; a dragoman will drink brandy; an Arab Sheikh will neglect some of his five hours of prayer; Moslem law will wink at the use of bells in the convents or churches of Greeks and Latins; but, beyond these, not many steps have been taken in what is called liberality or tolerance.

The famous imperial firman, which has been celebrated as the magna charta of religious liberty to Turkey, can accomplish little

at present beyond proclaiming the good intentions of the Sultan and his minister. The fanaticism of Moslem mobs is above all law, and makes light of imperial edicts; and that it is not on the wane is proved by the great increase of pilgrims to Mecca this year beyond many preceding years. Much was said of the facilities of late years in getting access to the Mosque of Omar, and it was supposed that the Crimean war and English gold had thrown open the gates of the Kubbet es-Sakhrâh and of the El-Aksa to the Giaur. But the tide has ebbed, and the Nubian guards of the mosque have become as fiercely intolerant as ever. They who found their way into the *Haram esh-Scherîf* in 1855 and 1856, and got access to the old rock, the cave, the Bîr Aruach, the substructural arches, the subterraneous gateway, and the other marvellous antiquities of that venerable inclosure, may count themselves fortunate indeed. They have seen what may not be soon seen again. They have visited mysterious chambers, they have looked into the old temple wells, they have touched the old top of Moriah, they have walked round the massive monoliths of Jewish architecture, they have trod the bare limestone rock which Solomon levelled; and they may congratulate themselves on having something to tell for which future travellers will envy them.

Yet, though the doors that seemed to be opening are again barred, there is no longer the stagnation that prevailed some twenty years ago. Commerce is all astir in the Levant, though the propelling power is European, not Asiatic. Greece is bestirring herself, and Greek merchants are taking the lead in the busy stir. The old ports are no longer deserted, though some of them will not suit modern enterprise. Sidon might perhaps at some cost be shaped into a harbour, and represent Phœnicia once more; but Tyre will not so easily revive; its exposed and rocky coast rendering safe harbourage almost impracticable. But Beyroot is rising rapidly, and, sitting beneath the shadow of Lebanon, may yet come to represent the maritime power of the Phœnician coast. The splendid Bay of Acco, with a beacon-light on Carmel, might become a noble refuge as well as port, if only the Kishon would some day come down in sufficient force to sweep away the filthy village of Khaifa, so as to lead to the erection of a town and harbour worthy of such a bay. Jaffa, the chief port of Palestine, may yet rise in importance, were there any government that would lay out, say even twenty thousand pounds, upon its harbour.

In all this, however, the Jew, the original proprietors of the soil, has no part. The mercantile competition is among the merchants of the West. In their rush they tread down the ancient owners, nor think of asking them to share the spoil. That they will yet make something of these regions is by no

means unlikely, for the native fertility of the land is great. With a handful of population here and there, and with no demand for produce, the soil has lain untilled, the terraces dilapidated, and the olive-yards neglected. But, with increasing demands from Europe, the tillage will return, the population will increase, and the land will reveal once more its long hidden fruitfulness.

Britain lost the opportunity of pre-eminence in the East when she consented to terminate the Crimean war ere any great result was achieved. She consulted the interests of France and Russia ; but not her own. The continuance of that war for another year would have been almost nothing to her buoyant commerce, and it would so have raised her above every continental rival, that her sway in the East would have been paramount. The protectorate of the East would have fallen into her lap without further struggle. The Crusader's dream of a Western sceptre in Jerusalem might have been realised by her. Had her ambition been equal to her means, she might have sat down on the throne of Godfrey, and without resistance, claimed honours which her own Richard failed to obtain. Had Louis Napoleon's means been equal to his ambition, he would have been at this moment lord of the Holy City. Between want of ambition in England, and want of gold in France, Western influence lost the opportunity, thus within its reach, of obtaining the supremacy of the East. Whether such an opportunity may again occur, is a question beyond our power to answer ; but if it were, we might venture to risk a guess, that the same abrupt and indeterminate result would recur.

Britain does not seem at all aware of what she might accomplish, without sword or cannon, simply by force of *will*. Such is her name, and such her acknowledged greatness, that a traveller passing through Eastern regions wonders why her supremacy is not more decided and overpowering. He soon learns the answer,—that she does not make her *will* felt. Other nations, inferior in strength, put forth more *will*, and they shove her aside. She takes things easily ; and unless some extraordinary brush occur, likely to make a noise in Parliament, allows others to take advantage of her. Fatal as this is to prestige and influence, she is not alive to the evil. She would let an empire drift away from her rather than be at the trouble of altering routine. Feebler empires risk collisions, and gain by their audacity or imprudence. The weak thus rules the strong. Rather than risk collisions, she will spend months in consulting crown lawyers, when one bold despatch, or bolder messenger, would settle the case in an hour. Weak states, like women, resent affronts even when they forgive injuries ; strong empires are too apt to overlook both. Continental states, such as France, cherish resentments ; nay, found their policy upon them. Britain for centuries

has cherished none. A noble position certainly to be in ; yet a perilous one ;—surrounded as she is with enemies whose envy is only surpassed by their hatred. In the East especially it becomes dangerous to be known as a nation either too weak or too strong to punish. Britain is alternately regarded as both. Nor does she take decided steps to undeceive foreign, especially Oriental powers. She allows the dragoman of one of her consulates to be imprisoned by one of her cowardly but aspiring rivals ; she lets her representative be browbeaten by the same in the Pasha's court ; she coolly receives petitions from insolent foreigners for the removal of her worthiest officers ; and instead of backing her consular courts, she ties up their hands or cancels their judgments, at the bidding of a Prussian intermeddler.

She is entitled to hold bolder language than she does, and to occupy a more daring position. Much as she lost by the premature peace with Russia, she is still tacitly recognised as supreme ; and would she but act upon her felt superiority, she might do great things for the East,—for law, for liberty, for religion. The only nation that at this moment has the means of going to war, or at least of sustaining war for a single year, without dread of self-exhaustion or social insurrection, she might sway the councils as well as wield the sword of the world. She might say to the Sultan, If you won't or can't protect Christians in your cities and villages, I will ; and without doubt or delay, each pacha's or kadi's head would be made responsible for every one bearing the Christian name. She might say to the Pope, You shall grant to my subjects the right of worshipping in an honest church within the walls of Rome ; and the demand would be conceded. She might say to the continental consuls of the East, Cease your efforts to elbow or bully me out of Palestine, and put a stop to the schemes of your ecclesiastical tools, or I shall take measures, ere another month pass over, to double my strength in the pashalics of Esh-Sham and El-Kuds ; and she would be submitted to.

Britain has still a mighty name in the earth, and strength with which to maintain the honour of that name. Let her use it ; for it is a sacred and noble trust ; more sacred and noble than that of gold and silver. Neither East nor West can do without her. Did her statesmen but recognise her position, and consecrate her power as well as her resources to the living God, she might, without a crusade, do more for the East than the whole century of crusades achieved. *Other* statesmen, believing in a church, work out the interests of the church in which they believe ; what might not *her* statesmen do, if believing, not in a church, but in a God, they were to dedicate their influence to the cause of living truth, and seek the promotion of interests wider and holier than those of any church or any nation upon earth ?

- ART. VIII.—1. *Researches on Light in its Chemical Relations, embracing a consideration of all the Photographic Processes.* By ROBERT HUNT, F.R.S. Second Edition. 1854.
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3. *A Manual of Photography.* By ROBERT HUNT, F.R.S. Fifth Edition, Revised. London and Glasgow, 1857.
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6. *Researches on the Influence of Light on the Germination of Seeds, and the Growth of Plants.* By Mr ROBERT HUNT, Secretary to the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society. Reports of British Association, 1842, pp. 75–80.
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12. *De L'Image Photochromatique du Spectre Solaire.* Par M. E. BECQUEREL. Comptes Rendus, etc., tom. xxviii., p. 200. Feb. 1849.
13. *Sur une Relation existant entre la Couleur des certaines Flammes Colorées, avec les Images Heliographiques Colorées par la Lumiere.* Par M. NIEPCE DE ST VICTOR. Comptes Rendus, etc., tom. xxxii., p. 834. May 1851.
14. *Second Memoire sur Heliochromie.* Par M. NIEPCE DE ST VICTOR. Comptes Rendus, etc., tom. xxxiv., p. 215.
15. *Troisieme Memoire sur Heliochromie.* Par M. NIEPCE DE ST VICTOR. Comptes Rendus, etc., tom. xxxv., p. 696. Nov. 1852.
16. *Memoires sur une Nouvelle Action de la Lumiere.* Par M.

178 *Researches on Light—Sanatory—Scientific and Æsthetical.*

- NIEPCE DE ST VICTOR. *Comptes Rendus*, etc., tom. xlv., p. 811, Nov. 1857, and tom. xlvi., pp. 448–489, Mars 1858.
17. *Photographic Art Treasures*. Inventor, PAUL PRETSCH; Photographer, ROGER FENTON. Nos. I. to V., folio. London, 1856, 1857.
18. *The Stereoscopic Magazine*. No. I. London, June 1858.

OF all the elements which play a high part in the material universe, the light which emanates from the sun is certainly the most remarkable, whether we view it in its sanatory, scientific, or æsthetical relations. It is, to speak metaphorically, the very life-blood of nature, without which everything material would fade and perish. It is the fountain of all our knowledge of the external universe, and it is now becoming the historiographer of the visible creation, recording and transmitting to future ages all that is beautiful and sublime in organic and inorganic nature, and stamping on perennial tablets the hallowed scenes of domestic life, the ever-varying phases of social intercourse, and the more exciting tracks of bloodshed and of war, which Christians still struggle to reconcile with the principles of their faith.

The influence of light on physical life is a subject of which we at present know very little, and one, consequently, in which the public, in their still greater ignorance, will take little interest; but the science of light, which, under the name of *Optics*, has been studied for nearly two hundred years by the brightest intellects in the Old and New World, consists of a body of facts and laws of the most extraordinary kind,—rich in popular as well as profound knowledge, and affording to educated students, male and female, simple and lucid explanations of that boundless and brilliant array of phenomena which light creates, and manifests, and develops. While it has given to astronomy and navigation their telescopes and instruments of discovery, and to the botanist, the naturalist, and the physiologist, their microscopes, simple, compound, and polarising, it has shown to the student of nature how the juices of plants and animals, and the integuments and films of organic bodies, elicit from the pure sunbeam its prismatic elements,—clothing fruit and flower with their gorgeous attire, bathing every aspect of nature in the rich and varied hues of spring and of autumn,—painting the sky with azure and the clouds with gold.

Thus initiated into the mysteries of light, and armed with the secrets and powers which science has wrested from the God of Day, philosophers of our own age have discovered in certain dark rays of the sunbeam, a magic though invisible pencil, which can delineate instantaneously every form of life and being, and fix in durable outline every expression, demoniacal or divine, which the passions and intellects of man can impress upon the

living clay. They have imparted to the cultivators of art their mighty secret, and thousands of travelling artists are now in every quarter of the globe recording all that earth, and ocean, and air can display,—all that man has perpetrated against the strongholds of his enemies, and all that he has more wisely done to improve and embellish the home which has been given him.

A branch of knowledge so intimately connected with our physical well-being, so pregnant with displays of the Divine wisdom and beneficence, and so closely allied in its æsthetical aspect with every interest, social and domestic, might have been expected to form a part in our educational courses, or, through the agencies of cheap literature and popular exposition, to have commanded a place in the school and in the drawing-room, and to have gilded, if not to have replaced, the frivolities of fashionable life. Such expectations, however, have not been realised. Men of science who are much in the society of the educated world, and especially of those favoured classes who have the finest opportunities of acquiring knowledge, are struck with the depth of ignorance which they encounter; while they are surprised at the taste which so generally prevails for natural history pursuits, and at the passion which is universally exhibited even for higher scientific information which can be comprehended by the judgment and appropriated by the memory. The prevailing ignorance, therefore, of which we speak, is the offspring of an imperfect system of education, which has already given birth to great social evils,—to financial laws unjust to individuals, and ruinous to the physical and moral health of the community. If the public be ignorant of science, and its applications, in their more fascinating and intelligible phases; if our clergy, in their weekly homilies, never throw a sunbeam of secular truth among their people; if legislators hardly surpass their constituents in these essential branches of knowledge, how can the great interests of civilisation be maintained and advanced? how are scientific men to gain their place in the social scale? and how are the material interests of a great nation, depending so essentially on the encouragement of art and science, to be protected and extended? How is England to fare, if she shall continue the only civilised nation which, amid the perpetual struggles of political faction, never devotes an hour of its legislative life to the consideration of its educational establishments and the consolidation of its scientific institutions?

Impressed with the importance of these facts, and in the hope that some remedy may be found for such a state of things, we have drawn up the following article, in order to show how much useful, and popular, and pleasing information may be learned from a popular exposition of the nature and properties of the single element of light, in its sanatory, its scientific, and its artistic or æsthetical re-

lations. Should our more intelligent readers rise from its perusal with information which they had not anticipated, and which they had previously regarded as beyond their depth, our labour in preparing it will be amply rewarded, and we shall hope to meet them again in other surveys of the more popular branches of science.

I. In attempting to expound the *influence of light as a sanatory agent*, we enter upon a subject which, in so far as we know, is entirely new, and upon which little information is to be obtained; but, admitting the existence of the influence itself, as partially established by observation and analogy, and admitting too the vast importance of the subject in its personal and social aspects, we venture to say that science furnishes us with principles and methods by which the blessings of light may be diffused in localities where a cheering sunbeam has never reached, and where all the poisons and malaria of darkness have been undermining the soundest constitutions, and carrying thousands of our race prematurely to the grave.

The influence of light upon vegetable life has been long and successfully studied by the botanist and the chemist. The researches of Priestley, Ingenhousz, Sennebier, and Decandolle, and the more recent ones of Carradori, Payen, and Maçaire, have placed it beyond a doubt, that the rays of the sun exert the most marked influence on the respiration, the absorption, and the exhalation of plants, and, consequently, on their general and local nutrition. Dr Priestley tells us, “It is well known that *without light* no plant can thrive; and if it do grow at all in the dark, it is always *white*, and is in all other respects in a sick and weakly state.” He is of opinion that healthy plants are in a state similar to sleep in the absence of light, and that they resume their proper functions when placed under the influence of light and the direct action of the solar rays.

In the year 1835, D. Daubeny communicated to the Royal Society a series of interesting experiments on the action of light upon plants, when the luminous, calorific, or chemical rays were made preponderant by transmission through the following coloured glasses or fluids.

			Light.	Heat.	Chemical Rays.
Transparent Glass,	.	.	7	7	7
Orange Do.	.	.	6	6	4
Red Glass,	.	.	4	5	6
Blue Do.	.	.	4	3	6
Purple Do.	.	.	3	4	6
Green Do.	.	.	5	2	3
Solution of Ammonio, Sulphate of					
Copper,	.	.	2	1	5
Port Wine,	.	.	1	3	0

The general result of these experiments is thus given by their author: "Upon the whole, then, I am inclined to infer, from the general tenor of the experiments I have hitherto made, that both the exhalation and the absorption of moisture by plants, so far as they depend upon the influence of light, are affected in the greatest degree by *the most luminous rays*, and that all the functions of the vegetable economy which are owing to the presence of this agent, follow, in that respect, the same law."

This curious subject has been recently studied in a more general aspect by Mr Robert Hunt, who has published his results in the Reports of the British Association for 1847. Not content with ascertaining, as his predecessors had done, the action of the sun's white and undecomposed light upon the germination and growth of plants, he availed himself of the discovery of the chemical or invisible rays of light, and sought to determine the peculiar influence of these rays and of the various colours of solar light upon the germination of seeds, the growth of the wood, and the other functions of plants.

In order to explain the results which he obtained, we must initiate the reader into the constitution of the white light which issues from the sun. If we admit a cylindrical beam of the sun's light through a small circular aperture into a dark room, it will form a round white spot when received on paper. Now this white beam consists of *three visible* coloured beams, which, when mixed or falling on the same spot, make white, and of two *invisible* beams, one of which produces heat, and the other a chemical influence called actinism, which produces chemical changes, the most remarkable of which are embodied in photographic pictures. The whole sunbeam, therefore, contains *luminous* or colour-making rays, *heating* rays, and *chemical* rays.

When white light, therefore, acts upon plants, we require to know which of these rays produce any of the remarkable changes that take place; and as it is not easy to insulate the different rays and make them act separately, the inquiry is attended with considerable difficulty. By using coloured glasses and coloured fluids, which absorb certain rays of white light and allow others to pass, Mr Hunt made arrangements by which he could submit plants to an excess of *red*, *yellow*, or *blue* rays, or to an excess of the heating rays, or of the chemical or actinic ones. In this way, he was not able to study the pure influence of any of those rays in a state of perfect insulation, but merely the influence of a *preponderance* of one set of rays over others, which is sufficient to indicate to a certain extent their decided action. This will be better understood from a few results obtained with differently coloured media.

¹ Phil. Trans., 1836, p. 162-3.

	Light.	Heat.	Chemical Rays.
White Light contains	100	100	100
Solution of Bichromate of Potash,	87	92	27
Solution of Sulphate of Chromium,	85	92	7
Series of Blue Glasses,	40	72	90
Solution of Sulphate of Copper,	60	54	93
Solution of Ammoniate of Copper,	25	48	94

It is very obvious that the action of the chemical rays will be obtained from the *three* last of these coloured media, and the action of the luminous and heating rays from the two first, where the chemical rays are comparatively feeble. In this way Mr Hunt obtained the following interesting results:—

1. Light prevents the germination of seeds.
2. The germination of seeds is more rapid under the influence of the chemical rays, separated from the luminous ones, than it is under the combined influence of all the rays, or in the dark.¹
3. Light acts in effecting the decomposition of carbonic acid by the growing plant.
4. The chemical rays and light (or all the rays of the spectrum visible to a perfect eye) are essential to the formation of the colouring matter of leaves.
5. Light and the chemical rays, independent of the rays of heat, prevent the development of the reproductive organs of plants.
6. The radiations of heat, corresponding with the *extreme red* rays of the spectrum, facilitate the flowering of plants, and the perfecting of their reproductive principles.

In *Spring*, Mr Hunt found that the chemical rays were the most active, and in very considerable excess, as compared with those of light and heat. As the *Summer* advanced, the light and heat increased in a very great degree relatively to the chemical rays; and in *Autumn*, the light and the chemical rays both diminish relatively to the rays of heat, which are by far the most extensive.

“In the spring,” says Mr Hunt, “when seeds germinate and young vegetation awakes from the repose of winter, we find an excess of that principle which imparts the required stimulus; in the summer, this exciting agent is counterbalanced by another possessing different powers, upon the exercise of which the structural formation of the plant depends; and in the autumnal season these are checked by a mysterious agency which we can scarcely recognise as heat, although connected with calorific manifestations, upon which appears to depend the development of the flower and the perfection of the seed.”

The very curious fact of plants *bending towards the light*, as if

¹ This important result has been confirmed by the observations, on a large scale, of the Messrs Lawson and Sons of Edinburgh. See Hunt's *Poetry of Science*, 3d Edition, appendix, and *Researches on Light*, p. 375.

to catch its influence, must have been frequently observed. Mr Hunt found that, "under all ordinary circumstances, plants, in a very decided manner, bent *towards* the light;" and, what is exceedingly interesting, when the light employed was *red*, from passing through red fluid media, *the plants as* decidedly bent *from* it. The property of bending towards the light is strikingly exhibited by the potato; and it has been found that the *yellow* or most luminous rays are most efficacious in producing this movement, while the *red* rays, as before, produce a repulsive effect.

If light, then, is so essential to the life of plants, that they will even exert a limited power of locomotion in order to reach it, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it may be necessary, though to a less extent, for the development and growth of animals. When we look at the different classes of the inferior animals, we hardly observe any relations with light excepting those of vision; but, under the conviction that light does influence animal life, various naturalists have devoted their attention to the subject. In his chapter "on the influence of light upon the development of the body," Dr W. F. Edwards has given us some important information on the effect of light in the development of animals, or in those changes of form which they undergo in the interval between conception and fecundation, and adult age,—a process which, previously to birth, is generally carried on in the dark. "There are, however, animals," says Dr Edwards, "whose impregnated eggs are hatched, notwithstanding their exposure to the rays of the sun. Of this number are the Batrachians (frogs). I wished to determine what influence light, independently of heat, might exercise upon this kind of development." With this view, he placed some frog's spawn in water, in a vessel rendered impervious to light, and some in another vessel which was transparent. They were exposed to the same temperature, but the rays of the sun were admitted to the transparent vessel. *All the eggs exposed to light were developed in succession, but none of those in the dark did well.*

As almost all animals are more or less exposed to light after birth, Dr Edwards thought it would be interesting to determine the peculiar effect of light upon *the development of the body*. As all animals, in growing, gradually change their form and proportions, and make it difficult to observe slight shades of modification, he chose for his experiments species among the vertebrata whose development presents precise and palpable differences. These conditions are combined in the highest degree in the frog. In its first period it has the form and even the mode of life of a fish, with a tail and gills, and without limbs. In its second period it is completely metamorphosed into a reptile, having acquired four limbs, and lost its tail and gills and all resemblance to a

fish. Dr Edwards employed the tadpoles of the *Rana obstetricians*, and he found that all those which enjoyed the presence of the light underwent the change of form appertaining to the adult. "We see, then," says Dr Edwards, "that the action of light tends to *develop the different parts of the body in that just proportion* which characterises the type of the species. This type is well characterised only in the adult. The deviations from it are the more strongly marked the nearer the animal is to the period of its birth. If, therefore, there were any species existing in circumstances unfavourable to their further development, they might possibly long subsist under a type very different from that which nature had designed for them. The *Proteus anguiformis* appears to be of this number. The facts above mentioned tend to confirm this opinion. The *Proteus anguiformis* lives in the subterraneous waters of Carniola, where the absence of light unites with the low temperature of those lakes in preventing the development of the peculiar form of the adult."

The experiments of M. Morren on the animalcules generated in stagnant waters, and those of M. Moleschott on the respiration of frogs as measured by the quantity of carbonic acid gas which they exhale, confirm the general results obtained by Dr Edwards; but the most important researches on the subject have just been published by M. Beclard, in the Note which appears among the works at the head of this article. During the last four years, he has been occupied with a series of experiments on the influence of the *white* and *coloured* light of the spectrum, on the principal functions of nutrition; and, in the Note referred to, he has presented to the Academy of Sciences, in a concise form, some of the more important results which he has obtained.

Having placed the eggs of the fly (*Musca carnaria*) in six bell glasses, *violet, blue, red, yellow, transparent, and green*, he found, at the end of four or five days, that the worms were most developed in the *violet* and *blue* glasses, and least in the *green*; the influence of the other colours diminishing in the order we have named them from violet to green. Between these extremes the worms developed were as *three* to *one* both with respect to bulk and length.

In studying the influence of the differently coloured rays upon frogs, which have an energetic cutaneous respiration, equal and often superior to their pulmonary respiration, M. Beclard found that the same weight of frogs produced more than twice the quantity of carbonic acid under the *green* than under the *red* glass. When the same frogs were skinned, the opposite result was obtained. The carbonic acid was then greater in the *red* than in the *green* rays.

In a number of experiments on the cutaneous exhalations of the vapour of water from frogs, the quantity was one-half less in

darkness than in *white* or *violet* light, in which the exhalation was the same.¹

We come now to consider the influence of light upon the human frame, physical and mental, in health and disease, in developing the perfect form of the adult, and in preserving it from premature decay. We regret to find that our knowledge on these points is so extremely limited, and we are surprised that physicians and physiologists should not have availed themselves of their numerous opportunities, in hospitals, prisons, and mad-houses, of studying so important a subject. We must grope our way, therefore, among general speculations and insulated facts, in the hope of arriving at some positive results; and we have no doubt that the direct influence of light over the phenomena of life, will not be found limited to the vegetable kingdom and the lower races of the animal world.

Man, in his most perfect type, is doubtless to be found in the temperate regions of the globe, where the solar influences of light, heat, and chemical rays are so nicely balanced. Under the scorching heat of the tropics, man cannot call into exercise his highest powers. The calorific rays are all-powerful there, and lassitude of body and immaturity of mind are its necessary results; while in the darkness of the Polar regions the distinctive characters of our species almost disappear, in the absence of those solar influences which are so powerful in the organic world.

It is well known to all who are obliged to seek for health in a southern climate, that an ample share of light is considered necessary for its recovery. In all the hotels and lodging-houses in France and Italy the apartments with a south exposure are earnestly sought for, and the patient, under the advice of his physician, strives to fix himself in these genial localities. The salutary effect, however, thus ascribed to light, might arise from the greater warmth which accompanies the solar rays; but this can hardly be the case in mild climates, or indeed in any climate where a fixed artificial temperature can be easily maintained. Something, too, is doubtless owing to the cheering effect of light upon an invalid; but this effect is not excluded from apartments so situated, that out of a western or a northern window we may see the finest scenery illuminated by the full blaze of a meridian sun.

While our distinguished countryman, Sir James Wylie, late physician to the Emperor of Russia, resided in St Petersburg, he studied the effect of light as a curative agent. In the hospitals

¹ "Professor E. Forbes and Mr Couch have both remarked that the vegetables and animals near the surface of the sea are brilliantly coloured, but that they gradually lose the brightness of their hue as they descend, until the animals of the lowest zone are found to be nearly colourless. . . . Organisation and life exist only at the surface of our planet, and under the influence of light. Those depths of the ocean at which an everlasting darkness prevail is the region of silence and eternal death."—*Hunt's Researches, etc.*, Appendix No. vii., p. 386.

of that city there were apartments entirely without light ; and upon comparing the number of patients who left these apartments cured, he found that they were only one-fourth the number of those who went out cured from properly lighted rooms. In this case the curative agency could not reasonably be ascribed either to the superior warmth or ventilation of the well-lighted apartments, because in all such hospitals the introduction of fresh air is a special object of attention, and the heating of wards without windows is not difficult to accomplish.

But though the records of our great hospitals may not assist us in our present inquiry, yet facts, sufficiently authentic and instructive, may be gathered from various quarters. In the years of cholera, when this frightful disease nearly decimated the population of some of the principal cities in the world, it was invariably found that the deaths were more numerous in narrow streets and northern exposures, where the salutary beams of light and actinism had seldom shed their beneficial influences. The resistless epidemic found an easy prey among a people whose physical organisation had not been matured under those benign influences of solar radiation which shed health and happiness over our fertile plains, our open valleys, and those mountain sides and elevated plateaus where man is permitted to breathe in the brighter regions of the atmosphere.

Had we the means of investigating the history of dungeon life—of those noble martyrs whom ecclesiastical and political tyranny have immured in darkness—or of those wicked men whom law and justice have rendered it indispensable to separate from their species, we should find many examples of the terrible effects which have been engendered by the exclusion of all those influences which we have shown to be necessary for the nutrition and development, not only of plants, but of many of the lower animals.

Dr Edwards, whose experiments on animals we have already referred to, applies to man the principles which he deduced from them ; and he maintains even, that in “ climates in which nudity is not incompatible with health, *the exposure of the whole surface of the body to light will be very favourable to the regular conformation of the body.*” In support of this opinion, he quotes a remarkable passage from Baron Humboldt’s “ Voyage to the Equatorial Regions of the Globe,” in which he is speaking of the people called Chaymas :—“ Both men and women,” he says, “ are very muscular ; their forms are fleshy and rounded. It is needless to add, that I have not seen *a single individual with a natural deformity.* I can say the same of many thousands of Caribs, Muyscas, and Mexican and Peruvian Indians, whom we have observed during five years. *Deformities and deviations* are exceedingly rare in certain races of men, especially those who have the skin strongly coloured.”

If light thus develops in certain races the perfect type of the adult who has grown under its influence, we can hardly avoid the conclusion drawn by Dr Edwards, "That the want of sufficient light must constitute one of the external causes which produce those deviations in form in children affected with scrofula ;" and the more so, as it has been generally observed, that *this disease is most prevalent in poor children living in confined and dark streets.*" Following out the same principle, Dr Edwards "infers that, in cases where these deformities do not appear incurable, *exposure to the sun in the open air is one of the means tending to restore a good conformation.*" It is true, he adds, "that the light which falls upon our clothes acts only by the heat which it occasions, but the exposed parts receive the peculiar influence of the light. Among these parts, we must certainly regard the eyes as not merely designed to enable us to perceive colour, form, and size. Their exquisite sensibility to light must render them peculiarly adapted *to transmit the influence of this agent throughout the system ;* and we know that the impression of even a moderate light upon these organs produces in several acute diseases a general exacerbation of symptoms."

The idea of light passing into the system through the eyes, and influencing the other functions of the body, though at first startling, merits, doubtless, the attention of physiologists. The light, and heat, and chemical rays of the sun, combined in every picture on the retina, necessarily pass to the brain through the visual nerves ; and, as the luminous rays only are concerned in vision, we can hardly conceive that the chemical and heating rays have no function whatever to perform.

If the light of day, then, freely admitted into our apartments, is essential to the development of the human form, physical and mental ; and if the same blessed element lends its aid to art and nature in the cure of disease, it becomes a personal and a national duty to construct our dwelling-houses, our schools, our workshops, our churches, our villages, and our cities, upon such principles and in such styles of architecture as will allow the lifegiving element to have the fullest and the freest ingress, and to chase from every crypt, and cell, and corner, the elements of uncleanness and corruption, which have a vested interest in darkness.

Although we have not, like Howard, visited the prisons and lazarettos of our own and foreign countries, in order to number and describe the dungeons and caverns in which the victims of political power are perishing without light and air, yet we have examined private houses and inns, and even palaces, in which there are many occupied apartments equally devoid of light and ventilation. In some of the principal cities of Europe, and in many of the finest towns of Italy, where external nature smiles in her brightest attire, there are streets and lanes in such close

compression, the houses on one side almost touching those of the other, that hundreds of thousands of human beings are neither supplied with light nor with air, and are compelled to carry on their professions in what seems to a stranger almost total darkness. Providence, more beneficent than man, has provided a means of lighting up to a certain extent the workman's home, by the expanding power of the pupil of his eye, in order to admit a greater quantity of rays, and by an increased sensibility of his retina, which renders visible what is feebly illuminated ; but the very exercise of such powers is painful and insalutary, and every attempt that is made to see when seeing is an effort, or to read and work with a straining eye and an erring hand, is injurious to the organ of vision, and must sooner or later impair its powers. Thus deprived of the light of day, thousands are obliged to carry on their trades principally by artificial light—by the consumption of tallow, oil, or carburetted hydrogen gas,—thus inhaling from morning till midnight the offensive odours, and breathing the polluted effluvia, which are more or less the products of artificial illumination.

It is in vain to expect that such evils, shortening and rendering miserable the life of man, can be removed by legislation or by arbitrary power. Attempts are gradually being made, in various great cities, to replace their densely congregated streets and dwellings by structures at once ornamental and salutary ; and Europe is now admiring that great renovation in a neighbouring capital, by which hundreds of streets and thousands of dwellings, once the seat of poverty and crime, are now replaced by architectural combinations the most beautiful, and by hotels and palaces which vie with the finest edifices of Greek or of Roman art.

These great improvements, however, are necessarily local and partial, and centuries must pass away before we can expect those revolutions in our domestic and city architecture under which the masses of the people will find a cheerful and well-lighted and well-ventilated home. We must, therefore, attack the evil as it exists ; and call upon science to give us such a remedy as she can supply. Science does possess such a remedy, which, however, has its limits, but within those limits her principles and methods are unquestionable and efficacious.

Wherever there is a window there is light, which it is intended to admit. In narrow streets and lanes this portion of light comes from the sky, and its value as an illuminating agent depends on its magnitude or area, and on its varying distances from the sun in its daily path. But whether it be large or small, bright or obscure, it is the only source of light which any window can command ; and the problem which science pretends to solve is to throw into the dark apartment as much light as possible,—all the light, indeed, excepting that which is necessarily lost in the pro-

cess employed. Let us suppose that the street is a fathom wide, or two yards, and that the two opposite faces of it are of such a nature that we can see out of a window a considerable portion of the sky two yards wide. Now, the lintel of the window generally projects six or eight inches beyond the outer surface of the panes of glass, so that if the window is at a considerable distance below the luminous portion of the sky, not a single ray from that portion can fall upon the panes of glass. If we suppose the panes of glass to be made flush with the outer wall, rays from every part of the luminous space will fall upon the outer surface of the glass, but so obliquely that it will be nearly all reflected, and the small portion which does pass through the glass will have no illuminating power, as it must fall upon the surface of the stone lintel on which the window now rests. If we now remove our window, and substitute another in which all the panes of glass are roughly ground on their outside, and flush with the outer wall, a mass of light will be introduced into the apartment, reflected from the innumerable faces or facets which the rough grinding of the glass has produced. The whole window will appear as if the sky were beyond it, and from every point of this luminous surface light will radiate into all parts of the room. The effect thus obtained might be greatly increased were we permitted to allow the lower part of the window to be placed beyond the face of the wall, and thus give the ground surface of the panes such an inclined position as to enable them to catch a larger portion of the sky. The plates or sheets of glass which should be employed in this process, may be so corrugated on one side, as even to throw in light that had suffered total reflexion. In aid of this method of distributing light, it would be advisable to have the opposite faces of the street, even to the chimney tops, whitewashed, and kept white with lime; and for the same reason, the ceiling and walls and flooring of the apartment should be as white as possible, and all the furniture of the lightest colours. Having seen such effects produced by imperfect means, we feel as if we had introduced our poor workman or needlewoman from a dungeon into a summer-house. By pushing out the windows, we have increased the quantity of air which they breathe, and we have enabled the housemaid to look into dark corners where there had hitherto nestled all the elements of corruption. To these inmates the sun has risen sooner and set later, and the midnight lamp is no longer lighted when all nature is smiling under the blessed influences of day.

But it is not merely to the poor man's home that these processes are applicable. In all great towns, where neither palaces nor houses can be insulated, there are, in almost every edifice, dark and gloomy crypts thirsting for light; and in the city of London, there are warehouses and places of business where the light of

day almost never enters. On visiting a friend, whose duty confined him to his desk during the official part of the day, we found him with bleared eyes, struggling against the feeble light which the opposite wall threw into his window. We counselled him to extend a blind of fine white muslin on the outside of his window, and flush with the wall. The experiment was soon made. The light of the sky above was caught by the fibres of the linen and thrown straight upon his writing-table, as if it had been reflected from an equal surface of ground glass. We recollect another case equally illustrative of our process. A party visiting the mausoleum of a Scottish nobleman, wished to see the gilded receptacles of the dead which occupied its interior. There was only one small window through which the light entered, but it did not fall upon the objects that were to be examined. Upon stretching a muslin handkerchief from its four corners, it threw such a quantity of light into the crypt as to display fully its contents.

But while our process of illuminating dark apartments is a great utilitarian agent, it is also an æsthetical power of some value, enabling the architect to give the full effect of his design to the external façade of his building, without exhibiting to the public eye any of the vulgar arrangements which are required in its interior. The National Picture Gallery of Edinburgh, erected on the Mound, from the beautiful designs of the late W. H. Playfair, is lighted from above; but there are certain small apartments on the west side of the building which cannot be thus lighted, and these being very useful, the architect was obliged to light them by little windows in the western façade. These windows are dark gashes in the wall, about two feet high and one foot broad, and being unfortunately placed near the Ionic portico, the principal feature of the building, they entirely destroy the symmetry and beauty of its western façade. Had there been no science in Edinburgh to give counsel on this occasion, the architect should have left his little apartments to the tender mercies of gas or oil; but science had a complete remedy for the evil, and in the hope that the two distinguished individuals who have the charge of the Gallery, Sir John Watson Gordon and Mr D. O. Hill, will immediately apply it, we now offer to them the process without a fee.

Send a piece of the freestone to the Messrs Chances, of the Smethwick Glass Works, near Birmingham, and order sheets of thick plate-glass the exact size of the present openings, and of such a colour, that when one side of the glass is ground the ground side will have precisely the same colour as the freestone. When the openings are filled with these plates, having the ground side outwards, the black gashes will disappear, the apartments will be better lighted than before, and the building will

assume its true architectural character. The plates of glass thus inserted among the stones, may, when viewed at a short distance, show their true outline; but this could not have happened if, during the building of the wall, one, two, or three of the stones had been left out, and replaced by plates of glass of exactly the same size as the stones. This method of illumination will enable future architects to illuminate the interior of their buildings by *invisible windows*, and thus give to the exterior façade the full æsthetical effect of their design.¹

If it is important to obtain a proper illumination of our apartments when the sun is above the horizon, it is doubly important when he has left us altogether to a short-lived twilight, or consigned us to the tender mercies of the moon. In the one case, it is chiefly in ill-constructed dwelling-houses, and large towns and cities, where a dense population, crowded into a limited area, occupy streets and lanes in almost absolute darkness, that science is called upon for her aid; but in the other, we demand from her the best system of artificial illumination, under which we must spend nearly *one-third of our lives*, whether they are passed in the cottage or in the palace, in the open village or in the crowded city.

When we pass from the flickering flame of a wood fire to rods of pine-root charged with turpentine—from the cylinder of tallow to the vase filled with oil—from the wax lights to the flame of gas, and from the latter to the electric light,—we see the rapid stride which art and science have taken in the illumination of our houses and streets. We have obtained a sufficient source of light: we require only to use it safely, economically, and salubriously. The method which we mean not only to recommend, but to press upon the public attention, unites the three qualities which are essential in house illumination; but till our legislators, and architects, and the leaders of public opinion, shall be more alive to the importance of scientific truths, in their practical phase, we have no hope of being honoured with their support. True knowledge, however, advances with time. Vulgar prejudices are gradually worn down; and in less than a century, whether we have the electric light or not, we shall have our artificial suns shedding their beneficent rays under the guidance of science.

The present method of lighting our houses, by burning the lights within its apartments, is attended with many evils. The

¹ When ground glass is used for illuminating apartments, the ground side must always be outside; but when it is employed, as it often is, to prevent the persons in a street, or in one room, from looking into another room, the ground side must be placed *inside* of the privileged room. If it were *outside*, the passenger in the street, or the occupant of the one room, could easily look into the privileged room by rendering the ground glass transparent —by sticking a piece of glass upon it with a little Canada balsam or oil.

intolerable increase of temperature in well-lighted rooms, whether they are occupied by small or large parties—the rapid consumption of the oxygen, which our respiratory system requires to be undiminished—the offensive smell of the unconsumed gas—the stench of the oleaginous products of combustion—the damage done to gilded furniture and picture-frames—the positive injury inflicted on the eyes, by the action of a number of scattered lights upon the retina—and the risks of fire and explosion, are strong objections to the system of internal illumination. About half a century ago, the writer of this article proposed to illuminate our houses by burning the gas externally, or placing it within the walls of the house, or in any other way by which the products of combustion should not vitiate the air of the apartment. The plan was received with a smile. It had not even the honour of being ridiculed. It was too Quixotic to endanger existing interests, or trench upon vested rights. Owing to the extended use of gas, however, its evils became more generally felt; but no attempt was made to alter the existing system till 1839, when a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the best method of lighting the House. Many eminent individuals were examined; and in consequence of the Report of the Committee, the new system was adopted of lighting from without, or in which the air breathed by the members is entirely separated from the air which supplies the burners. A similar change has, we believe, been made in the mode of lighting the House of Lords; but the new system, in its most general aspect, has been admirably carried out in one or more apartments in Buckingham Palace, where the light is distributed from the roof, as if from the sky above, without any of the sources of light being visible. This method, of course, can be adopted only in halls or apartments with an external roof. In all other cases, considerable difficulties must be encountered in houses already built and occupied; but we have no doubt that the ingenuity of the engineer and the architect will overcome them, whether the system is to be accommodated to old buildings, or applied in its most perfect state to houses erected on purpose to receive it. But, however great be these difficulties, it is fortunate, that whether we are to have the advantage of the electric light, or a purer form of carburetted hydrogen gas, the mode of distributing it will be, generally speaking, the same, and we therefore need not hesitate to introduce the new system on the ground that it may be superseded by another.

Having so recently escaped from the inhumanity of a tax which prohibited the light and air of heaven from entering our dwellings, we trust that the Governments of Europe will freely throw these precious influences into the dark abodes of their overcrowded cities, and that wealthy and philanthropic individuals

will set the example of lighting, heating, and ventilating, according to the principles of science. Dr Arnott has already taught us how to heat our apartments with coal fires without breathing either the gases or the dust which they diffuse. Why should we delay to light them without breathing the noxious gas, and overlaying the organs of respiration with the nameless poisons which are generated in the combustion of the animal and vegetable substances employed in the furnishing of our apartments?

II. Having thus treated of the element of light in its *sanatory relations*, we shall now proceed to consider it in its scientific aspect. We do not propose to write an essay on optics; our sole object is to show to the unscientific reader how much interesting knowledge may be conveyed to him on subjects which he has hitherto shunned, as beyond his depth. Though thirsting for scientific knowledge, he may have neither time nor taste for the perusal even of a popular treatise, and yet be delighted with instructive and memorable facts which can be interpreted by the eye, and with large views of the material world, which sometimes startle reason, and “make even the simple wise.”

How few ever ask themselves the question, What is light? and how few could give a rational answer to it, if put by their children! In a room absolutely dark, there is obviously no light. The moment we light a gas-burner or a candle, light streams from it in all directions, as if it were something material, but diminishing in brightness more rapidly than the distance increases; that is, at *twice* the distance from the burner it is *four* times weaker, at *thrice* the distance *nine* times weaker, and at *four* times the distance *sixteen* times weaker. Philosophers describe this property of light by saying, that it varies as the *square of the distance* from the burner,—4, 9, and 16, the degrees of brightness, being the squares of the distances, 2, 3, and 4.

If light consists of material particles issuing from the sun, or an artificial flame, we might expect to feel them impinging upon our tender skins, as we sometimes think we feel them on the retina, when the eyes are extremely sensitive to the faintest light. If we open a bottle of musk in a very large apartment, the odoriferous particles immediately stream from it in all directions; but though they are *really material*, they neither affect the skin nor any other nerves but those of smell, and yet their size must be incomparably greater than those of light, which pass through glass, and all transparent bodies whatever.

It was the earliest opinion of philosophers—that of Sir Isaac Newton, Laplace, and others—that light does consist of material particles, emitted from luminous bodies, thrown off from them by some force or power of which we know nothing, and reflected

from the surfaces of all ordinary bodies; but a number of very remarkable experiments, made chiefly in our own day, have led many philosophers to believe that light consists in the vibrations, or undulations excited by luminous bodies in a medium called the luminiferous ether, which fills all transparent bodies, and extends to the remotest distances in space. It is supposed analogous to sound, which is propagated by vibrations or undulations in air; and the mode of its propagation may be illustrated by the beautiful circular rings or waves formed on the surface of stagnant water, round the spot where a stone has fallen upon it, or, what is more instructive, by the motion propagated along a field of growing corn. In the undulations on the surface of water, the waves do not advance, as they appear to do, but merely rise and fall, without carrying forward any light bodies that may be floating on their surface. In the field of corn, the motion passes from each stalk to its neighbour, and consequently there is nothing moved from its place,—a motion merely being propagated from stalk to stalk, as it may be from particle to particle of the luminiferous ether.

Whether we adopt the emission theory of Newton, or the undulatory theory of Hooke and Huygens, we must be startled with *the fact*, almost incredible, that in the one case, the material particles are launched through space from all luminous bodies in all possible directions, without their impinging on one another; and that in the other, the waves or undulations of the elastic ether are circling in all directions from a thousand centres, without being defaced or obliterated. If a number of intense odours were to be let loose from the same centre, they would soon mutually interfere, and the fine waves on a peaceful lake, if propagated from some adjacent centres, would soon disturb each other and disappear. It is otherwise, however, with the radiant locomotives of light. Whether they be material particles, or the vibrations of an elastic medium, they will ever carry, without the risk of collision, the great messages of the universe.

No less wonderful is the manner in which light performs its cosmical functions, the inconceivable rapidity with which it carries its dispatches, and the lengths of time and the depths of space of which it allows us to take cognizance. It is quite certain that light moves at the rate of 192,500 miles in a second of time. It travels from the sun to the earth in seven minutes and a-half; so that it would move round the earth's surface, a distance of about 25,000 miles, in the eighth part of a second, a flight which the swiftest bird could not perform in less than *three weeks*. In applying this measure of the velocity of light, obtained from direct observations on the satellites of Jupiter, to the greatest distances in the universe, we get the following results:—

From Earth to Moon, Light moves in	1½ second.
„ Sun,	7½ minutes.
„ Jupiter, ¹	52 minutes.
„ Uranus,	2 hours.
„ Neptune,	4½ hours.
„ Nearest Fixed Star,	45 years.
„ Star of 8th Magnitude,	180 years.
„ Star of 12th Magnitude,	4000 years.
„ The remotest telescopic stars, probably	6000 years.

Now it is obvious, that if any visible event were to happen on any of these planets or stars, it could not be seen to us upon the earth till after the time mentioned in the Table. If the nearest fixed star were to be destroyed, it would continue to be seen by us for 45 years after it had ceased to exist, the last rays which issued from it requiring that time to reach the earth. In like manner, if our earth had been created 6000 years ago, it would just now only have become visible at the most distant star, a point of space to which light takes 6000 years to travel.

These facts may be of some use to such of our readers as are familiar with certain recent speculations, which have as much science as to amuse us, and as much fancy as to mislead us. The ingenious author of a little work, entitled, “The Stars and the Earth,” asserts that “pictures of every occurrence propagate themselves into the distant ether upon the wings of the ray of light, and though they become weaker and smaller, yet at immeasurable distances they still have colour and form; and as everything possessing colour and form is visible, so must these pictures also be said to be visible, however impossible it may be for the human eye to perceive them *with the hitherto discovered optical instruments.*” “The universe, therefore, encloses the *picture* of the past like an indestructible and incorruptible record, containing the purest and the clearest truth.” The grave and pious Principal Hitchcock,² taking up these views, has carried them far beyond the limits of science and common sense. The anonymous writer wants only new optical instruments; but the divine tells us, “that there may be in the universe created beings with powers of vision acute enough to take in all these pictures of our world’s history, as they make the circuit of the numberless suns and planets that lie embosomed in boundless space. Suppose such a being at this moment upon a star of the twelfth magnitude, with an eye turned towards the earth. He might see the deluge of Noah just sweeping over the surface. Advancing to a nearer star, he would see the Patriarch Abraham going out, not knowing whither he went. Coming still

¹ When at its greatest distance.

² *The Religion of Geology and its Connected Sciences.* Boston, 1851. LECT. XII. The Telegraphic System of the Universe.

nearer, the vision of the crucified Redeemer would meet his gaze. Coming nearer still, he might alight upon worlds where all the revolutions and convulsions of modern times would fall upon his eye. Indeed, there are worlds enough, and at the right distances, in the vast Empyrean, to show him every event in human history."

The anonymous speculator tells us that there are *pictures* of every occurrence enclosed by the universe on indestructible tablets; but he does not tell us what lens separates one picture from the infinite number of them which must exist, nor what is the tablet on which it is depicted, so that granting him his instruments, he himself could not tell us when and how to apply them, or what they would exhibit. Let Dr Hitchcock, too, have his "created beings" with the highest powers of vision, and place them on a star which the rays proceeding from Noah's "deluge, sweeping over the earth," may just have reached. He forgets that the earth is revolving about his axis and moving round the sun,—that clouds and darkness are periodically covering its visible hemisphere,—that "every event in human history" does not occur in open day, and could not be seen by a contemporary observer placed anywhere above the earth's surface; and therefore, that all his speculations have not only no foundation in science, but no meaning in sense. The only truth which they so elaborately overlay is, that there are stars in the universe so remote from the earth, or from each other, that the light of the one cannot reach the other till after the lapse of a great number of years,—a simple corollary from the fact, that light moves with the velocity of 192,500 miles in a second. Not content, however, with torturing this little truth, he calls in the aid of *electric reactions, odyllic reaction, chemical reaction, organic reaction, mental reaction, geological reaction*,—all words without meaning, in order to prove, 1st, that our minutest actions, and perhaps our thoughts, from day to day, are known throughout the universe! and, 2dly, that in a future state, the power of reading the past history of the world, and of individuals, may be possessed by man!

Next in popular interest to the almost inconceivable velocity of light, is the number of influences or elements of which a white beam of the sun's light is composed. It had always been supposed that the sun's light was perfectly white, heating, as well as illuminating, every substance on which it fell; and that the colours of the rainbow, and of all natural bodies, were changes produced somehow or other upon white light, or were caused by the mixture of *white* light with different degrees or kinds of *blackness*. Sir Isaac Newton found, however, that *white* light consists of *red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, and violet* light in certain proportions, and that the *white* light which we see is a

mixture of all these seven colours. If by any means we remove the *red* colour, then the mixture of all the other colours will not be *white*, but have a *blue* tint; and if by any means we can take away the *blue* rays, the mixture of all the rest will be *reddish* or *yellow*. In like manner, if we remove or extinguish out of a beam of white light any one of the *seven* colours, or any part of one of the colours, the light will be no longer *white*, but *red* or *reddish*, *yellow* or *yellowish*, or *blue* or *bluish*, according to the colour or the quantity of it that has been removed.

Now, all the leaves of plants and flowers, and all natural bodies whatever, have the power of absorbing every sort of light which falls upon them, except light of their own colour, which they reflect or radiate. When the sun's white light falls upon the red petal of the *scarlet* geranium, the petal absorbs nearly all the other *six* colours which exist in the white light, and reflects only the *red*. In like manner, when the sun's light falls upon the *blue* petal of the *tradescantia virginica*, the petal absorbs nearly all the other rays, and reflects only the *blue*. That the *red* petal of the geranium, and the *blue* petal of the *tradescantia*, are not in themselves *red* and *blue*, is evident from this, that if we throw upon them any other light, they will each appear *black*; that is, they derive their *red* and *blue* light solely from their reflecting the *red* and *blue* rays, which form part of the *white* light of the sun. Now these statements are perfectly true, if the *red* colour of the petal in the one plant, and the *blue* colour of the petal in the other, were the pure *red* and *blue* colours of the sun's light; but they never are so exactly, so that, when other colours than *red* fall upon the *red* petal, it is not black, but of a dark colour; and when other colours than *blue* fall upon the *blue* petal, it is not *black*, but of a dark colour,—a result which Sir Isaac Newton thus expresses: "The colours of all natural bodies have no other origin than this, that they are variously qualified to reflect one sort of light in greater plenty than another."

These observations on the origin of colours, and of the composition of white light, enable us to initiate the general reader into the subject of the *harmony of colours*, a species of knowledge easily acquired, and of essential importance in the art of painting, and in all the decorative arts. In studying the works of the ancient masters, it is obvious that they were not acquainted with the true principles of harmonious colouring; and, in modern times, we know of no artist but Mulready who has evinced in his works anything like a thorough knowledge of the subject. Without descending into particulars, we state that *red* and *green* are harmonic colours, and *blue* and *yellow*. If the *red* verges upon *orange*, the *green* must be *bluish-green*, and if the *blue* verges upon *green*, its harmonic *yellow* must verge upon *orange*. The reason why these colours harmonise with each other is, that

red and *green*, and *blue* and *yellow*, make *white* light. For the same reason, any number of colours in a painting would be harmonious, provided they are in such proportions as to make white light. This of course is true only as a general principle; for if the painting represented a brilliant sunset, there must be a predominance of red. In order to explain why harmonic colours should, when combined, make white light, we must refer to the curious physiological fact, that when the eye is strongly impressed with any one colour, it sees at the same time its harmonic colour, or the colour required to make white light. If you look steadily upon a *red* wafer on a white ground for a few seconds, and turn the eye aside, you will see a *green* wafer. If you are in a room where the light of the sun passes through a bright *red* curtain, any hole or opening in the curtain will appear green. The reason of this is, that the eye is rendered less sensible to red light by looking at the curtain, and therefore, seeing less of red which is in the white light of the hole or opening, the whole appears *green*. If a picture is painted with two leading colours which are not harmonic—suppose *bright red* and *bright blue*—then it is obvious that after the eye has been fixed on the *red* part, it will see *green*, and this green will appear as a spot on the *blue* part of the picture; whereas, if the two colours had been *red* and *green*, the green seen after looking at the red would not appear as a spot on the real green of the picture. When two colours are harmonic, and placed in juxtaposition, they brighten one another, and the forms to which the colours are applied are more distinctly seen. If the hour and minute hands of a public clock, for example, are highly gilt, and the hours gilt on a *blue* ground, the time will be more distinctly seen than if any other colours had been employed.

Another department of optics which claims the notice of the general reader is that of vision,—the way in which we see and are seen. When we are told by some wise people, that having two eyes we really see things double, though we have learned to consider them only single, and that we actually see objects upside down, though we have learned from experience that they stand upright, it is high time that we should know something on the subject. In the shutter of a dark room make a little hole, and place a small lens in it. Behind the lens hold a sheet of paper, and you will see the landscape inverted, and, if there are men in it, you will see on the paper their heads downwards and their feet upwards. This is the case in the human eye; every picture painted on the retina being inverted when we look at it behind, in an eye prepared for the purpose. But if in the dark room we place an eye behind the head of an inverted figure, and look through the hole or lens, we shall see the head uppermost, and if we place the eye behind the foot of the figure, and look through the hole or

lens, we shall see the feet undermost, and conclude that the figure is erect. Now the eye is so constructed that every point of an image painted upon the retina is seen in a direction perpendicular to the point of the retina on which it falls, and hence it is absolutely necessary to have an inverted picture of objects on the retina in order to see them erect. With regard to double vision, it is quite true that when we see an object single we see two pictures of the same object, one with each eye; but every one point of the one picture is seen in the same place and direction as every point of the other, and therefore the two pictures necessarily appear single throughout. If we had not the power by the muscles of our eyes to place the one image exactly upon the other, the two pictures would be visible. If we had an hundred eyes in place of two, and the power of directing their axes to one point, we should still see only one object.

Of all the triumphs which science has achieved in any of its departments, the most magical, and the one, too, least understood by unscientific persons, are the powers of the microscope and telescope. The power to enlarge a thousand times and render visible the minutest parts of objects whose very existence the eye cannot discover; and the power of magnifying to any extent, and bring within the scrutiny of the astronomer, planets and stars, and other celestial objects, which the sharpest eye cannot descry in the heavens. It is not easy to explain the method of doing this without diagrams; but a sufficiently intelligible explanation may be obtained from well-known properties of lenses. If we place any object before a lens, an image of the object is formed behind it. If the object is near the lens, and small, the image will be distant and large, the sizes of each being proportional to their distance from the lens. If a small object, invisible to the eye, or imperfectly visible, is in front of a lens, and placed near it, its image will be enlarged so as to make it visible; and by looking at this enlarged image with another lens we may magnify it much more, rendering what was invisible visible, and exhibiting structures unseen by the eye.

In the case of the heavenly bodies, or of distant objects on our own globe, we cannot bring them near a lens so as to produce an enlarged image of them to be afterwards magnified. We use, however, lenses of a great focal length (that is, which form their image at a great distance behind them); and these images of distant objects are much larger than the small images of them formed by the eye. These enlarged images are again magnified by viewing them with a small lens. But as light is always lost in magnifying an object, it is necessary, as in the finest achromatic telescopes of glass, to have the lenses as large as they can be got, 18 or 24 inches in diameter, to admit much light; and in the reflecting telescope, such as those of Lord Rosse, specula

have been used three and six feet in diameter, to collect light enough to enable high magnifying powers to be applied to the images formed in the focus of the speculum.

There is one other property of light, discovered in our own day, of which it behoves every person to have some knowledge, however slight. It is the *polarisation* of light,—a remarkable property, which is often talked of by persons who do not know even the meaning of the name. If we reflect a ray of *ordinary* light, coming either from the sun or a candle, from the surface of any transparent body, solid or fluid, at an angle between 53° and 68° — 53° for *water*, 56° for *glass*, and 68° for *diamond*,—the ray of light so reflected is *polarised light*. Receive the polarised ray—the ray polarised by glass, for example,—upon another plate of the same glass at an angle of 56° , and turn the plate round 360° , a complete circle, keeping the ray always incident at the same angle of 56° , you will observe *four* positions, distant 90° , at which the light disappears, the glass being unable to reflect it, and other *four* positions, distant 45° from these, and 90° from each other, where the light reflected is the brightest; the light reflected in all other positions increasing from the dark to the bright position. The *polarised light*, therefore, possessing these properties, must have suffered some remarkable change by being reflected at an angle of 58° from the glass; and consequently it differs entirely from *ordinary light*, which is *equally* reflected from the glass during the rotation of the glass round the ray.

Let us now fix these two plates of glass so that ordinary light falling upon the first plate is polarised, and place the second plate in one of the four positions where the polarised ray will not be reflected, and the flame from which it proceeds appears as a black spot when we look into the second plate.¹ In this simple little apparatus, which a child may make, we call the first plate of glass the *polariser*, because it polarises the ordinary light, and the second plate the *analyser*, for reasons which we shall presently see. If we now take a thin slice of *gypsum*, or sulphate of lime (which is as transparent as glass), about the 100th of an inch thick, and holding it between the polariser and analyser, we look into the analyser so as to see the black spot through the slice of gypsum, we shall be surprised to find, upon turning the slice round, that there are four positions of it, distant 90° , where the gypsum will have the most brilliant colour—suppose red—restoring the light of the vanished flame, and that in other four positions, distant 45° from these, where all colour disappears, and the black spot returns. If we now fix the film of gypsum in the position where it gives the brightest *red*, and make the ana-

¹ It will be found convenient to take the ordinary light from the sky, so that when we look into the second plate, we shall see a black spot on the reflected picture of the sky.

lyser revolve round the polarised ray or black spot, we shall find two positions, 180° distant, where the *red* will be seen upon the black spot. At points 45° distant from these the *red* will disappear, and the black spot return. At other four points, distant 45° from them, the gypsum will be of a bright *green* colour, the colours getting paler and paler as the analyser comes to the position which gives the black spot. Hence we see that when the slice of gypsum revolves, only one colour varying with the thickness of the slice is seen, and when the analyser alone revolves, *two* colours, *red* and *green*, or *blue* and *yellow*, are seen ; and these colours are always the *pure harmonic colours*. These two colours make pure white or colourless light, and they are analysed by the analyser which, in one position, reflects to the eye one colour, viz., the *red*, but is not able, in the same position, to reflect the other colour, namely, the *green*. In another position, however, it reflects the *green* and not the *red*, so that it has analysed, when mixed, the two colours, *red* and *green*, which compose the colourless light transmitted by the slice of gypsum.

If, instead of the slice of gypsum, we place in the apparatus plates of *Iceland spar*, *quartz*, and *beryl*, etc., and make the light pass along the axis of the crystal, we shall observe the most beautiful phenomena of circular and highly-coloured rings with a black cross ; and if we use biaxal crystals, such as *arragonite* or *nitre*, we shall see the most brilliantly coloured double system of rings along the principal axis of the crystal.

Our limited space will not permit us to give any further account of the wonderful properties of polarised light, and of the almost magical structures which it develops. When we look with the most powerful microscopes at many transparent bodies, animal, vegetable, and mineral, we see no structure whatever ; but when we make polarised light pass through them, it emerges with certain changes in its state, produced by the structure of the body, and these changes are rendered visible by the analyser in a variety of tints, either faint or brilliant.

III. We come now to consider light in its *æsthetic relations*, or as an auxiliary to art.

In an article on Photography, published in an early number of this Journal,¹ we have given a very full account of the history of this wonderful art, and of the various processes on paper and on metal which were at that time known. So rapid, however, has been the progress of discovery, and so valuable the improvements that have been made in the art, that new materials and processes have been introduced, and the original method of taking the negative photographs on paper has almost entirely disappeared.

In our history of the early attempts to take pictures by the

¹ See this Journal, vol. vii., p. 465, August 1847.

rays of the sun, we omitted to notice a very interesting and successful experiment made by our distinguished countryman, the late Dr Thomas Young. In 1802, when Mr Wedgewood was “making profiles by the agency of light,” and Sir Humphry Davy was “copying on prepared paper the images of small objects produced by means of the solar microscope,” Dr Young was taking photographs, upon paper dipped in a solution of nitrate of silver, of the coloured rings observed by Newton; and his experiments clearly prove that the agent was not the luminous rays in the sun’s light, but the invisible or chemical rays beyond the violet. The paper in which this experiment is described is entitled, “Experiments and Calculations relative to Physical Optics,”¹ and was read to the Royal Society of London in November 1803 as the Bakerian Lecture. The passage we shall give in its entire state, from the sixth section of the paper, and is entitled, *Experiment on the dark rays of Ritter*:—

“The existence of solar rays accompanying light more refrangible than the violet rays, and cognisable by their chemical effect, was first ascertained by Mr Ritter; but Dr Wollaston made the same experiments a very short time afterwards, without having been informed of what had been done on the Continent. These rays appear to extend beyond the violet rays of the prismatic spectrum, through a space nearly equal to that which is occupied by the violet. In order to complete the comparison of their properties with those of visible light, I was desirous of examining the effect of their reflection from a thin plate of air, capable of producing the well-known rings of colours. For this purpose I formed an image of the rings, by means of the solar microscope, with the apparatus which I had described in the journals of the Royal Institution, and I threw this image on paper dipped in a solution of nitrate of silver, placed at a distance of about nine inches from the microscope. In the course of an hour, portions of three dark rings were very distinctly visible, much smaller than the brightest rings of the coloured image, and coinciding very nearly in their dimensions with the rings of violet light that appeared upon the interposition of violet glass. I thought the dark rings were a little smaller than the violet rings, but the difference was not sufficiently great to be accurately ascertained; it might be as much as 1-30th or 1-40th of the diameters, but not greater. It is the less surprising that the difference should be so small, as the dimensions of the coloured rings do not by any means vary at the violet end of the spectrum so rapidly as at the red end. For performing this experiment with very great accuracy, a heliostate would be necessary, since the motion of the sun causes a slight change in the place of the image; and leather impregnated with muriate of silver would indicate the effect with greater delicacy. The experiment, however, in its present state, is sufficient to complete the analogy of the invisible with the visible rays, and to show that they are equally liable to the

¹ This paper is reprinted in Dr Young’s *Lectures on Natural Philosophy*, vol. ii., p. 639-648.

general law (of interference), which is the principal subject of this paper."

The beautiful process of the *Calotype* or *Talbotype*, viewed as a whole, was the undoubted invention of Mr Henry Fox Talbot. As a new art which gave employment to thousands, he brought it to a high degree of perfection. He expended large sums of money in obtaining for the public the full benefit of his invention, and towards the termination of his patent he liberally surrendered to photographic amateurs and others all the rights which he possessed, with the one exception of taking portraits for sale, which he had conveyed to others, and which he was bound by law and in honour to secure to them.¹ As Mr Talbot had derived no pecuniary benefit from his patent, he had intended to apply for an extension of it to the Privy Council; but the art had been so universally practised, that numerous parties were interested in opposing the application, and individuals were found who laid claim to the use of some of the chemical materials used in the calotype, and who combined with others to reduce the patent, and thus prevent the possibility of its renewal. Although we are confident that a jury of philosophers in any part of the world would have given a verdict in favour of Mr Talbot's patent, taken as a whole, and so long unchallenged, yet we regret to say that an English judge and jury were found to deprive him of his right and transfer it to the public. The patrons of science and of art stood aloof in the contest, and none of our scientific institutions, and no intelligent member of the Government, came forward to claim from the State a national reward to Mr Talbot. In France, the Government, by the advice of M. Arago, acted a very different part to Niepce and Daguerre, the inventors of the *Daguerreotype*. The invention was given as a present from the State to France, and even to Europe, and Niepce and Daguerre received between them an annual pension of L.833 !

The great defect in Mr Talbot's process, not in his patent, was, that *paper* was the substance upon which his calotype pictures were to be taken. He early saw the difficulty of obtaining this material of a suitable quality for photographic purposes, and he made many attempts to remedy the evil; but although several papermakers exerted themselves to the utmost, and succeeded, to a certain extent, in manufacturing a highly improved article, yet the size employed, and various chemical substances used in the process, rendered it impossible to procure paper of that fineness and uniformity of texture which the advanced state of the art required. When the artist had bestowed the greatest pains in taking a negative picture, and had taken it sometimes two or three times, he often found his own labour lost, and the expectations of his sitters disappointed.

¹ Hunt's *Manual*, etc., p. 329.

Under these circumstances, the idea occurred to M. Niepce St Victor, Commandant of the Louvre, to whom photography owes so many obligations, to reject paper altogether for negatives, and to use a film of albumen spread upon glass. To do this, he takes 5 ounces of the whites of fresh eggs, mixed with 100 grains of iodide of potassium, 20 grains of bromide of potassium, and 10 grains of common salt. This mixture is beaten up with a fork, and after resting all night it is ready in the morning for use; that is, it is ready to be spread into an uniform film upon glass, and employed instead of paper for taking negative photographs.

The great advantage of the albumen process is, that the film is perfectly smooth and homogeneous, and may be obtained of a very large size. Its defect, however, is its want of sensibility,¹ so that it can be employed only for statues and landscapes. It seems to have been very little used in England, but has been brought to great perfection by Messrs Ross and Thomson in Edinburgh, who, to use the words of Mr Hunt, “have been eminently successful operators with it,—many of their pictures, which are of a large size, exhibiting more artistic effect than is obtained by any other photographers. Some of the positives produced are very fine. At the last meeting of the British Association in Edinburgh, these gentlemen exhibited some positive images on glass plates; these were backed up with plaster of Paris for the purpose of exalting the effects, which were exceedingly delicate and beautiful.”² We have now before us six of these magnificent photographs, 15½ inches by 15½, representing Edinburgh from the Calton Hill, interior of Holyrood Chapel, Melrose Abbey in two aspects, the Golden Gate of St Andrew’s Cathedral, and the north door-way of Dunfermline Cathedral, Benan, and Benvenu; and we have no hesitation in saying, that they surpass everything that has been done in this country.

We have obtained from Messrs Ross and Thomson the following account of the process by which these remarkable views were obtained :—

“The whites of several eggs, having 18 drops of saturated iodide of potassium added for each egg, are beat up into a large mass of froth, and allowed to stand for 10 or 12 hours, till the whole falls into a liquid. It is then poured plentifully upon the surface of a clean plate of glass, which, by means of a bent wire and a piece of worsted thread, is made to revolve at a moderate rate before a clear fire, till by the influence of the centrifugal force, a very perfect film of albumen is spread over the glass. When the albumen begins to crack at the edges, the plate is withdrawn from the fire, covered with minute cracks over the whole of its surface. It is now dipped in nitrate of silver, 70 grains to the ounce of water, having mixed with

¹ “It requires an exposure of at least *sixty* times longer than the same preparation on paper.”—Hunt’s *Manual*, p. 83.

² *Manual of Photography*, 1857. Edit. v., p. 84.

it a 20th part in quantity of strong acetic acid. When taken out, it is washed with water once or twice, and before it is dry the picture may be taken upon it. If the object is a light one, four minutes will be sufficient to impress the image, but anything red or green will take longer. The picture is developed by pouring a saturated solution of gallic acid on the albumen, and spreading it with a piece of cotton wool. The picture will then appear slowly and gradually of a reddish colour, and when brought out as far as it will come, a little of the nitrate of silver solution mixed with gallic acid is spread over it with a piece of clean cotton wool. The picture will now assume a darker and more vivid appearance; and when fixed with a solution of hyposulphate of soda, may be washed with clean water. No varnish is required, and hundreds or thousands of copies may be taken from it. At a meeting of the Scottish Photographic Society in 1857, a dense negative of a statue was taken by gas-light in *fifteen* minutes. This was the highest state of sensitiveness that Messrs Ross and Thomson ever saw. It was produced by an excess of iodide of potassium in the albumen; but they found that plates thus prepared are apt to crack and chip off the glass, when exposed to the sun in printing."

Owing to the great length of time required to take a photograph in albumen, various attempts have been made to render it more sensitive, or to obtain a more sensitive material equally uniform and manageable. Mr Hunt had, in 1844, recommended the use of the fluorides; and M. B. Everard has lately employed the fluoride of potassium, along with the iodide of potassium, as a means of obtaining instantaneous images on albumen. Mr Hunt has found that the image appears immediately on exposure in the camera, and anticipates great advantages from the use of the fluorides.¹

For the same reason, M. Niepce St Victor has recently published a process, in which, in place of albumen, he employs 70 grains of starch rubbed down in 70 grains of water, and then mixed with 3 or 4 oz. more of water. After $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains of iodide of potassium are added, the whole is boiled till the starch is properly dissolved. It is then laid upon a plate of glass, and is said to give tablets of great sensibility. The serum of milk, and gelatine and other substances have also been proposed, and used, to obtain a surface more transparent than paper, and more sensitive than albumen; but most of them have been abandoned, at least for portraits, since the introduction of *collodion* by Archer in 1850.

The discovery and use of collodion is doubtless the greatest improvement that has been made in photography. Collodion is a limpid fluid of the colour of sherry, and is made by dissolving gun-cotton in ether containing a little alcohol. Gun-cotton is made by mixing 70 grains of fine selected cotton with water,

¹ Grape sugar and honey have been successfully employed in greatly increasing the sensibility of albumen plates.

nitre, and sulphuric acid, in the proportions of 3, 4, and 5 ounces. After the cotton has been washed in this bath by stirring it with two glass rods, it is taken out, well washed with water to remove every trace of acid, and hung up to dry. Fifteen grains of gun-cotton, thus prepared, is placed in a mixture of 9 fluid ounces of rectified sulphuric ether, with 1 ounce of alcohol 60° overproof. The cotton will be almost wholly dissolved, with the exception of some fibres, which will fall to the bottom. The clear solution, or collodion, when poured off, is ready to be iodized, by adding to it a certain quantity, to be determined by experiment, of an alcoholic solution of the iodide of silver and the iodide of potassium. A glass plate, well cleaned from grease, is coated with a thin film of collodion, obtained by pouring a small quantity on the plate, and running it off by one corner into the bottle. This film, solidified by the evaporation of the ether, is now excited by a solution of 30 grains of nitrate of silver in 1 ounce of water. It is placed in the camera, and the image developed and fixed by processes, which we cannot of course here find room to detail.

Collodion may be prepared from paper, flax, the pith of the elder, and many other vegetable substances. In whatever way it is made, the name of *pyroxyline* is given to it. *Lignine*, or the true substance of wood, is convertible into a substance analogous to true gun-cotton. *Lignine*, combined with strong nitric acid, forms a substance called *xyloidide*. The preparations of collodion by Mr R. W. Thomas are in much esteem, and are sold under the name of *Xylo-iodide of Silver*.

Although M. Biot, in 1840, considered it as an illusion to expect photographs having the colour of the objects which they represent, yet a certain advance, and one of some importance, has been made to this result. In a former article we referred to the attempts of M. Claudet and Sir John Herschel to copy the colours of nature. Mr Hunt “produced coloured images, not merely impressions of the rays of the spectrum, but copies in the camera of coloured objects.” But the most important results have been obtained by M. Edmund Becquerel, and M. Niepce St Victor of Paris.

In November 1848, M. Edmund Becquerel exhibited to the Academy of Sciences “a photochromatic image of the solar spectrum, and coloured photographs obtained in the camera obscura.” These photographs were on daguerreotype plates; and there can be no doubt that all the colours of the spectrum, and those of natural objects, were obtained by his process. Unfortunately, however, no method of fixing them could be found, and the colours disappeared very quickly when exposed to light, though they could be preserved for a long time in the dark.

M. Niepce St Victor has pursued this subject with more success than his predecessors. Mr Hunt has examined pictures of

his on metallic plates, "in which every colour of the original was most faithfully represented," but they eventually faded into one uniform reddish tint; and M. Niepce St Victor tells us that he has made an hundred attempts to fix these *helio-chromes*, as he calls them, without the slightest success.

Important as these researches are, M. Niepce de St Victor has just published two "Memoirs" on a new action of light, which will excite much interest in the scientific world. Having exposed for a quarter of an hour to the sun's direct rays an engraving, which had been kept several days in the dark, he applied the engraving to a sheet of sensitive paper, and after twenty-four hours' contact, he obtained a negative picture of the engraving! If the engraving, taken from a dark place, where it has been for several days, be applied to the sheet of sensitive paper, without exposure to the direct rays of the sun, no negative picture is produced. Wood, ivory, goldbeater's skin, parchment, and even the living skin, struck by light, will give a negative picture, but metals and enamels will not. If a film of mica, glass, or rock crystal is placed between the engraving and the sensitive paper, no negative picture will be got; but if the engraving is covered with a stratum of collodion or gelatine, the picture will be obtained. If the distance between the engraving and the sensitive paper is only three millimetres, or 1-8th of an inch, a picture will be produced; and if the lines of the engraving are strong, a distance of a centimetre will not prevent it. If we take an opaque tube, shut up at one end and lined with white paper, and expose the open end for an hour to the direct rays of the sun, and if at the end of twenty-four hours we apply the open end of the tube to a piece of sensitive paper, we shall obtain a negative image of the opening. If the tube be hermetically sealed after exposure to the sun's rays, it will preserve for a long time the power of acting upon sensitive paper. M. Niepce St Victor placed a sheet of white paper that had been in the dark in the camera, where it continued to receive for three hours an image brilliantly illuminated by the sun. When taken out and applied to a sheet of sensitive paper, it reproduced very visibly, in twenty-four hours, the original image in the camera obscura!

In his second Memoir our author exhibits this "persistent activity," or "storing up" of light, as he calls it, in another interesting experiment. He places a glass or paper negative upon a sheet of paper that has been several days in the dark, and after a sufficient exposure to the sun's rays, he takes out the paper in the dark, and develops the picture by a solution of nitrate of silver, and fixes it by merely washing it in pure water. In order to obtain a picture more quickly and more vigorously developed, he impregnates the sheet of paper, till it becomes of a pale, straw yellow colour, with an aqueous solution of *nitrate of*

uranium, “which admits in a higher degree than the paper the luminous action of storing up with the persistent luminous activity.” The picture, when taken, as before, is fixed by simple immersion in pure water till the salt of uranium is completely removed.¹ Thus fixed, the pictures resist the energetic action of a boiling solution of cyanuret of potash; and we may therefore hope that they will be indestructible by time. This great discovery of M. Niepce St Victor will be received with surprise by the scientific world, who regard light and all its chemical influences as the effect of simple motion. When light has been stored up for days, it is difficult to understand how it can afterwards begin to vibrate and perform all its former functions.

Although M. Niepce St Victor’s experiment on the permanence of the nitrate of uranium photographs is very interesting, yet time only can solve the problem of their absolute indestructibility; and we must continue to practise the art with all the fears and misgivings of the past. It is fortunate, however, that several processes have been invented by which photographs can be rendered as permanent as engravings, and multiplied to any extent. The best of these processes is the photo-galvanographic one of Mr Paul Pretsch, who, after securing his right by patent, established a company at Islington, and has published in a series of numbers magnificent specimens of the art. Solutions of glue in solutions of nitrate of silver, iodide of potassium, and bichromate of potash, are mixed according to a rule, and spread like albumen over the glass plate. A photograph or engraving is placed on the prepared plate, and a negative taken in sun-light. The glass is then placed in water with a little alcohol, and the darkened parts are rendered soluble, while the other parts are insoluble, so that in a few minutes we have a picture represented not only by light and shadow, but by the unequal thickness of the gelatine on the glass. When the plate is dry, soft gutta-percha is pressed upon the picture till it hardens. The gutta-percha has consequently an image the reverse of the first. After rubbing it over with bronze powder or black lead, it is placed in a solution of sulphate of copper, and an electrotpe plate taken from it, in the usual way, with a voltaic battery. From this plate others can be readily taken, and, as in ordinary copperplate printing, thousands of copies can be thrown off. “By this process,” says Mr Hunt,² “pictures, in which the most delicate details are very faithfully preserved, and the nice gradations in light and shadow maintained in all their beauty, are now printed from the electrotpe plate, obtained from the photograph. The process of photo-galvanography is evidently destined

¹ The paper is immersed five minutes in a solution of 20 grains of nitrate of uranium in 100 grains of water; or it may be floated on the solution, so as to penetrate through only half the thickness of the paper.

² *Manual of Photography*, pp. 269, 270.

ke a very high position as a means of preserving the beauties of nature and art."¹

Since the publication of our former article, photography has many new and valuable applications, not only to the fine but to the useful arts.

In miniature painting it has created a new profession. Mr. Pa, a distinguished artist, after making his photograph transparent, paints with oil colours on the back of the photograph, so he never can take away the original likeness. Mr. Dickinson, on the contrary, and others, paint upon the photograph itself; and, at the trifling risk of affecting the likeness, they have the power of correcting defects, both in form and expression, which exist in almost every sun-picture.

To the landscape and historical painter, photography has proved an invaluable assistant. Messrs. Ross and Thomson published some time ago the most beautiful photographs of plants in the foregrounds, taken while growing at the foot of rocks and

Of these, the ferns, the dock leaves, the foxglove, and the like are beyond all praise;² but charming as these are, they are surpassed by two on a larger scale, which have recently appeared, under the names of "the Quiet Corner" and "the Dykeside." These photographs, $15\frac{1}{2}$ by $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches, full of the poetry of vegetable life, teem with wild plants of the most picturesque and lovely forms, and rich in the variety and luxuriance of leaf and stem. Though devoid of fragrance and of colour, they allure us to the cool mountain which waters them. They tempt us to nestle in the rocky hollow which they adorn, and to weep with human sympathies amid creations that are fated but to bloom and die.

The most important application of photography has certainly been to the stereoscope, not only in reference to art, but to the other purposes of education, and to the illustration of works on every branch of knowledge. The surface of the moon has been shown with singular beauty. The eclipses of the sun and moon have been delineated, and various other astronomical phenomena, which the observer could not otherwise have recorded. But perhaps one of the most curious applications of the art has been to microscopic portraits, as executed with such skill by Mr. Cer of Manchester. Some of these are so small that ten thousand could be included in a square inch, and yet, when magnified, the pictures have all the smoothness and vigour of ordinary photographs. The illustration of books by photography

We regret to learn that the establishment at Islington is broken up, but we are glad that Mr. Pretsch will resume his labours with wealthy and active coadjutors. The French have executed fine photographs of plants after they have been pressed in a vase or woven into garlands. English artists, too, have done the same with plants in a hot-house. See Brewster's *Treatise on the Stereoscope*, pp. 78.

is, at present, a doubtful application of the art. The indestructible photo-galvanographs of Mr Pretsch render such a risk unnecessary. The circulation of photographs in periodicals, such as *The Photographic Art Journal*, cannot, we think, succeed. In the four numbers of that work, which ought to have contained *eight* first-rate photographs, there are only *four* worth possessing, including "Fruit by Lance," from a highly-coloured oil painting which photography cannot reproduce in light and shadow. The scene of Gray's *Elegy* in our copy, and likely in many, is entirely spoilt; and in our copy Miss Jewsbury's portrait is a feeble and ineffective photograph, though tolerably good in other copies which we have seen. What beauty is there in the alto-relievo of Justin? and who cares for a view of "A Farm-yard in Hythe," with a lump of blurred foliage in the corner. But even if these photographs were good, and represented interesting historical subjects, and great men, and grand scenes in nature, they never could float the mawkish letterpress of science and literature with which they are interspersed.

The *Stereoscopic Magazine* has yet to show its character, by giving only interesting subjects, and *rejecting every picture, as an imposition on the public, which is not taken at the true binocular angle*. If it does not, a rival, in which "the pictures are true representations of the human form and of external nature, would instantly supplant it. To give stereoscopic pictures of the human figure, whether living or in marble, in which the head is in advance of the neck, and the female dress draws away from the bust is a degradation of art; and to delineate a picturesque valley drawn out in startling perspective to amuse a clown, or groups of Egyptian ruins running out into a long street, is the freak of a Charlatan, and not the work of an artist.

Upon looking into the past history of photography, it would be hazardous to predict its future. But though we dare not venture to shorten the arm of science, or limit its grasp, there are certain steps in advance which we may reasonably anticipate. Optical instruments are yet required to represent on a plane the human face, without deforming its lines and magnifying its imperfections. We still require a more sensitive tablet to perpetuate the tender expressions of domestic life, and to fix the bolder lines of intellect and of passion which are displayed in the forum and in the senate. But, above all, we long to preserve the life-tints of those we love—to give to the ringlet its auburn, and to the eye its azure,—to perpetuate the maiden blush, and to rescue from oblivion even the hectic flush from which we are so soon to part.

ART. IX.—1. *Report of the Commissioners on the Regulations affecting the Sanatory Condition of the Army, 1858.*

Appendix thereto. Answers to Questions Addressed to Miss Nightingale by the Commissioners.

2. *Statistical Returns of the Sickness and Mortality prevalent in the Indian Army. By COL. SYKES. Transactions of the Statistical Society, 1847.—May 1851.*

IN the article on Rifle Practice, in our last number, we touched upon examples of the continued display, from the times of Ascham, and before them, of mental combined with bodily qualities, which have given the Anglo-Saxon race predominance in war; the maintenance of which qualities, and others which we are about specifically to describe, will be found to involve the maintenance and progress of that race, and with them, in these times, the chief progress of civilisation, as well as the safety of the Empire. When we speak of that race, we use for convenience, and in its widest sense, a current designation, comprehending the Scottish Lowland and Northern population of the island, and the Anglo-Hibernian, speaking English, as well as that portion often distinguished as peculiarly Anglo-Saxon, but of which it is unknown whether strictly it is so or not.

If we observe, as impartially as we may, the conditions, attested by foreigners, to which this race has hitherto owed its success, whether in peace or in war, the most prominent of them appear to be, great bodily strength, bravery, coolly and steadily maintained;—great bodily and mental powers of endurance of adversity and of pain. Nations of the Celtic race, or chiefly composed of that race, as the French, frequently manifest greater intelligence and quickness, and often as much courage; but bodily they are inferior, and their bravery is not persistent. If they fail in their onslaughts, they do not rally so well, and they do not bear adversity so long or so patiently. The *red line* of the British dead, which marked the position where, on the last great battle-field of Waterloo, they had stood erect from sun-rise,—hour after hour the livelong day, to be shot at, until the enemy was tired of attacking,—and yet at sun-set the “*thin red line*” of the living soldiers had strength unexhausted to make an overwhelming charge;—that field, in common with others, displayed the pre-eminent quality of their endurance. The American branch of the Anglo-Saxon race has lost nothing in courage, and has gained in intelligence and activity; but, partly by climate,—and more by sanatory neglects and mismanagement, of which they have to be admonished,—they have deteriorated in bodily strength; and examples are not wanting to make it doubtful

whether, on the open field, they would stand so patiently, so dutifully, and so long, as the better class of the native British soldiers. The patient character of their bravery is described by their adversaries, in the contrast to the noise and excitement of the French advance, presented by what they call the *morne silence* which commonly prevails in the Anglo-Saxon array of battle on the first approach to it. But what we deem the real greatness of their special quality of bravery, is often displayed not in battle-fields, but in meeting pain and disaster, in storms and shipwrecks, and under the regulations of discipline ;—as was displayed by the soldiers in the transport ship, the “Maria Soames,” when the hatches being closed upon them, in a storm, they came up in order, two by two, to receive a breath of air, and then retired to give their comrades a turn and a chance, until the relief proved ineffective for all, and all died. In bravery even under defeats, which are not allowed to become routs ; in retreats, like that of Sale’s Brigade ; in defences, like that of Lucknow, we believe, the Anglo-Saxon is more distinguished than in battle, as also in the last scene, the bed of sickness and death. An eminent witness of human suffering, which she has made it a study for years in the chief hospitals of Europe to mitigate,—Miss Nightingale herself, bears testimony to the superior fortitude with which painful operations were borne, and death was met, by the Anglo-Saxon soldiers in the hospitals of the Crimea, as compared with the soldiers of every other race who were received in them.

To the pre-eminent qualities of courage, endurance, and perseverance displayed in storms, in suffering, in battle, and applied to mining manufacturing enterprise, and the wielding of immense steam power, and productive industry, during peace, the nation owes its prosperity, and its resources for war. The actual number of slain in all the battles, naval as well as military, exclusive of the wounded, did not average one thousand per annum during the twenty-two years’ war ; whereas the numbers killed outright in mining explosions, in the burstings of steam-engines, in railways, in casualties of machinery, in burnings, scaldings, and other violent deaths sustained in industrial occupations during peace, average six times that number in England and Wales alone, apart from the deaths at sea. At a Congress of Bienfaisance held at Brussels, Mr Chadwick collected from concurrent foreign testimony the general admission, on actual measured results, which admit of no dispute, that two Anglo-Saxon agricultural labourers do the work of three Normans, of three Germans, of three Danes, or of three Norwegians. How portions of these kindred races have sunk in relative energy, whilst others of them have gained ; how much may be due to social or political institutions, how much to bodily condition and race, would form most important subjects of inquiry. But in Germany the Anglo-Saxon miner and the

Anglo-Saxon "navvy" do more than double the work, and are cheaper at their higher pay, than their kinsmen. In France the relative superiority of the Anglo-Saxon labourer is still greater.¹ Now, this industrial success and value is owing in great measure to one mental quality, which, in addition to bodily strength, he possesses in an eminent degree, which may be described as self-containedness,—undivertedness,—impassibility to external irrelevant impressions, or to distracting pleasurable excitement;—it is the mental quality which is more easy to denote than to analyse that carries him through the long-continued repetition of toilsome labour,—“steady as time.” It is not the condition of Collin the clown, who, not knowing what he sought, “whistled as he went for *want* of thought,” for the Anglo-Saxon has his own musings and trains of thought;—whilst working he may be revolving the scenes of “Pilgrim’s Progress,” or the high thoughts given by the last sermon;—but he keeps ever before him the end of what he is about,—the produce of his labour, the wages or the extra food, or ought else, which his labour produces to himself, and which he knows can only be got by perseverance. He is sensitive to the beat of the drum, which regulates or quickens his step, or to the labour song, which does the like, and helps to attain the end; but if it directs him from that end, it is a distraction and an annoyance. Work is to him a serious thing, and it is a serious and a great thing. Negatively, in what it excludes, as well as what it insures, it is a great virtue:—in every-day life it insures truthfulness,—getting work done in time, and according to order; it excludes lying excuses, cheating, evasions of obligations and frauds to obtain without labour the produce of other people’s labour, to obtain pleasure and subsistence at other people’s expense; it excludes shams. Persistent labour,—impassivity to pleasurable excitement, “sticking to work” excludes vagabondage. As illustrative of the lighter manifestations of the quality we describe, we may mention the observation of a French manufacturer, who, with a party at Manchester, went to visit a manufactory there, was struck with the fact that the new-comers only attracted a passing glance. “Now,” said he, “if it had been in my own manufactory, the arrival of a set of visitors would have been known as soon as they had alighted in the court-yard; half the

¹ Mr Rawlinson, the sanitary engineer, who conducted much work in the Crimea, with native labourers and artizans, declared that the Croats were dear workers at sixpence a day, and that, as compared with any other natives, it would have been cheaper to have brought out English workmen to do the work at their nominally high wages. The Hon. Holt Mackenzie stated, that having examined, when in India, the comparative cost of Indian, Chinese, and English labour, he found that an English labourer of average efficiency was equal to several Chinese, and one Chinese equal to several Indians (Bengalese), and this independently of the advantage or disadvantage of the tools used. Engineers declare, that in India they find no advantage in the supposed cheapness from the low pay of the natives, as compared with the English workmen.

workers would have left the machines and been at the window looking out upon them; and if any of the females had not been there, it would have been because they were taking out their curl-papers." The party asking their way of one of a group of diggers, they were answered civilly, but shortly, over the shoulder, without missing a stroke of work. If such a question had been asked of one of a set of the Irish aboriginal workmen, the whole set would have put down their spades, and been ready to enter into conversation with the inquirer, and not one, but two or more, would be ready to go with him, and show him the way. Our neighbours cannot stand long-continued *silent* work. A French workman sent into a tunnel with an English navvy, after one spell, declared that nothing on earth should induce him to go alone again with a man who would not be diverted a moment from his work, or to speak a word the whole day long. The Anglo-Saxon despises *useless* chatter. A French carrier coming round for orders for goods, accosts the fellow-worker politely or amusingly, inquires of "*comment vous portez vous,*" comments him pleasantly about his children—"et votre femme, comment elle est charmant." But the observer will find that the Anglo-Saxon carrier in Lancashire despises even the prolix formula of the Southern Saxon, "Have you any orders for me to-day?" and reduces his interrogatory to a stern monosyllable of the Attic vernacular, "ow't (*i. e.* anything)?" to which the rejoinder is in due turn, "now't" (nothing). But on repeated visits, that same eminent French manufacturer avowed, that if he were freed from social ties, and were to seek a seat of industry for his capital, simply for profitable investment, he would greatly prefer investing it among these more earnest Anglo-Saxon-workers of brief speech, being assured of greater profit from their work, though he would have to pay them one-third higher wages.

It is to this mental quality of self-containedness, and the power of constant, solitary work, though in crowds, that makes the Anglo-Saxon so successful as a colonist or as a backwoodsman, and enables him to penetrate and live amidst the gloom of forests, for months and years, without seeing any human being other than his wife and children, and often in complete solitude. Our more sociable neighbour, often with greater intelligence, and on occasions with equal courage, fails as a colonist, chiefly because he will not endure this, and will not remain long, *pas de café? et pas de société!* He has done nothing effectual in colonising Algeria; for he will not go out of the city or the camp to the mountain solitudes, or consent to consort with Kabyles or mere savages. He has failed, from the like cause, in the colonisation of the New World. In Canada the Anglo-Saxon is everywhere gaining ground, not only on account of superior industrial energy, and greater rude

productive power, but because he will go into the backwoods, and labour persistently, and dares live alone, where he is passing the Germans, and others who will only colonise, and will only live in organised communities, which consequently do not spread with the same rapidity as the Anglo-Saxon settlements.

The qualities of the labour of the Anglo-Saxon race will be found to be a primary element of the wealth of the nation, and through its wealth the means of sustaining war. When two men do, as they do, the work of three, the capital requisite to maintain the third man—to provide him in food, clothing, and lodging—is saved, and the saving may be divided between the two workers who do his amount of work, and the employer who advances the capital, and guides its application, and distributes the produce. It is, in fact, from the division of the saving of the third man's wages that the Anglo-Saxon labourer obtains meat and superior food; and were his education less neglected, he would expend on better dwellings and better clothes the greater part of that which he now expends on intoxicating drinks, and various sorts of stimuli, amounting to sixty or seventy millions per annum, or a sum equal to the entire revenue of the country. That the productive power of two of the Anglo-Saxon labourers of this country is equal to three of the labourers of France, our neighbours across the Channel may be taken as the justification for the assertion, that the wealth of the twenty-six millions of the population of this country is fully equal to that of the thirty-six millions of the population of France.

The effect of the depreciated labour of the Celtic labourer, in poor French, as well as in poor Irish districts, was thus stated by Mr Chadwick in his address at the Congress of Bienfaisance at Brussels:—That from the inefficiency of the labour of the Celtic cottier, *the working hours of his days*, when working by himself, were nearly one-half less than those of the Anglo-Saxon; that from his observance of saints' days, holidays, attendance at markets even when he had nothing to sell, at wakes, and fights, and festivals, he consumed at least 100 days unproductively; and that hence the *working days of his year* were one-third less;—whilst from the filth of his hovel, his inferior food, the produce of his inferior labour, he was more afflicted with fatal disease, and the *years of his life* were reduced from one-third to one-fourth less than those of his compeer.¹

¹ In respect to holidays, such is the persistence of some portions of the Anglo-Saxon race, that the heads of industrial occupations have had absolutely to force some of the workers to take them, and when they have taken them, they have scarcely known what to do with themselves, and some have absolutely, in their perplexity, taken them out in bed. A benevolent railway director found, that a man at a lone station, where his duty was to watch a switch steadily, had not had a holiday for years, and persuaded him to take one, which he did; but having tried one, he returned thanks for the intention, but he begged that he might not again be taken from his duty.

The demand for labour possessing the qualities described, of steadiness and constancy, with the superaddition of increased skill and intelligence, is increasing in the chief labour markets. In the British commercial navy, for example,—of which it may be observed, that, exclusively of the commercial navy of the United States, it now exceeds that of all the rest of the civilised world put together, and is increasing,—there is an increasing demand for Anglo-Saxon seamen, and of seamen of the first class of that race, as being the most economical; and complaints are heard of the need of supplying their deficiency by greater numbers of inferior men. For the guidance of machinery of every description, and for the conduct of improved processes in the arts, there is an increasing demand for workmen of the first class, and great difficulty in supplying them. The development of the productive power of the Anglo-Saxon as a colonist, has created an increasing drain on the able-bodied class for emigration. All this demand is highly beneficial;—but it narrows our resources for war, whilst there is an increasing demand, for the maintenance of our extending empire, of men of the race and with the qualifications which have won it. The effect of these drains upon the able-bodied population of the country, is to occasion increasing difficulty in obtaining force for the public service, even where comparatively high pay is given for it, as, for example, in the police, where it is found very difficult to keep up the first character of the ranks. On a late augmentation of the metropolitan police force, the magistrates, before whom the new men appeared, were pained by the displays of their inferiority, and made frequent observation, that they felt as if they were returning to the men of the old parochial watch.

These general positions appear to us to be needful to the determination of some of the most important positions in respect to our national defences, and especially the maintenance of our Indian empire.

A large army, on the scale of that of France, would be in England, in time of peace, a most oppressive burthen, and a source of national weakness, not alone for the extra charge for their maintenance, but from the drain of such a large body of able-bodied men from the great sources of industry and productive power. Let us consider of the demoralisation of two hundred thousand men, constantly in barracks or camps in this island; of some twenty thousand soldiers always at Manchester, of ten or twelve at Glasgow, and the like proportion at Edinburgh—men taken from the looms, the machines, the foundries, the collieries, the dockyards! It is well for the productive powers of the country, that from the qualities we have described on the part of the men, comparatively small armies have hitherto sufficed for the purpose of war. But it appears,

that in the present condition of the empire, and relatively to its extension, even smaller armies must be, as we believe they may be, made to suffice; but large administrative reforms will be requisite for that object, and for the attainment of our security with armies proportionately less numerous.

A very sensible English officer, who served during the Crimean campaign, observed, that upon a view of the composition of the ranks alone, he would, on an open plain, and in single fight, venture Anglo-Saxon soldiers almost as against three to one; but when he considered the superior ability of the Russian officers there, he must considerably diminish the numerical odds of the two forces to insure a preponderant chance. This was an observation, as respects our military position and security, which late experience proves to be widely and generally applicable. Whilst, of the comparatively raw material of Anglo-Saxon labour, it is proved to be as three to two of the best labour on the Continent,—even, be it borne in mind, Norman, Danish, or Norwegian labour,—we might speak of as of equivalent elementary power in war, were it not for the greater efficiency of the leadership of the continental forces. Whilst, from parliamentary corruption and jobbing, promotion for mere patronage, or purchase, to the exclusion of merit, the leadership of the Anglo-Saxon forces is in the condition admitted by the old Duke of Wellington himself, when he said, that “our gentleman officer, however admirable his conduct in a field of battle,” etc., “is but a poor creature in disciplining his company in camp cantonments and quarters;” but still more of the condition of the higher leaderships, when he said, as attested by Sir Francis Head, “that if seventy thousand men were drawn up in Hyde Park, he knew but five living men who were able to take them out again,” the continental leaderships has, by special training, tested by competitive examinations, been so far advanced, and the efficiency of the people of inferior labour for common purposes is so far augmented for the purposes of war, as at all events to diminish any advantage which we may heretofore have possessed in the natural qualities of our soldiery. But whilst, from the improvements already made in the mechanics of war, common to all nations, there is, as we may show, an increasing demand for higher qualifications for service even in the ranks, the drain upon the general labour market, for the purposes of production, is seriously reducing the quality of the men obtainable by enlistment.

Let us shortly consider some of the new requirements for the ranks, which are necessitated by the improvements in progress in the art of war.

Sir Richard Henegan, formerly head of the field train department of the allied armies, under the command of the Duke of Wellington, states, in a work narrating his military experience

during seven years' campaigns in the Peninsula, that, "Allowing half the shots served out (to the infantry) to have been fired at the battle of Vittoria, 3,675,000 rounds were fired against the enemy, of whom 8000 were killed or wounded, consequently only one musquet-shot out of 459 took effect ; and this calculation includes the injury inflicted on the enemy by 90 pieces of artillery, which, on the average, fired 73 rounds of shot and shell each, making a total of 6870 rounds. The cavalry were but slightly engaged during that day." He states, that he remarked the like expenditure of ammunition, in relation to the effect produced, at every other battle except the battle of Barossa. Other military men have stated, that the effective shots can scarcely be one-half the number above stated. The "dreadful volleys" of our soldiers have been much talked of ; and their steady fire has been much praised by foreign officers. But an able officer, who was amidst the squares of infantry at the battle of Waterloo, stated to us, that he observed carefully the result of their fire upon the French cavalry as they rode between the squares, and never observed more than three or four fall from a single volley. The country heard much of the manner in which, at the battle of Balaclava, Sir Colin Campbell, with the Highland Brigade, received in line, instead of in square, a charge of Russian cavalry, and fired a volley into them. An officer, who was a spectator, declares, that less than half a dozen saddles were emptied by it, and yet the cavalry retreated. Heretofore the art of war appears to have been in bringing up our ships and columns so near to the enemy, that there could be no missing them by the most unskilful firing. The rule has been, for the infantry, that they are not to fire until they can perceive the features of the enemy, or see their eyes move,—that is, at about *eighty* yards distance. In the advance of the same Highland Brigade at the battle of the Alma, they were ordered not to fire until they were within *fifty* yards of the enemy, against whom they were marched up at a parade step, closing the gaps made in their ranks by a heavy fire, not returning a shot until they were within *ten* yards of the Russian ranks ; upon whom a volley was then delivered, which mowed them down as with a gigantic scythe. All this was praised as very fine ; but it is in reality to be condemned as very rude and barbarous. As remarked by a French General at the time, if the British had had 100,000 men, instead of 24,000, it might have been worth while to strike terror by such an exhibition of courage ; but he would have tried to have turned the Russians, and would at all events have fired much quicker, and have advanced much quicker, and would have driven off the enemy with much less loss to them, but also with much less loss of his own troops.

The state of the art of war in which at least four hundred and fifty men must fire to bring down one enemy,—in which severe

losses were incurred in making advances, for the use of the bayonet, because nothing else could be used effectually, was considered by the old Generals to be satisfactory, in the face of the facts brought forward by Sir Francis Head and by Sir Charles Shaw, and the examples of foreign powers, and some conclusive practical demonstrations by the Americans. With great reluctance, some forty or fifty minies were admitted into a regiment; next, training in rifle practice was conceded. By this practice at the school at Hythe, it is proved, that even with the minie, as a more effective fire was given at a thousand yards than was given with the patronage-appointed Generals' weapon, the Brown Bess, at eighty, the cavalry-man, who approaches the charging distance of two hundred yards, within three hundred yards of the minie, in well-trained hands, will breathe his last; so that for the future there will be an end of the practice of bayonet charges. From India we now hear of the "withering fire of the minie," the "dreadful minie,"—of its having silenced first-class artillery, wielded by gunners of our own training; and this is only a commencement of practical improvements in the art of war, in which foreign nations are in a condition, and under motives, to avail themselves as against us.

Now the quality of the human force which will be required to wield these new arms to maintain our position, is of a higher order than that which suffices under existing circumstances,—greater quickness, and intelligence of aim and action, combined with coolness and steadiness, and generally increased bodily strength. None but first-class shots will be of comparative worth; and the better educated men supply first-class shots in the greatest number, of which the Sappers and Miners—the most important corps, perhaps, in our service—furnish examples. The training school at Hythe has produced about 76 per cent. of first-class shots from the ranks, and 86 per cent. from the officers; the rest, on good authority, we should deem mere waste to be cast aside, as hindrances not worth their munitions. As examples of the power of the new weapon, an instance is stated, as of recent occurrence in India, where a company of minies, finding a party of sepoys come within range, felled the whole like a wall, one man alone getting away, when a marksman stepped out and felled him also. In the Crimea, a non-commissioned officer, whilst standing guard behind some earthwork over his wounded colonel, shot down fifteen of the enemy, not missing one. But at Inkermann, a captain being a superior shot to any of his company, employed as many as could keep him supplied with loaded minies, which he fired, and an enemy was seen to fall after every shot, and he fired more than a hundred. The statistics we have given will serve to indicate the relative efficiency derivable from the improvement; but there is a pecuniary account which should not be omitted. It was estimated, that dur-

ing the last short war with France, the cost to this country was at least L.1000 for every enemy killed ; and on a calculation of the amount and cost of the shot fired by the Russians from Sebastopol upon our lines, it was evident that every Englishman killed cost them at least L.1000 in material alone. The minimum value of each soldier may be stated at L.100.¹

What advantages training and education in the military art may give to other races with lower bodily power, it would require further experience to determine ; but the later experience tends to show that earthwork, especially as against the new rifle practice, must be more extensively used than has hitherto been thought of in war ; and for this purpose the powers of the first-class Anglo-Saxon, as a navy as well as a soldier, will continue to be at a premium. An example of the defensive use of earthwork, in combination with the minie, was shown at the siege of Kars, where every rifleman had at least two dead left in front of him, besides the wounded who were carried away. One hundred sappers will put themselves under with earthwork usually in less than six hours. With such training prevailing extensively, our men at Waterloo, instead of having to stand all day long to be shot down in exposed positions, would have had the cover of earthworks, and Buonaparte would have found himself before prolonged Hugomonts, or an impromptu Torres Vedras,—the approach to which would now be even more fatal, than was to our soldiers the approach to the rifles, who were under cover of the cotton bags before New Orleans. It will be evident that the infantry of armies, especially for Indian and colonial service, should, to the greatest extent, combine the general training of the sapper with that of the rifleman. Now, it is observed by Sir John Burgoyne, in his treatise on the Attack of Fortresses, that “sappers and miners cannot be in too great numbers ; if efficient and well trained, each sapper in a siege will be worth three men of the line, up to a certain extent.” He elsewhere establishes the fact, that from various services which he renders as an artizan on public works during the peace,

¹ In a paper on a defensive force, written some thirty years ago, and edited by General Peronet Thompson, he sustains, as an economical principle, that it is cheap to have everything of the best, which he illustrates by the statement, that “by a nation, which has considerable capital at command, thirty riflemen may be raised, armed, and permanently kept on foot, for the same expense as thirty-one common infantry-men. But, it has been shown, that in appropriate circumstances, the advantages of the rifle over the common musket is as 13 to 5. Hence, if riflemen raised to the extent that can be applied under such circumstances, and to no greater, 5 of these riflemen will be as useful as 13 men with muskets ; or, preserving the same proportion, 30 riflemen will do the service of 78 common infantry-men. But, 30 riflemen are only the expense of 31 of other infantry. The expense, therefore, of 47 other infantry-men out of 78 will be saved, or a given expense will be applied with an increased final result in the proportion of 78 to 31, or upwards of 5 to 2,”—that is to say, by the old rifle ; but, as stated, the minie is a far more efficient implement, and the Whitworth has a range one-half farther, and an accuracy several times greater, at the same ranges.

the public have a good bargain in paying three shillings per diem, his average cost to the public,—that is to say, independently of any special value as a trained rifleman; and it is demonstrable, that so important is skill in that weapon, that, where it is obtained by any one in a very high degree, it will be found worth while to engage a bearer to take it into the field, that the sensitiveness of the hands of the soldier who is to wield it may not be impaired by carrying it. A private who attained such skill as that displayed by the captain in the instance stated, would justly earn more than the captain's pay.¹

The trained soldier, who does more than the work of two or three of our own common soldiers of the line, will be cheap to the public at the wages of two or three, and may not be induced to enlist at those wages only,—without the inducement of important amendments in military administration, which we now approach. What may be the position to which the men of other nations may be brought, by their merit-appointed officers, we cannot estimate possibly in advance of ours, if the mental and bodily standard of our ranks be not advanced; but we have no doubt that, with moderately fair treatment, the relative position of the Anglo-Saxon in productive power in the arts of peace, and economy of service at higher pay, may be fully maintained in war.

The complete development of the evidence on the points we have indicated would occupy considerable space, but we assume that it will be found to be demonstrative of these conclusions:—That with the demands upon her for the maintenance of her industrial position, England cannot raise large armies, relatively to other people; that she must be dependent for the preservation and extension of her empire on (relatively) small numbers of men of the same race as those who have gained it; that these men must be trained to the highest degree of military skill; that, from the positive value of the natural as well as acquired qualities requisite for efficient service, these few men must be highly paid; but though individually more expensive, they would be, like the high-priced labour of the country, the cheapest in effect. Whilst,

¹ Sir Charles Shaw has invented a new implement, of the principle of which, and its efficiency, there can be no doubt, combining the Minie, the Whitworth or the Jacob, in a piece of very light artillery, which will give a high premium for marksmanship, even with telescopic sights for very long ranges. The fire of grape and cannister is of little effect at a distance of 350 yards. Instead of a single piece of cannon between wheels, there is put between them a moveable platform of twenty-five minies or Whitworths, which are discharged at once, *à la Fieski*, and are rapidly renewable, with a range of more than 1000 yards. Eight men with this piece may, when brought into perfect action, there is little doubt, deliver a more deadly fire than upwards of two hundred infantry-men, as at present; and whilst they can only change position in the field of battle at the rate of two miles an hour, the new piece may be moved about at the rate of six. Buonaparte was standing by a battery when, as he himself tells the story, he said to the artillery officer, "Throw a dozen balls at once into that group there;" and from that volley General Moreau was slain. But by this invention, two dozen balls or more will be thrown at once, with the range of the existing artillery, and with Whitworths, a mile distance or more.

however, the advance in the arts and implements of war requires the highest *morale* and *physique* of the army to be maintained and advanced, the tendency of the state of the labour market, as well as the effect of general treatment of the soldiers in camp and barracks, is to discourage and deteriorate the volunteer composition of the ranks of the army on both points. With the conditions involved in these conclusions we approach the immediate question of the maintenance of our Indian empire, for which, it is estimated by military authorities, that an army of not less than 100,000 English troops will be required. If such an English force be acquired at all, it must still be gained by voluntary enlistment ; for even were there any form of conscription, if it secured the bodily conditions, it would destroy the moral and mental dispositions required. But whilst a strong, healthy, and respectable young man may obtain two shillings, or three shillings, or more, as an earthworker or a navvy,—eighteen or twenty shillings, or more, as a policeman,¹—and more, as a railway labourer, not to speak of his inducements from emigration, even if no opening be presented to him as an artizan,—how can he be expected to accept service at thirteenpence halfpenny, even with a retiring pension, and “advantages” in the present condition of barracks or barrack life during peace, or with the prospect of excessive sickness, and the failure of health and strength, as well as the chance of perishing from hardships alone, during war ? Officers in high command may disguise it from themselves if they will, but the excessive death rates denote excessive sickness ; and the excessive sickness, general discomfort and misery of condition, which is felt by the men. Let any one read the evidence given by non-commissioned officers as to the horrid condition and discomfort of their barracks at night, and consider how many of them may be expected to invite brothers or relations to enlist ? The respectable classes of men will only be influenced by the testimony of men of their own standing ; it is the inferior, the reckless, and the very refuse of the community, that are inveigled by the wiles of the recruiting sergeant ; and it is not by an army so composed that the improved mechanism of war may be wielded, or our superiority maintained against

¹ On passing in review a new police force with the officer—a military officer—who had them in command, he could not help pointing to the strong contrast which his ranks displayed in superior power to the militia of the same county “over whom they would walk.” There will soon probably be about 14,000 policemen in the island. There is already 50,000 men engaged as porters, engine-drivers, labourers, and artizans, on the railways already established. There are, perhaps, as many engaged as “navvies,” etc., in the construction of new lines and public works, all receiving wages at eighteen shillings and more per week. These comprise large draughts of army supplies ; and if they were available as materials of war, and could be drilled and “set up,” and animated, they would indeed, in power, form an Anglo-Saxon army such as, in the aggregate, the greatest generals perhaps have never led !

the improving ranks of foreign armies. Intelligent labourers, or their advising friends, will now be made well aware, that whilst the chances of the British soldier in war are as one that he will fall by the hands of the enemy, they are now as three or four that he will perish by suffering, due mainly to the present state of the army administration. It was so during the last war; and the prevalence amongst the troops in barracks of a sickness and mortality double that which prevails amongst persons of the same ages in civil life, and more than treble that which prevails in prisons, is very strong proof that the exposition of practicable measures of amendment has hitherto been of little avail. The discouragements to enlistment with the prospect of service in India are yet more serious; for whereas the death rate amongst picked, robust men in barracks at home, is double that which prevails in civil life, in the Indian service it is quadruple that, and the sickness is in proportion. From some insurance tables, deduced at the instance of Colonel Sykes from the experience of the Indian army, it appears that a young man of twenty-one, whose probabilities of life are thirty at home, if he enlist, and is sent to Bombay, will have an insurable period of only fourteen; and if he be sent to Scinde, he may get only nine or six.

It is bad enough for a strong man to have to encounter at home a double death rate, and an average of fifteen days' sickness every year in hospital; but in India the death rate will be three and fourfold that in civil life at home: his fate will be to be three times in hospital every two years, in some districts twice a year; usually one third of a year in suffering in bed, and a duration of life of nine or six years, before a final release from afflictions—chiefly preventible.

It follows, as necessary for the composition of an efficient British army, that whilst, on the one hand, the inducements by pay must be augmented, on the other, the discouragements from excessive suffering and sickness must be removed.

At the commencement of the last war, efforts were made by the chief executive officer of the General Board of Health to recall to the consideration of the authorities the experience of previous wars,—that more than three-fourths of the loss of every kind was not from the sword, but from disease, the greater part of which sanitary science had now proved to be preventible, and that commensurate means of prevention should now be adopted. These representations were met by assurances that every care requisite had been taken. The subsequent commentary on this, was the fact of the disappearance of the finest portion of the army by disease. On this disaster, urgent representations were again made, and three of the sanitary officers, who had been selected by the first Board for their special aptitudes, were sent out as special commissioners: Dr Sutherland, Dr Hector Gavin, and

Mr Robert Rawlinson, sanitary engineer, with a staff of assistants for special sanitary work. The result cannot be better stated than in the words of Miss Nightingale, in an appeal for the organisation of a preventive administration, founded on the sanitary history of the Crimean campaign.

“It is,” she says, “a complete example,—history does not afford its equal—of an army, after a great disaster arising from neglects, having been brought into the highest state of health and efficiency. It is the whole experiment on a colossal scale. In all other examples, the last step has been wanting to complete the solution of the problem. We had, in the *first* seven months of the Crimean campaign, a mortality among the troops of 60 per cent. per annum, from disease alone,—a rate of mortality which exceeds that of the great plague of London, and a higher ratio than the mortality of the cholera to the attacks; that is to say, that there died out of the army in the Crimea an annual rate greater than ordinarily die in time of pestilence out of sick. We had, during the *last six* months of the war, a mortality among our *sick* not much more than among our *healthy* Guards at home; and a mortality among our troops, in the last five months, two-thirds only of what it is among our troops at home. The mortality among the troops of the line at home, when corrected, as it ought to be, according to the proportion of different ages in the service, has been, on an average of ten years, 18·7 per 1000 per annum, and among the Guards, 20·4 per 1000 per annum. Comparing this with the Crimean mortality, for the last six months of our occupation, we find that the deaths to admissions were 24 per 1000 per annum; and during the last five months, viz., January to May 1856, the mortality among the troops did not exceed 11·5 per 1000 per annum. Is not this the most complete experiment in army hygiene?”

The questions before us are, Whether the experience so obtained is not applicable to India? Whether the existing discouragements to the enlistment of men of the requisite quality, on the chances of being sent out for service in India (or for settlement) are not removable? Whether the excessive rate of mortality, which has heretofore prevailed there, is not preventible? Whether, notwithstanding the climate, the Anglo-Saxon race is not capable of living there without excessive waste of life, of settling there, and of maintaining dominion there? to which questions the answer is, that the evidence is in the affirmative.

In tropical climates, the decomposition of animal and vegetable matter, which generates atmospherical impurity, is more rapid, and the products, when combined with moisture, are more injurious, acting as they do in greater force upon beings at times reduced in strength by excessive heat. But if the larger sources of disease are more rife in such climes, they are, at the same time, more definitely marked; and with the greater observation, care, and more powerful means applicable to large bodies of men, they are

often more certainly preventible. With dry heat, the products of decomposition are of comparatively little appreciable injury; some excessive changes of it are attended with dysentery, which is to be met by diet,—but it is at nightfall, and in combination with moisture arising from dew, or any local source of moist emanations, that, to use the medical phrase, they are exhibited with noxious effects. A person engaged in the collection of plants, found that he could move about in the worst districts near Sierra Leone, under a fierce mid-day sun; and under a climate in which it was affirmed that no European could possibly live, he preserved his health, provided he took the precaution of never going out of the reach of a hut, to which he might return before sun-set, and light a fire, and maintain a dry heat during the night. He found that the natives, living in those excessively malarious districts into which he adventured, did the same same; and on enquiring the reason for the practice, they said they kept up the fires to keep out evil spirits, who otherwise would come in and inflict pains upon them.

If it be necessary to occupy such districts, it is reserved to the sanitary engineer to exercise those same spirits, by the incantations of science and by works of drainage, which will not only abate the evil influences which are abroad at night, but a great proportion of the visible pests by day,—the insect tribes, whose incubation is in stagnant moisture, and whose life is in the gaseous products of animal and vegetable decomposition which arise from it. Dr Livingstone notices, that some sanitary measures have at last been adopted in the town of Sierra Leone itself, with marked proportionate effect in the reduction of the sickness and mortality which was indolently assumed to be the unavoidable effect of climate. The limits of malarious influences in the open field at nightfall, are commonly detected by observation in the East. We remember the late Mr Joseph Hume, who had acquired some sanitary experience in India, telling us, that in some districts, men might sleep in comparative safety, with their heads raised one foot, and others only at two feet above ground, and so on. In some low districts, it is known that a foot messenger cannot be sent at night, but that a messenger or a passenger may pass in safety on an elephant which bears him above the range of the malarious influence. On the recurrence of epidemic visitations, such as outbursts of cholera, amongst armies in the field in India, it has been observed that only the men in a particular position have been struck, and that in moving them to another, and generally to a higher point, it has been as if they had been removed out of the range of shot. In moving in close columns, the nose gives information that they carry much of their own atmosphere with them. It was often imagined that they carried with them, in the case of particular epidemics, some infection; but on moving in more

open columns, and spreading at stations, the impurity was diluted, and the disease was dissipated. In the same manner, it was recently a prevalent popular belief at home, that beggars carried with them infection from town to town, as epidemics first broke out, and fevers were always rife in their lodging-houses. But by the operation of Lord Shaftesbury's Act for the sanitary regulation of common lodging-houses, this belief has been dissipated.

It is now known as a principle of sanitary science, that in certain climatorial abnormal or disturbed conditions, which chemistry has hitherto failed to analyse,—but which Dr Angus Smith is giving promise of accomplishment,—that the general effect is to reduce the powers of all the human beings exposed to them, to make them all as it were suddenly aged, to make the strong weak, and to render irregularities dangerous that heretofore had been unattended with any serious consequences. In such conditions, the effects of atmospheric impurities created by overcrowding or otherwise, becomes doubly noxious. On the occasion of the epidemic visitation of cholera which the first General Board of Health had to deal with, those living in tainted atmosphere were sent to live in tents in the open fields, and large numbers of town populations were so dealt with with entire success. People who got tired of living in the tents and returned to their abodes in the town, were immediately attacked with premonitory symptoms, came back to the tents and were restored. Only one family, or five persons, were allowed to each tent. In Denmark, and in other places, the same expedient was adopted with equal success. But in the Crimea, where there were only curative arrangements, and either no preventive knowledge or no practical means of applying it, the same bell tents which had given protective shelter to five of the civil population, were allowed to remain crowded with fourteen and sixteen soldiers,—a number excessive at any time, but which at that time should have been immediately diminished even by the most inconvenient bivouacs, and the consequences of the overcrowding at that time was a most disastrous amount of sickness and mortality.

In corroboration of this instance of the extent of dependence of Indian disease upon habit and condition, rather than upon climate, it may be mentioned that whilst the death rate amongst the Hindoos in Calcutta has been 6·7 per cent., it has been amongst the Mussulman population only 2·69 per cent., or less than the death rates prevalent in Manchester and Liverpool. On an analysis by Mr J. R. Redford of the causes of death in the Indian town of Chittagong, where the general death rate was 2·68 per cent., it appears that more than half of them were palpably preventible. The evidence of the best informed authorities on sanitary science is clear upon this point.—(*Note from Dr*

Baines.) In respect to European life, Mr William Theobald, the representative of the Anglo-Indians in Bengal, in some evidence given recently before the Committee of the House of Commons, on the question of Indian settlement, says, "I think we have a very comfortable existence on the whole there; and I should say that the 'planters,' i. e. English settlers who live in the interior, from what I have seen of them, and we have an opportunity of seeing pretty nearly all of them every year, are a very hearty and healthy set of people;" which evidence is corroborated by that of settlers themselves, who declare that the Europeans residing in the agricultural districts, enjoy nearly as good health as those residing at home; and that they certainly would not dissuade any body from going out to India with the view of settling.

There is not the slightest doubt that similar effectual expedients, under competent preventive direction, are applicable, together with due attention to diet, to the protection of armies in the East, from whence we hear sixteen and eighteen are now often put under one tent. In respect, however, to the sites of encampments, let us cite an example from the same field in the Crimea.

Nearly two-fifths of the 75th Regiment, forming a portion of Sir Colin Campbell's brigade at Balaclava, were down with fever at the side of a hill, when the sanitary commission came to the spot, and saw, from the geology of the site, what an officer of competent sanitary knowledge, had such a one been attached to the quarter-master-general's department, would have seen at once, that it was a "springy" and untenable site for an encampment, in consequence of the excessive wet, against which, except by extraordinary appliances, the soldiers could not defend themselves. Mr Rawlinson, one of the commissioners, in the course of his services as a sanitary officer under the General Board of Health, had seen hillside houses, in towns in the north of England, ravaged with cholera, with water coming in upon the inhabitants, as it came upon the soldiers, from above, at the sides, and underneath. "It is impossible that the floors of these huts can be kept dry or be healthy, as you will find if the floor be taken up," said the sanitary commission. The floor was taken up, and the General was asked to put his stick into the wet, and smell it. He did, and it stank. The foul water was close to the top, and within a few inches of the soil of this bad site, made worse by mismanagement, the men slept, overcrowded too,—and the disease by which the strong men were prostrated, was attributed by the curative officers and others to "the climate." In compliance with the recommendations of the sanitary commissioners, the regiment was removed a few hundred feet, when the fever abated. As if to mark the consequences of the absence of any preventive care or responsibility, when the sanitary commissioners were gone,

another body of troops, the 31st Regiment, succeeded to the 77th in the condemned huts, and amongst them the cholera broke out, and twenty-eight men died of it. The amount of disease due to the site, rations, and general treatment being the same, was denoted by the fact that the marines, who were encamped immediately above the suffering troops, lost only two out of 1200 men.

From ignorance of sanitary science, common to military as well as civil engineers, who have had no special training in it, as well as for want of proper agricultural knowledge, a great extent of irrigation has been laid out in India, in the expensive method of distribution by submersion, which wastes water, and creates, in drying marsh surfaces, which in England give fever (the rot) to sheep and ague to men, and under the powerful Italian sun very severe forms of disease. Complaints arose as to the effects of these irrigations upon health, and a commission of inquiry was appointed, which examined 1400 miles of coast, visited 300 inhabited localities, between the Ganges and the Jumna, and examined 12,000 individuals, in non-irrigated as well as in the irrigated districts. Now, it is well known in sanitary science, that disease and enlargement of the spleen is one of the most frequent consequences of malarious fevers. It was soon found that the proximity of the habitation of a native to the irrigations, or the intensity of the malarious influence, was denoted by the external size of the diseased spleen, and its external manifestation was adopted as a test, and it is now called there the *Spleen Test*. We may now in England, too, speak of the "typhus test," the "dysenteric test," the "phthisis test," "the infantile mortality test," or the "life test," with perfect confidence, from extended observations. The inquiry in India resulted in the following rule:—"That irrigation be prohibited within five miles of a military station, or two miles of large native towns." We guess that the operative irrigation interest is denoted by the distinction as regards the large native towns; but it is to be noted, as an example of the definite observations of anti-sanitary influences, and that where they cannot be kept from troops, the troops may with due preventive care be kept from them.

As illustrative of the gain of health and strength obtainable by some partial improvements in habits alone, where climatorial conditions, the sites, and habitations remain much the same, we quote from some medical returns the following results, obtained amongst 5710 of the European troops in the Madras Presidency, during the year 1849, when by the exercise of influence amongst them, a proportion of them had been persuaded to become teetotallers, and others had been got into habits of temperance. To the percentages of sickness and death, we add the proportions of punishment inflicted in each class:—

	Ratio of admissions to the Hospitals per cent.	Ratio of Deaths per cent.	Ratio of Punishments per cent.
Teetotalers, .	130.888	1.111	23.695
Temperate men, .	141.593	2.315	58.720
Intemperate men, .	214.861	4.458	170.978

Of the 1st Madras Fusileers Colonel Sykes states :—

“ There was a teetotal and temperance society in the regiment, and with an average strength of 892 in 1847, they lost only six men. Crime was comparatively rare, and the men were respectful and well conducted. In a troop of horse artillery at Jaulna, consisting of 102 Europeans, the medical officer reported that the internal economy was so good, that intemperance was rare, and other crimes so few, ‘ that not a case has required to be brought before a court martial for the last three years.’ This is almost marvellous. One hundred and two common European soldiers, without a court martial punishment amongst them for three years ! In the southern division, there was only one death in 1837 in a company of artillery of 53 men, and in an European regiment in the same division, 945 strong, there were only 12 deaths,—at the rate of 1.27 per cent., an absence of mortality not equalled by a regiment in Europe.”

In this, however, the good Colonel is mistaken. In the Prussian service, under merit-appointed commands and care, the death rate is reduced in the corps of engineers, or their sappers and miners, to nearly six in a thousand.

If the sickness and mortality in barracks and camps be reduced to one-third the present average rate, or to the death rate which prevails amongst the labouring classes in civil life in England, as much other evidence demonstrates that it may, then, and then only, a higher order of men, who will at least be temperate, may be got to enlist, and a cheaper as well as a more efficient Anglo-Saxon force may be kept up in India. If one-half of the ordinary mortality of a comparatively healthy Indian town be preventible, and the death rate reduced to fifteen or sixteen in a thousand, or about that of a rural town district in England,—as will be evident from such analyses as the one cited,—then Anglo-Saxon mothers may with care maintain good health and rear their children, and India is inhabitable by the Anglo-Saxon race, whether as soldiers or settlers. The question is not one of physical or sanitary principle as to what may be done, but of competent leadership to do it. The continued prevalence of typhus, and of a double death rate in camp as well as barracks, and the general tenor of the proceedings at home, show that the great lesson of the Crimea has yet to be made prevalent for England, and thence for India, where only some precepts for voluntary adoption appear to have been issued,

and which mark the obliviousness of the military administration to larger requirements. The prevalence of zymotic disease ; the death rate which, to those conversant with sanitary science, tells its own tale ; the outcries as to the enforcement of the close buttoning up of the soldiers in their unsuitable uniforms,—tend to show that the sanitary administration of the army is much in the same state as heretofore. What that state was may be illustrated from the following examples of common proceedings, which, for convenience, we take from the “*Camp and the Zenana*,” by the wife of Captain Colin Mackenzie, who served in the campaign in the Punjab.

“ June 17.—Will you believe that in this weather, with the rains just setting in, and the thermometer at 91° in our cool sitting-room, C. has just received an order to return all the extra tents which he got for his men ? In all regiments one tent is allotted to each company ; but Lord Hardinge chooses to allow only half that number to the Frontier-Brigade, and as they have no huts, C. retained the full number of tents, which he had got possession of before this absurd order came. By the end of this month he expects his regiment will be raised to its full complement, 800 rank and file, who are to be crammed into five tents, each tent being fitted to hold only eighty men. Dr Walker, the surgeon of the regiment, has made an official report to my husband of the great hardships the men have suffered from being exposed to the heat and sand-storms in tents, and from having no hospital. It has produced numerous cases of ophthalmia. Even the sick have no shelter but a tent ; a dust storm comes and blows it down, and they are left exposed until morning ; and remark, moreover, that after authorising Khalasis, Lord Hardinge has withdrawn them, so that there is no one to take care of or pitch the tents. Dr Walker is in temporary charge of the 70th Native Infantry, who are properly sheltered, and he gave the following abstract of the state of the two regiments, showing the suffering entailed on our poor men :—

“ ‘ The daily average in hospital for the week ending June 11th, 71st Native Infantry 13½ ; 4th Frontier Brigade, 26.’

“ The ratio per cent. (the 71st having its full complement) was, 71st Native Infantry, 1-5th per cent. ; 4th Frontier Brigade, 4 per cent.” “ Colonel Drummond, Quartermaster-General of the army, who has just finished a very laborious work for the Governor-General, on the comparative salubrity of the different cantonments in India, was telling my husband of a curious instance of perverseness in the Governments of India for a great number of years. Chinsurah, near Calcutta, has been the depôt for newly arrived troops. It has been remonstrated against on account of its extreme unhealthiness, ever since the place came into our possession, yet the successive governments of India have persisted in maintaining the station, and have built barracks at an expense of 3 lacs of rupees (L.30,000), where the men die by scores. Each man by the time he is fit for duty in India is reckoned as having cost the Company from L.100 to L.120, so that the extravagance of maintaining so unhealthy a station, to say nothing

of its inhumanity, is obvious. Colonel Drummond is a very fine old officer, full of energy."

The following, in the shape of a recipe, given by Dr Bone, who served for many years with the army in the tropics, for the sure and rapid production of fever, will serve to show the foundation of how much has passed to the account of "climate," which is due to administration.

"Take," says he, "of soldiers lately arrived in the West Indies any number; place them in barracks in a low wet situation, or in the mouth of a gully, or on the brink of a dry river, or on the summit of a mountain, and to leeward of a swamp, or of uncleared ground, and where there is no water or only bad water; give them each only twenty-two inches of wall in their barrack-room; let their barracks be built of boards or lath and plaster, and have neither galleries nor jalousied windows, but close window shutters, and a hole or cellar under the flooring for containing mud and stagnant water, and holes in the roof for the admission of rain, and the windows only eighteen inches from the floor, that they may be obliged to sleep in the draught of air; and let them have drill every morning on wet ground and when fasting; guard mounting, and all kinds of fatigue, not in the morning or evening, but during the hottest time of the day; when on sentry, no shed to keep off the direct rays of the sun; bad bread, putrid meat, few vegetables, plenty of new rum, especially in the morning; discipline enforced by terror and punishment, not by mind and prevention; an hospital similar to the barrack-room, without offices, always crowded, plentifully supplied with rum, scantily with water, so ill regulated that the men dread to enter it; a firm belief in the doctrine of contagion, and a horror of approaching any person infected with yellow fever. Let these directions be attended to in Trinidad, or even in Barbadoes, and especially when the air is stagnant, or charged with noxious vapours subsequent to long drought, the soldiers will soon die, some of them of yellow, some of them with black vomit, and those first in the rooms where these directions have been most carefully observed."

As long as the arrangements of the army are merely curative, or rather meliorative of the immense masses of disease, however produced, and there is no regular organisation of a distinct preventive service, little alteration can be expected. In all pitched battles in India, the brunt of the fighting has fallen to the Anglo-Saxon soldiers. If safety requires an army of 100,000 of them, as we have no doubt it does, of the ranks as at present composed, what a gulph is before us in India? From 1839 to 1851, there was, on the average, upwards of 38,000 British soldiers in India, and the rate of decrease from all causes was about eleven per cent., of which the death rate was about one half, so that within that period, no less than 27,000 British have passed away; but now a double death rate, of upwards of 11 per cent., apart from the casualties of battle, has set in. Speaking of some of the older

and less severe conditions of easier duty in peace, in which the rate of admissions to the hospital had been upwards of 150 per cent. per annum, Colonel Sykes observes, it is "understood that each European costs L.100 by the time he joins his regiment"—he costs more than that—"and the 10,025 lives lost, from 1845 to 1849 in all India, occasioned a loss therefore of above a million of money." "The philanthropist is shocked by the conviction, that much of the waste of European life in India is self-imposed; and that much of the intensity of the mortality might be within human control." But, even at the present rate of mortality, with such a force as that required, it will be as if two full Highland brigades, or five thousand of select strong Anglo-Saxon men each were annually cast into a vast grave, and an army of medicine men, and attendants, were to be raised to give relief to a large army kept prostrate and ineffective by preventible sickness. This helplessness is made an argument for expensive reliance on native forces. "Again," says General Jacob, "seasons frequently occur (I have known many such), when almost every man is disabled by fever. At such times our military force would be temporarily annihilated, and we should find ourselves without a native Indian army, among people whom we had placed in the position of conquered enemies, restrained by physical force only—instead of their being, as they really might have remained, and might yet become, our past friends."

Under a trained preventive organisation, composed on the same principles as the one by which the great sanitary lesson was achieved in the Crimea, combining with the sanitary science of prevention, the special practical arts of prevention, every quartermaster would be provided with an *aide memoire*, embodying the best preventive experience (which has yet to be composed), and would be accompanied by a sanitary preventive officer, to inspect and advise on the sanitary conditions of sites, and on the character of any works required, and by a special sanitary engineer, to direct and superintend their execution. A preventive staff should be organised against the most certain source of danger,—having scouts in advance, and making sanitary reconnaissances in the dangerous countries, ascertaining what diseases from localising causes are prevalent amongst the population, testing water supplies, and ascertaining other facts needful for the guidance of an army, as well as the common-place strategical considerations. Had the French done this, or had their general been responsible for not taking sanitary advice, they would have been saved a sanitary disaster, occasioned by the advance upon a country notoriously unhealthy, the marshes of the Debrutska, where 5183 men were killed. "At its return to the camp of Yenikale, the first division, so brilliant and so strong on its outset, had," says Dr Scrive, "only from seven to eight thousand

bayonets effective ;—on its arrival from France, it had twelve !” We have not the means of distinguishing our own losses in the Crimea from errors as to sites merely, of which we have given one illustrative example, in which the present Commander-in-Chief in India received a lesson, which, alas for his men, he will not have been provided with means of applying. In a rude way, towards the end of the peninsular war, and after dire experience, the Duke obtained some intuitive skill in taking good sanitary as well as strategical positions, and preventive measures were being brought into practice. In occupying old Spanish towns, they were “turned inside out,” holes were knocked into walls for ventilation, accumulations of filth were ruthlessly removed, and cleansing was effected, such as had never been seen before, and the army was protected from disaster, and preserved in its best strength.

The prevention of the dire drain of the British force in India, however important for the maintenance of our strength at home and in that country, is essential for the repression of hostile hopes in India, which render the increased force there necessary, so long as those hopes are excited by the belief that Europeans cannot live or settle there. Whilst this article was in preparation for the press, we have received a work on the British army in India, by Mr Jefferys, formerly staff-surgeon at Cawnpore, which contains valuable practical suggestions, and important testimony corroborative of some of the general conclusions which we have endeavoured to set forth. Speaking from long observation of the feeling of the natives of India, he states that “they look upon us as white bears, from the cold unhealthy north, ferociously brave, but of sickly constitutions, disabling us from occupying the country without their aid. That the rebellion was long meditated and purposely timed to commence in the hottest season, I cannot entertain a doubt.” Their present reliance on “Generals May, June, and July,” as allies, to give them a success of which they have no longer hopes from their numbers, is undisguised. A sound sanitary strategy, under competent instruction, as saved the army in the Crimea, would, with commensurately augmented means, save our army in India, and would be of more permanent avail than the best military strategy alone.

A portion of the Arabala chain of hills, running from Goozerut, to within a few miles of Delhi; about one hundred miles in length, by twenty-five or thirty miles broad, is known by the name of the Mairwara. It may be said to be about the size of the mountainous districts of the Highlands of Scotland; and within our own time, was inhabited by a population as barbarous as any probably which, within historical period, occupied those Highlands. The Mairwara population was a robber population;—living in great part by the plunder of the adjacent districts. In 1818, the injury done by their forays compelled the Indian

Government to send an expedition for their repression, which was only partially successful. Another expedition was necessitated in 1820. This led to a military occupation of the district, at a great expense; and so this military occupation might have continued, with as little effect on the civilisation, as has been hitherto produced on the indigenous population by the French occupation of Algeria, during twenty years, at an enormous expense to France, or as had been produced by the Russian military occupation of the Crimea, and its military administration of the more barbarous provinces;—but it happened that the first command of the brigade of occupation was held by Captain, afterwards Colonel H. Hall, an officer who had a capacity for administration and effecting ameliorations in the social condition of that sort of population. He introduced some law and order, and created some settled habits among them; but the improvements he effected, appear to have been such as would, for the most part, have required extrinsic power to sustain them. In 1836, there chanced to succeed Colonel Hall,—Captain, afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel C. J. Dixon of the Bengal artillery,—an officer who, to the desire to improve the social condition of the population, had the engineering accomplishment of being able to direct works, and the material means of putting their improvement on a self-supporting and permanent condition. He perceived that from the frequent failure of the water supplies, and consequent failure of crops, there could be no regular production, and that the Mairs were subject to scarcities, under which they might be said to be under compulsion to rob for subsistence. He devised the requisite works, and borrowed money for their execution; he employed the robber population in executing them. Besides the larger works, he occupied the population with smaller works in their own villages. The points accomplished were:—1st, Running a sufficient supply of water for the permanent cultivation of the soil; 2d, The subjugation by the plough of tracts of land abandoned to jungle; 3d, The conversion of every individual inhabitant into a cultivator. “In every village in the Mairwara, there are certain handicraftsmen, and others, regarded as the hereditary servants of the community, who do not usually engage in tillage, but are remunerated for their service by annual and occasional allowances of grain. All these, however, the smith, carpenter, potter, barber, and leather-dresser, were induced by judicious persuasion and aid, to take their share of agricultural employ; and even the minstrel, whose hands had never before been blistered by a plough handle, or other vulgar implement of toil, was at last enrolled as a convert to rural industry.” He succeeded in proving the practicability of breaking through the wasteful and depressing arrangement of caste.

The extended production he obtained, led to the creation of

improved villages ; the extension of production, to the need of a market, and the market to the creation of a new town, which, at the date of the last report, contained about 2000 families. A fair was instituted, at which some 10,000 people attended. The whole narrative is of the highest political and social import. The population generally were moralised by making depredation no longer worth while during the rebellion. The whole turned upon ability for the direction of useful occupations and works, which, to use the words of Colonel Baird Smith, comprised the development of works for the storage and distribution of water, "by which fallen rain is economised to the utmost, and distributed in time and place of need, instead of sweeping down the valleys and passing away in an useless torrent ; and has been the means of giving permanence and advancement to the improvement in the character and habits of the people. By these works, the country has been fortified against the miseries of famine ; tracts of wild jungle have been converted into fruitful fields, dotted with villages, and alive with rural industry ; population and revenue have been more than doubled ; families, which for generations had abandoned their native hills, have returned to seek their traditional landmarks ; the inducements to constant migration and unsettled habits done away, and a taste acquired for the sweets of profitable toil. The wild unmastered caterans of 1820 are thus found to have become in 1848 a thrifty, thriving, peaceful, and industrious peasantry, an example to their neighbours whose terror they once were."

All this, a change of a population by administration, and—by an army administration—within half a generation, as great as similar changes have been elsewhere wrought by favourable influences within a century or more, sounds like a romance ; but it is literally verified in official documents, published by the Company ; and we learn, further, the important fact, that similar operations have been conducted, and are in successful progress, under military officers, in other parts of India, proving that such work, great though it is, was not entirely dependant on the rare genius of one man, or the favourable accidents of one place, but is of wide and general application, if the governing authorities were so to conceive, and so to will it.¹ But the hero of this great battle-field of civilisation, Colonel Dixon, died amidst his labours, at the commencement of the mutiny, unnoticed in any Governor-General's address ; unhonoured by any royal distinction—unknown generally to old Indians, or the Indian public, but we trust duly respected by the population which he had elevated,

¹ No accounts in detail of similar operations have been made known ; but it is stated in an official minute, that in Western India, the honour of the initiative belongs to Mr J. P. Willoughby, then a very young officer, and now member for Leominster.

and regarded with admiration and affection, by officers of the Engineers and Artillery, who, like Colonel Baird Smith, are emulous of his example.

To this illustrative instance might be added, the markets, the public edifices, as well as the roads left in the Ionian Islands, as memorials of the presence of Captain Kennedy, an officer of the same high class as Colonel Dixon, as shewing what may be done by a trained force under the direction of practical science, and merit-appointed commands. Regarding dominion and economy of military force, and the productive occupation of military force, the Company have undoubtedly been led to commit a great error in giving up the selection, the construction and working of railways, to the ordinary joint-stock company's management, which there is no adequate security for having any better than the joint company management at home. "I believe," says Mr Campbell, a civil servant, in his work on India, "as it may be that a trunk line of railway through the country occupied by the Bengal army would relieve us of duties which fully occupy 50 regiments, or 50,000 men," and so no doubt in proportion of the rest of India. Duly considered, railways are means with the electric telegraph of economising and wielding Anglo-Saxon force. They will be so regarded by enemies, and we apprehend that those means can only be safely entrusted to the custody of British soldiers. A trained force of sappers should form them; and, above all, should combine the military with the requisite railway stations, and at those stations apply every sanitary improvement for the preservation of the health and strength of the troops and their wives and families. The railway stations, under such occupation and direction as that of Colonel Dixon, might, in the security they would offer, be made the nuclei of extending production of commerce and settlement and civilisation. But the first condition of dominion and of any chances of settlement is to enable the British troops to hold the country without the present excessive drains on health and strength, life as well as of money. The primary benefit to be conferred by the Anglo-Saxon dominion upon the natives of India, will be the reduction of the enormous burden of their own military castes; and if it were possible, their utter extinction, or rather their conversion to productive occupation, of which Colonel Dixon has afforded so grand an example. All neglects to make India properly habitable to a respectable Anglo-Saxon soldiery, must be at the expense of infinitely more numerous native forces, as untrustworthy as they are expensive. Following such experience as we have indicated, a much smaller English army than has been demanded may, we believe, be made to suffice, and, by its utility, made to a great extent self-supporting. We are unable to do more than to indicate the position due to this important topic, in connection

with which we have to express our surprise that the East India Company should have fallen into the economical error of supposing, that payment by tolls, is a true test of the public value of a railway more than of a common road. In India, it is of especial importance to reduce the cost of transit, to extend the convenience, and reduce the cost of transit to the lowest amount, irrespective of profit in the outlay. In India, especially, railways will often be highly remunerative to the population of a district and to the government of the country, although they may not from the tolls pay the most economical working expenses, or the interest on a very low cost of construction.

The electric telegraph, with the Minie and the railway, imperfectly developed as they now are, we have heard old Indians declare, have saved England from defeat. It is in that field that European science in arts, as well as in arms, should be developed to the uttermost for our safety. Whilst a better and more intelligent soldier (or a more intelligent leadership and administration) will be required for the use of improved weapons of war, offensively, and of earthworks defensively, which will, as against the half civilized human enemy, give him the power of three to one, as estimated by Sir John Burgoyne; it will give similar advantages against the invisible enemy, that cometh like the "arrow, that flieth in the dark," and for occupying time in peace, usefully and productively, in a manner to make the natives "fast friends."

Long before the war, Sir John Burgoyne in his *Treatise on the Attack of Fortresses*, urged the importance of ascertaining and defining the value of military labour, and the mode of applying it to the greatest advantage, and, in his quiet way, he represented that "the ordinary labour of soldiers is inferior to that of any other class of men, and there are many reasons to account for it: 1. Soldiers have no inducement to work—it is not to procure them a livelihood, nor have they any encouragement for exertion, nor punishment for indolence. When set to work, it is common for a soldier to remark, that he enlisted because he did not like work. 2. Commanding officers have a great dislike to men being so employed, as it wears their clothes, and is considered to tend to their being less well set up in the ranks. 3. Officers and men are apt to consider it as an extra and unprofessional duty. It is very desirable that these feelings should be corrected, and that the army should become sensible of the advantages to be derived from laborious exertion with the pick-axe and shovel, as laid down in the Queen's regulation, and but commonly little attended to." The present question of attention to it in India, is for the public a question of an expenditure of two or three millions per annum, with the slaughter of three thousand men per annum, and insecurity; and a loss of one thousand men only, and an expenditure probably of less

than a million, and increasing security. It is a question whether the occupation of India shall pay by its civilisation, or whether we shall pay in life as well as money for its retention in semi-barbarism and hostility. Caesar's soldiers, civilised as well as conquered; they made roads, over some of which we Britons walk or ride at the present day; and Agricola not only made roads, but drained marshes, and founded colonies. The Austrian army in our time have learned not only to make common roads, but railways; and twenty thousand soldiers, with their officers, of the Austrian army, occupying Galicia, were recently employed in constructing the railroad from Cracow to Lemberg. But our men in the Crimea, under the patronage-appointed commands of those, whom the old Duke of Wellington designated as "but poor creatures in camp and cantonments," exhibited before all the world the disgraceful spectacle of an army perishing from the want of supplies, from the failure of a road, which on subsequent examination the sanitary engineer declared, that the labour of the men who died, with the aid of the horses which also perished in consequence, might, under competent command, have been preserved. So helpless was our army, that with good "spadesmen" in the ranks, derived in great proportion from the districts where the best "navvies" are obtained, it was nevertheless found requisite to send out a special corps to do the works to which the army was incompetent. And after all the previous warnings, this very army works corps was ravaged by preventible disease, and did not accomplish one-half the work which it would have yielded under a civil engineer. These defaults in the field abroad were only expansions of the defaults prevalent in barracks at home, to which the army returned at the peace, and which are yet maintained with little material amendment, the special sanitary commission, who had brought the army into a state of health inferior to that at home, being broken up and dismissed as no longer wanted. Near Aldershot, in a high and salubrious position, are the remains of one of Cæsar's camps. He needed no army works corps to drain it, or to execute the earth works of which the remains are still visible. The spring from it, which probably supplied his soldiers with water, is one of the finest within the district. The modern army, with artisans in its ranks, encamped beneath his position, was incompetent to drain their own position, and were obliged to get that work first done by civil contractors at an enormous expense to the public. Good water of the quality of that obtained by Cæsar was missed, and deep wells were sunk into wrong strata, and bad water was got at great cost. Near the huts, constructed by civil artisans, at great cost, for the first regiments, might be seen the roofs covering large cesspools in such proximity to the huts, that they would at times be pervaded by foul effluvia; and a large

well for drinking water was sunk in a permeable stratum as inevitably to receive a taint from thence; and as to the ventilation of the living and sleeping rooms of the men, it may be judged of by the construction of the living rooms for the captains, who must in certain weathers remain in them and vitiate in four hours the air which they would have to breathe for twelve.

As typhus has been banished, by sanitary regulations, from common beggars' lodging-houses, surprise was expressed at its continuance in barracks; and since, by the applications of sanitary science to old as well as new dwellings, the death-rates among poor populations—comprising the usual proportions of women and children, and aged and weakly—the death-rates were reduced from thirty to thirteen in a thousand, and only twelve or fourteen of the adults were found at home sick, whilst in the barracks at home there are forty, it was asked why, amongst the strong picked men of the guards, a death-rate of twenty in a thousand should prevail, and an average of more than forty, in great part from preventible disease, kept constantly prostrate in the hospital? Now, until we bring the soldiers at home into a better physical condition—until the military administration can be so improved as to apply preventive science for the purpose, as in the Crimea, the default of administrative competency must expand into disaster in India, and even in China. We say into China, because it affords an example of the abandonment of a station highly eligible for commerce—the Island of Chusan—on account of its unhealthiness, or from simple incapacity, and the deficiency of army preventive science, which would have easily rendered it completely healthy. Until, however, the standards of health, obtained in civil life, are secured for the army at home, we would urge the public to accept no apology, for they are in no safety from repeated disaster, and are certain of augmented burthens.

The Commission on the sanitary condition of the army, to which we have referred, dealt with the important subject with high integrity, as was to be expected from the members of the Commission. One of their general conclusions is in these terms :—

“ We recommend that, in order to secure that sanitary considerations shall not be overlooked in the site of encampments, hospitals, barracks, or in any matter involving the health of the troops, such as water supply, drainage, food, clothing, etc., *medical* officers be invariably consulted; and, in order to fix on the commanding officer, and on medical officers, the responsibility properly belonging to each, that the *medical officer* shall be required to give his advice in writing, the commanding officer to affix in writing his reasons for rejecting it, if he think fit to do so, and to transmit the document to superior authority.”

“ We recommend that, in order to secure to the commanding officer of an army in the field the most efficient sanitary advice, and to relieve the principal *medical* officer of duties which his other avocations leave him no time to perform, a *sanitary officer* be appointed to act *under* the authority of the principal *medical* officer, but to be attached to the staff of the Quarter-Master General.”

We are told that it is conceded that there shall be an *infusion* of sanitary science at the new army medical board, which, we are perfectly confident, will be a *confusion* and loss of that science amidst other and irrelevant functions. The proposed arrangement appears to us to be a sacrifice of the health of the army to low professional jealousies against the required introduction of a new and special service, manifested in vulgar pamphlets. It is placing the antecedents after the consequents,—the needed preventive functions, which are perfectly independent and essentially superior, in subordination to the merely *curative* or meliorative functions—important in themselves, but essentially inferior. The “great lesson” to which Miss Nightingale solemnly points, by which our army was, in the second year, placed in a state of health on the field superior to that to which they returned, furnishes the practical example of the principles of the administrative organisation required, namely, of a distinct staff of specially qualified *pure* sanitary officers, with *pure* sanitary engineers trained in special sanitary works. All that would have been required for permanent purposes would have been an extension of the staff of the Crimean Sanitary Commission. To the preventive duties we have specified, as required during war, would be added those in peace, of receiving prompt, constant, and direct returns of the causes of death, and where, as by the typhus-test, they are known to be removable, to visit the places where the disease was first manifested, to examine the localising causes, and take order for their immediate removal, or for the immediate removal of the living who are likely to be affected,—leaving the first victims to the care of the *curative* or medical service. What, essentially, has either service to do with the other? unless, indeed, by the display in the returns of an excessive rate of mortality in the hospitals, or the prevalence of the gangrene-test, or the manifestation of spontaneous disease within them, and the attack of healthy nurses and orderlies, as occurred in the hospitals at Scutari, in respect to which Miss Nightingale states :—“ The sanitary conditions of the hospitals at Scutari were inferior in point of crowding, ventilation, drainage, and cleanliness, up to the middle of March 1855, to any civil hospital, or to the poorest houses in the worst parts of the civil population of any large town that I have seen,”—and she has traversed the seats of the most dire misery,—then, in such a case, it would be the duty of the preventive or sanitary commis-

sioners to interpose, as they did, not interfering with the medical treatment of the patients, but as by structural arrangements, such as were directed by Mr Rawlinson, the sanitary engineer, and a body of workmen, in the results of whose labours Miss Nightingale says—"After the sanitary works undertaken at that date were executed, I know no buildings in the world I could compare to them in these points, the original defect of construction of course excepted." Previously, as she states, "the sick might have been loaded with medical comforts, attended by the first medical men of the age; under such sanitary conditions they had not a chance." Subsequently, the hospital gangrenes disappeared, and the mortality fell by four-fifths!

The reflex of the administrative lesson to which she refers was given in the same fields, that is to say, in the French army, where, amongst the army medical service, the hygienic knowledge has long been in advance of our own. We have no treatises in our language on hygiene, like those of Dr Boudin, or of M. Michel Levy, the medical inspector-general. But this advanced hygienic knowledge exists in France in vain, because it has no independent attributions or executive authority, and is mixed up, as proposed to be done here, and infused with the ordinary *curative* service. The campaign was preceded by a sanitary reconnaissance (made by the French hygienic department, comprised in the medical department, somewhat of the description of that which is proposed in England), giving the topography of disease; and yet that reconnaissance did not hinder the tremendous disaster of the French army amidst the marshes of the Debrutska. There were also excellent instructions, *in generalia*, given by the sub-department of hygiene, for the sanitary keeping of the camp, the burthen of which was, that the health of the camp depended on the maintenance of exquisite cleanliness, *une propri  t   exquisite*; and yet, the French camp stunk,—stunk so abominably, that, at the time our own camp was got into a good sanitary condition, considerable apprehension was felt by the sanitary commissioners, from the odours which came from amidst the immense fever-nest constituted by the army of our allies; and, indeed, there is serious reason to believe that those foul odours led to the disorder which proved fatal to poor Lord Raglan, whose quarters were peculiarly exposed to them, and who was predisposed to their influence by excessive fatigue.

The commissioners' conclusions are open to serious exceptions, also, in respect to the countenance they give to the ignorant assumption that the existing medical and engineering instruction comprehends not only the principles of sanitary science, but competent practical skill for their application; in not show-

ing that, whereas the medicine-man's prescriptions are settled for him in the *Pharmacopœiæ*, and are forthcoming upon requisitions upon the keeper of the army medicine chest, the sanitary officer's practical appliances, are in important particulars, unsettled, and that such as are settled must be sought by requisitions, not on the apothecary, but on the engineer,—and through him by specifications for works which he has not mastered ;—and that a special training and very special aptitudes are required for the new science. Suppose, for example, to take a practical case, that the *medical* officer gives “his advice in writing” to the commanding officer, that the barracks or the army hospital require ventilation. The commanding officer's answer, which exonerates him from responsibility, is, that he has referred it to the engineer officer, who says he does not see that the ventilation can be better effected than in the accustomed mode. The commissioners had the whole case, as we judge it, before them, in the following answers of Captain Laffan, of the Engineers, the deputy inspector-general of fortifications :—

“ 6770. President (Mr Sidney Herbert)—In the instructions of engineers, is there much space given to questions of civil engineering? I mean, does their education comprise questions of sanitary engineering?—Architecture is one of the chief elements of the education of a military engineer, but civil engineering has not been very much taught.

“ 6771. Is sanitary engineering attended to?—I hardly know what that means.

“ 6772. Questions of drainage, sewerage, and ventilation?—I should think that ventilation has been very little considered by any body in England up to the present time.”

Meaning, we presume, any body in England who has been engaged in the direction of the public expenditure upon barracks and hospitals. But this gentleman being, in due course of routine, the proper officer, was sent for and consulted by the Secretary-of-War, and who tells the Commission—“ I waited upon Lord Panmure, and he told me that he wished to establish, and the Government wished to establish, a large military hospital capable of containing 1000 patients or upwards, and he was anxious to select the best site for it.” Out of this consultation has arisen the Netley Hospital, on which a quarter of a million of money will be expended for a site, in an atmosphere confessedly irretrievably moist, which is described to the Commission by Dr James Brown Gibson, C.B., who examined it very particularly, on the bank of a large tidal river :—“ There is a large surface of offensive mud exposed at low water, and on each side of it there is marshy ground.” If written notice were given by the medical to the commanding officer, that a

military edifice required drainage as well as ventilation, the answer would be of the character, shown by the fact stated in respect to this very hospital at its foundation, that it had a sewer provided capable of serving for the drainage of a town having a population of 30,000 (6857),—bad work enough as a reckless waste of material and public money, but direful in its effects as a mode of construction, which, from its magnitude, detains what it ought to remove, and creates an extended surface of noxious gaseous evaporation, poisoning the atmosphere breathed by the inmates of the edifice, which the practical preventive science displayed at Scutari would have kept pure.

Progress in improvement is arrested at this point : that routine, and jealousy, and ignorance, refuses to organise new service from without, or is incompetent to create, by special training, the requisite practical preventive skill which, as the results prove, does not now exist within. In the meantime, the great lesson of the Crimea being practically lost for England and for India,—special sanitary science, and proved skill, and the rudimentary elements, for the creation of an efficient preventive science, have been broken into fragments and dispersed ; and whilst there are increasing demands upon the physical strength of the Anglo-Saxon race, for the maintenance of its industrial position, as well as for its dominion, we have in the barracks at home numbers, equal to a division of an army, constantly prostrate in hospitals, from preventible sickness, and every year at least a full brigade of strong healthy men hurried into the grave. In India, we have several thousands of able-bodied Englishmen annually slaughtered, by preventible deaths, and a whole army weakened ; and in civil life at home, measured by practical standards, we have full 150,000 of the people, men, women, and children, annually sacrificed by—ignorance and mal-administration.

- ART. X.—1. *The Case of the Reformers in the Literary Fund; stated by CHARLES W. DILKE, CHARLES DICKENS, and JOHN FORSTER.* 1858.
2. *Royal Literary Fund: A Summary of Facts drawn from the Records of the Society, and issued by the Committee.* 1858.
3. *Royal Literary Fund: The Answer to the Committee's Summary of "Facts."* By C. W. DILKE, CHARLES DICKENS, and JOHN FORSTER. 1858.
4. *The Royal Literary Fund, etc. Annual Reports.* 1856.
5. *Claims of Literature: The Origin, Motives, Objects, and Transactions, of the Society for the Establishment of a Literary Fund.* 1802.

A FEW years ago, M. de Lamartine, after a visit to London, published a somewhat rhapsodical series of letters upon the glories of the metropolis, and the grandeur of the British Empire. When a Frenchman of poetic genius had determined to praise, it was not to be expected that he would be remarkably temperate; but even Englishmen, we believe, were hardly prepared to recognise the vision which was then unfolded to them, as a likeness of themselves and of their own life and institutions. The streets of palaces, the wealth beyond the old dream of the Indies, unloaded on the quays of river and docks, the parks, the club-houses, the new towns, which each year's building in the suburbs added to the wondrous labyrinth, were topics on which his English readers were accustomed, with no great stint, to dilate themselves; but there are other points on which even national vanity has certain doubts, and it was embarrassing to have those very points selected for a special tribute of unmeasured laudation. Irony is a bewitching figure: there are minds which habitually indulge in it, and can enjoy, though no one should doubt of their plain sincerity. What if this brilliant foreigner, secretly filled with the old Gallic enmity towards England, but armed with a subtler power than gunpowder or steel, had resolved to humble us, in the eyes of all the world, by persuading us, like Christopher Sly in his drunken dream, that our very deformities were beauties? Although such a design was not so obvious as it would have been if he had selected some of the public statues, or the tall smoking chimneys, or the dismal banks of the Thames—as it winds through the metropolis—to those who had given the subject a slight consideration, it was a little suspicious that he made our innumerable public charities the object of his unqualified admiration. Those who know how a great number of these are established, the frequent motives of

the promoters, and the mismanagement and waste of funds which accompany them, are troubled with grave doubts, and, in despair, are tempted to embrace the theory of an ultra-school, that all charity is beset with insurmountable difficulties, or mischievous in a degree which outbalances the happiness which it creates, or the true misery, and unmerited poverty, which it oftentimes unquestionably relieves.

To the political economist, who is accustomed to consider the annual income of the country as distributed among workmen, masters, and land-owners, by free bargain, it would, we believe, yield a startling result if he would endeavour to ascertain what amount is really apportioned upon quite other principles—given from charitable or benevolent motives, or bestowed upon persons who could not claim what they get as a right. Not to speak of free gifts among relatives and friends, of the large amount which is annually bequeathed by wills, of pensions, of the salaries of official and other persons, which are higher than they would be if their offices were put up to auction, our public charities would form an enormous item. Independently of the large amount collected for poor-rates in the United Kingdom, there is not a parish which is not endowed with property left by charitable persons, and every parish has its free school. Municipal corporations possess vast endowments of a similar character; so do city guilds and companies. The great metropolitan hospitals have enormous wealth, and draw annually large sums from subscriptions. Ancient endowed grammar schools have grown into rich aristocratic establishments, from the increased value of lands bestowed upon them. Every neighbourhood has its free dispensary, its visiting society, its “Dorcas” society, its coal distribution, its reformatory, its almshouses, every magistrate his “poor-box;” and at church and chapel alike, the plate is always at the door. There are many wealthy individuals who notoriously give away a large portion of their revenue in private charity, and are besieged with applications,—some of whom are said to keep secretaries constantly employed in investigating appeals, and defeating, when they can, the professional begging letter-writer. But one of the most striking developments of our benevolence is the Special Institution, designed to relieve some particular calamity, or some single class or profession. Not a newspaper can be taken up without finding in its advertising columns a new scheme of this kind, announcing its first dinner, with some great celebrity in the chair, or appealing for funds, with a noble list of patrons and committee. It would seem as if the discovery of a human want, or a human misfortune, which was not already met by some institution for its satisfaction or relief, must baffle even the ingenuity of profes-

sional projectors ; and, indeed, it is pretty evident, on running over the titles of a few such institutions in a London Directory, that invention has been taxed almost to its utmost limit, and where, as we suppose, not of the highest order, has been driven to plagiarise without the hope of effectual concealment. As, for instance, we have in London a Mariners' Friend Society, a Sailors' Hospital, a Sailors' Home, a Sailors' Improvement Society, a Sailors' Homes and Aged and Destitute Sailors' Asylums Institution, a Sailors' Home or Brunswick Maritime Establishment, and a Shipwrecked Fishermen and Mariners' Benevolent Society. Again, a Strangers' Friend Society, a British Beneficent Foreign Aid Society, a Society of Friends of Foreigners in distress, a French Benevolent Society, a French Charitable Association, an Artists' Benevolent Fund, an Artists' General Benevolent Fund, etc.,—all of which, of course, compete with one another, and divide the amount disposable for such charities, each maintaining a costly separate machinery. Other projectors, more scrupulous, we suppose, about pilfering an idea, have adopted such vague descriptions as the Royal Benevolent Society, the London Philanthropic Society, and, vaguer still, the Auxilium Institution ; while some express their charitable designs, by such puzzling titles as the "Aged Pilgrims' Friend Society." There are in London alone, we believe, between five and six hundred of these special institutions, whose yearly income is calculated to amount to nearly two millions sterling.

The way in which these societies are got up is notorious. To a needy, but clever fellow, a good idea for a new charity is valuable. By a plausible prospectus, and an active canvass, he may get a few respectable names : the rest will follow. The cost of obtaining subscriptions has been ascertained by an induction upon the widest possible basis of experience. The promoter, of course, obtains a secretaryship, or some other advantage, and becomes a conspicuous personage at the public dinner, which is held to be an important portion of the benevolent machinery. The theory, of course, is, that men grow generous after eating and drinking, and give with freer hand than at cooler and more reasonable hours. Nor should it be forgotten, that the subscription list is always read out at the close of the evening, loud applause from floor and galleries greeting the large sums, which directs all eyes upon the more liberal diners. To get up such a dinner is the easiest thing in the world. The minute sub-division of employments natural in civilised society has, under these circumstances, produced taverns whose *specialité* is to furnish such banquets ; and the proprietors of these taverns undertake the whole business of printing, filling up, and forwarding several hundred invitations, gathering stewards' fees—an invention for making certain

gentlemen pay thrice as much as others—and performing every other necessary, at a fixed charge per head. A nod from the secretary to the tavern-keeper is all that is required to set the benevolent fountain, nay, the whole of the charitable *grandes eaux*, in active play.

Although we question the good morals, or at all events the good taste, of some of these things, we are not insensible to their better features; nor would we, but for greater evils, be disposed to make serious objection to them. The waste and mismanagement which appear to be more or less inseparable from public charities, are a far more serious consideration. Money easily got, is proverbially easily spent. This is true when the money is the spender's own, and is more true when it is not. Corporations, boards and committees, even when composed of the best and most honourable persons, are notoriously wanting in principle, in energy to do well, or in shame for proved misdeeds. Who fears or expects loss of character from one twenty-fourth share in an act in which noblemen, high church dignitaries, and possibly distinguished statesmen, take the remaining twenty-three? Such persons are found on most of the committees of our charities—it is a creditable thing in the world's eye to be there; but, in fact, the higher the position of the person, the more valuable is his time, and therefore the less likely is he to have any practical acquaintance with the transactions for which he is jointly responsible. How little this voluntary responsibility is, in such a case, considered a wrong thing, cannot be better illustrated than by the case of the venerable nobleman of high character, who, after filling for twenty-eight years the office of vice-president, president, and member of the general committee of the Literary Fund, declared by letter, that he had heard with pleasure that no improper use of the funds by the committee had been alleged, "or at least substantiated;" and added, "upon such details, having had no opportunity of inquiring fully into them, I do not venture to give an opinion." The men who are really active in such committees—we are, of course, speaking generally—are the men of inferior position, to whose misdeeds, or errors, the great names serve as a shield.

The case of the Literary Fund Society has led us into these reflections, because we perceive that the high and undoubted respectability of the names upon its committee is confidently appealed to by the committee's defenders as an answer to charges made against it by Mr Dilke, Mr Dickens, and the "reformers." The plea is well known, and will be found among Bentham's list of fallacies. All experience of committees tells us that it is worthless. What has been may be again; and the proof of one solitary case of jobbery or mismanagement, in any board com-

posed of respectable names, ought to be a sufficient rejoinder. No man supposes that the respectability of a treasurer or trustee is sufficient reason for dispensing with the services of an auditor; nor does any wise and honest person object to the appointment of such a checking power, on the ground of its necessarily implying the possibility, however remote, of his being a rogue. The dissensions among the members of the Literary Fund Society are well known to the public, who take an interest in such matters. Every year a motion is made by the Reformers, and speeches, more or less angry, by literary, noble, and even Episcopal combatants, appear in the newspapers the next day. A sharp war of pamphlets has succeeded, as appears from the titles at the head of this paper. We have gone through these, and have taken some pains in investigating the various printed records of the Society, and we will endeavour to give an impartial statement of the case, with some remarks of our own.

The Literary Fund can at all events claim the honour of having had an honest and disinterested founder. Its history is not without interest. In 1773 Mr David Williams, an enthusiastic and somewhat visionary, but, we believe, a sincere man, was a member of a club of literary men who used to meet, after the fashion of that age, at a tavern in London, and, amongst other amusements, to introduce papers on subjects interesting to their members. One of these papers, delivered by Mr Williams, proposed the institution of a Literary Fund as an object worthy of their attention; and it is an interesting circumstance, that Benjamin Franklin was on that night the chairman of the club. The sorrows and miseries of men of letters had long become a common-place among writers and declaimers, and, if occasionally exaggerated, were certainly more real in that age than in this; but the proposed attempt to assist them appears to have been considered, even by Franklin, in the highest degree visionary and impracticable. "I perceive," said their illustrious chairman, on closing the meeting, "that our friend does not acquiesce in our opinions, and that he will undertake this institution. The event, be it what it may, will be honourable to him; but it will require so much time, perseverance, and patience, that the anvil may wear out the hammer." Franklin evidently knew the character of his friend, for Williams appears to have steadily kept his project in view. The institution of benevolent societies had not then reached the scientific development of these times, and the projector received little encouragement. A bookseller warned him that "nobody would meddle with authors," and recommended him to associate literature with the arts, "or with any class or description of objects less obnoxious to general apprehension and terror" than the literary class of those

days. An advertisement was put forth in accordance with this recommendation; but no progress was made. The American war made a painful breach among the members of the club. When peace returned, Williams, by the advice of his friend Adam Smith, obtained a private interview with Mr Pitt, who was, however, "too much engaged" to attend to his plan. Nothing daunted, the benevolent gentleman went over to the Opposition—to Fox and Burke, and to Sir Joseph Banks; but the project was pronounced "a fine speculation impossible to be realized." So the scheme hung fire; till, in 1788, Floyer Sydenham, who was a member of the club, died in consequence of his arrest for a small debt. This accomplished scholar and amiable man, it appeared, had silently suffered extreme distress, and died of a broken heart. The circumstance seems to have touched the heart of the club with some remorse for their neglect of Williams' scheme. It was therefore resolved to expiate the error, by a monument to his memory, in the institution of a Literary Fund. A little money was subscribed; and Williams went about his task with redoubled energy. Some funds were obtained by the industrious promoter; cases were at once taken into consideration and relieved. Among the earliest of the good deeds of the new society, was a subscription of forty-five pounds to the fund for the benefit of the widow and children of Robert Burns. No less a bard than Mr Pye, the laureate, sang the glories of the new institution. Mr Boscawen, Captain Morris, Byron's "hoarse" Fitzgerald, the elder Disraeli, and Crabbe, composed heroic couplets for its annual festivals. Amateur performances at the Haymarket Theatre assisted the Fund, and the indefatigable Williams trudged about, from friend to friend, soliciting and gathering subscriptions. We are afraid that some less earnest persons may occasionally have considered him a bore; but Williams saw nothing but the object which he believed to be good. By his unceasing labours he had, in 1805, secured a permanent fund of L.6000, and an income of L.800 a year; and in that year the Prince of Wales, after a heavy epistolary bombardment from Williams, agreed to pay yearly the rent of a house for the Society—a promise which he kept as long as he lived. Williams lived to see the Fund still more wealthy, prosperous, and useful; but the struggle was not ended when he died in 1816. Every effort had been made by him to obtain a charter of incorporation; but the law-officers of the Crown opposed it. Two years after Williams' death, however, this last point was gained, and thenceforth the respectability of their institution was unquestioned, and the great and wealthy viewed it with increased favour. The active spirit of its founder was indeed gone; and although, to those who looked below the

surface, there soon appeared a falling off in the number of its subscribers—of those persons who took a real interest in the welfare of the institution, and liked to testify it, even by a small subscription—the funds increased. Legacies and gifts fell in ; and at this day the Society is possessed of funded and other property to the amount of nearly forty thousand pounds. But the yearly subscribers, who saw and chatted with honest Williams—the living embodiment of their benevolent wishes—when he called with his little book and pencil, where are they or their successors? Notwithstanding the great increase, since 1802, in the number of persons who are engaged in or take an interest in literary pursuits, it appears from the calculations of the “Reformers,” which, although they have been questioned, we have ourselves tested and found to be generally accurate, that the Society had in that year 394 such annual subscribers, whereas in 1857 it had little more than 100. There is still, indeed, a noble list of presidents and committee-men—dukes, marquises, earls, bishops, archbishop, and deans, honourables and right honourables ; yet this is the fact. The Society is rich, but its spirit is departed. A committee of the highest and the noblest constitution is but a weak substitute for the energy, and honest faith, and steady determination, of one man. All the usual signs of a corporate body, in its easy, indolent, and self-satisfied stage, have fully manifested themselves long ago. The restriction of the Society’s sphere of usefulness to the narrowest possible limits ; an expenditure which, compared with the work done, is clearly excessive ; an alleged bold defiance of the provisions of its own charter ; an opposition to inquiry ; and a general somnolence in its committee, only exchanged for a vigorous manifestation of the true corporation spirit, when a charge is made against it, or a proposition brought forward for improvement.

“ Two great abuses in the management of the Literary Fund.” say the opponents of the committee, “ originated that movement against it which the Reformers feel it to be their duty not to abandon as long as those abuses continue. They are—1. The cost of administering its affairs—a cost enormous beyond all precedent, and, as far as their experience in such matters extends, bearing no comparison with that of any other like fund or charity in existence. The amount of this cost in the last accounts very nearly equalled one-half of the whole money distributed ; that is to say, the sum distributed in relieving claimants was L.1225, and the expense of its distribution was L.532 [a deduction is claimed by the committee which would reduce this to L.507, 10s. 5d.]. 2. The constitution of the Managing Committee, who, taking advantage of a mistake in the wording of the charter, not discovered until nine years ago, have been able, not only entirely to dispense at their meetings with the presence and assistance of the Council, but have refused to allow the members of the Council access

to such records kept by the Society as alone would inform them of the proceedings of the Committee."

The second item we will presently explain. The first charge hardly requires any comment; and indeed the committee, by frequently changing or abandoning pleas upon which they had relied, confess the difficulty of meeting it. The duties of the committee, according to their bye-laws, are of the simplest possible character, and consist merely of voting money for the relief of applicants, through cheques to be drawn by their treasurer. In the year comprised in the last published accounts, the number of such applicants was 41: and the cost of relieving them, as we have seen, was L.507, 10s. 5d.—a sum which excludes collector's poundage, and the expenses of advertisements, and of the anniversary dinner. It is calculated that every cheque drawn costs the Society L.12. This manifest extravagance, however, is stoutly defended by those members of the committee who are active in upholding the present state of things. A great number of the cases relieved are merely grants, formally renewed from year to year; but it has been long contended as an excuse for the expenditure, that the majority of the cases are new and require investigation. Such a plea would hardly we think have been put forth if a better had existed. By the terms of the charter, the committee are to relieve only "persons of genius and learning, in want or distress." Assuming the committee to be, as we think they should be, gentlemen connected with letters, is it possible that persons fairly coming within this description can be, as a rule, so little known to them, that the mere investigation of forty cases should cost five hundred pounds? We think not. The committee indeed no longer contend for this view, which they had so consistently, and for so many years, advanced. In their recent pamphlet, driven home by the Reformers, they expressly declare that "the expenditure is incurred in the creation, and not in the distribution, of the Fund." This new explanation, however, is even more untenable than the previous one. In the earlier days, when Williams went about dunning and persuading his large list of subscribers, some such a plea might have had an air of truth; but Williams' whole expenditure, although he had four times the present number of subscribers, was under L.50. Granting, however, the accuracy of the committee's defence, it is quite certain that they ought at once to discontinue their incessant appeals to the public, and fall back entirely upon the large income of their accumulated property, the subscriptions of themselves and their patron. Their labours in creating subscriptions are in fact all loss—the cost being greater than the sum collected by more than eighty pounds. Dunning is not an agreeable duty, but it is always understood

to be less disagreeable to the *dun* than to the object of his calls. It may be quite possible that five hundred pounds will not more than out-balance the trouble and annoyance of these labours of the committee and their secretary; but if so, who will venture to estimate the harrassment, fruitless as it is, which they inflict upon the public, already subscribing to five or six hundred charities in London only? If one person of "genius and learning" the more were in consequence relieved, we might hesitate, but it is absolutely true, upon the committee's own showing, that the whole—more than the whole—sum subscribed is consumed by the machinery that is said to create it.

The two principal items in the committee's accounts of expenditure are secretary's salary L.200, rent and extras for house (last accounts) L.200, 3s. 2d. The Reformers object to these items, but only relatively to the limited operations of the Society. The secretary, they contend, has not, cannot have anything to do justifying such a salary; and, indeed, for many years the duties were performed, as they ought to be performed, by the registrars; and, subsequently to that, by a secretary at a salary of L.40 per annum: nor can the house, it is maintained, be necessary, while the committee hold but nine meetings of about two hours each in every year. Knowing the common features of such institutions, we should be sorry to assume the responsibility of the statement, that this expenditure is "enormous beyond all precedent:" but there are certainly institutions which exhibit a favourable contrast, and in which we have not been able to discover any other essential points of difference. The Medical Benevolent Fund, for example, relieved in the year of its last published accounts, not 41, but 74 cases, besides 14 annuitants, and their whole expenses were L.101, 1s. 11d.—the secretary's salary being only L.25 per annum. So the Artists' General Benevolent Fund expended in twelve years L.1079, 5s. 3d. in relieving 692 cases; while the Literary Fund, during the same period, spent L.6149, 11s. 10d. in relieving 530 cases only.

The second principal charge, that the committee have set aside the Council instituted by the charter, brings out a curious illustration of the natural working of corporate bodies. One of the "fundamental laws" prescribed by the charter is, that

"There shall be a Council, which shall consist of the President and Vice-Presidents, and of not more than twenty other members, to be elected by a General Meeting, out of those members who shall have previously served, for three years at least, upon the General Committee," etc.

No one reading this can doubt that the council was intended to be a body superior to the committee; or, at all events, a checking

power upon it, made necessary by the peculiar secrecy observed by the Society concerning its proceedings, out of delicacy towards the feelings of "genius and learning in distress." The council was accordingly elected; but so loosely were affairs managed after Williams' death, that it never met separately, but mingled in the meetings of the committee. No efficient control was, therefore, ever exercised by the council; but some of its members appear to have been occasionally troublesome to the general desire in the committee for complete repose. Cases of gross mismanagement were alleged, and reform urgently demanded. In 1847, however, the committee appear to have resolved upon a *coup d'état*. After thirty years, they suddenly discovered that the attendance of the council at their meetings was illegal. Counsel, upon a case drawn up by the committee, supported their views. The council were accordingly expelled, and not only were they declared incapable of attending those meetings, but absolutely destitute of the power of calling themselves together, or of being called together, or of meeting anywhere. There is still a council, but it has no place of meeting, no right to meet, no duties to perform, no power to act in any way, or to inform itself in any way of the committee's proceedings. The committee has positively refused to permit members of the council to inspect accounts or papers at the Society's house.

One word as to the principle of "delicacy and secrecy," so emphatically insisted upon by the committee. Delicacy is no doubt, in itself, a good thing. No one would willingly hurt the pride of learning or genius "brought to unworthy wretchedness." But there are many good things which, in their most perfect forms at least, are unattainable under the ordinary circumstances of life. Trust and confidence are good things. It is a painful ceremony to appoint auditors over trustees of the highest honour, because, as we have said, it necessarily implies a possibility, be it ever so remote, of roguery. We would rather, much rather, assume the perfect honesty, and suppress the disagreeable condition; but we cannot. So an institution, which required perfect secrecy, and therefore irresponsibility in any man or body of men united by one *esprit de corps*, is a thing which, however desirable, cannot be attained while men are men. The kind-hearted Williams did indeed suppress names in his printed narratives of cases relieved, and enjoin "delicacy;" but one of the principles laid down by him was, that the "records" of the Society, "the best appeals to justice and humanity, may be daily inspected." As it is, for the amounts expended, the number of cases relieved, and the judgment and care which ought to be exercised in its proceedings, no human being—not even the council of "elders"—has any authority

save the committee's own word. Indeed, so enamoured of their idea of secrecy are the committee, that although at their annual meetings nothing but bare figures is ever divulged, it was only after years of agitation by the Reformers, and only lately, that they would permit the presence of newspaper reporters. It is argued by the committee's defenders, that no case of breach of trust has been shown by their opponents to have occurred since the suspension of the council and the establishment of perfect secrecy. But how could any such thing be shown? Neither the council nor any other persons have any knowledge of the committee's proceedings for the last eleven years. They can only point to what took place before that time, to cases of mismanagement, which are admitted, and refer to the general principles that have been established by moral philosophers with regard to corporate bodies. Notwithstanding the existence of the council, loosely constituted as it was, instances are stated to have occurred in which the Society actually relieved two widows of one man; and relieved "ladies" who were afterwards sent to the prison as begging-letter impostors; and the following statement of the Reformers is admitted by the committee to be correct:—

"At a time when the committee were doling out relief in such single donations as five, ten, and twenty—in no instance (it is believed) exceeding forty—pounds, they voted one hundred pounds each to the widows of two of their own members; and, as one of the deceased was a man of fortune, who bequeathed two legacies of a hundred guineas each to friends, and as no application for relief had been made by his widow, it is fair to assume, that but for troublesome inquiry and comment, such self-apportionments of the funds would have become by no means uncommon."

So strong was the "suspicion that persons were sometimes relieved as authors of works which were never heard of out of the rooms of the Society," that one of the "troublesome" members brought forward and carried a regulation, that no case recommended by a member of the committee should "be entertained" "unless the same shall be accompanied by the testimonials of two or more respectable persons authenticating the facts therein stated," a law which is in existence to this hour. It is not, of course, meant to be insinuated that any like wrong-doings now take place; but the fact that such things have been is a sufficient condemnation of the state of absolute secrecy and irresponsibility which the committee have attained.

The new construction put upon the charter necessarily involved the committee in a dilemma. If the attendance of the council, and the voting of the council at their meetings were illegal, all the acts of the committee, for thirty years past, must also be illegal and void; nay, the very committee itself could

have no lawful being, for they had been elected by the council at such meetings. This was the decided opinion of counsel, who held upon a case submitted, that after the abrogation of the bye-law "the committee was not legally constituted." This difficulty, however, was surmounted after the fashion of irresponsible committees. Obviously nothing could legally extricate them from this confusion save a new charter, but the committee continued to act. They decided, in fact, that everything hitherto had been illegal, except their own election—every power gone, except their own power.

After continued efforts to bring the committee to a sense of the impropriety of their position, the Reformers at length succeeded in getting the appointment of a committee to consider the question of a new charter. The committee consisted of Mr Robert Bell, Sir J. Forbes, Mr Dickens, Mr Dilke, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, and others, who unanimously recommended a number of changes to be embodied in a new charter if necessary. These comprised the re-establishment of the council, the granting of annuities and loans, and the attempt to extend the Society's uses to "something beyond a mere eleemosynary association with literature." David Williams, the founder, had indeed always contemplated this extended character. In his letter to the Prince of Wales, an interesting document, which the committee have, for obvious reasons, lately struck out of the short history of the Society prefixed to every annual report, he unfolds his scheme in detail. He designed to make his home not a number of rooms with dingy windows occupied by a committee only nine times in the year, but "a college for decayed and superannuated genius." The Society, he said—

"Might not only deposit its own papers, but those of authors and collectors who possess any valuable records respecting literature. . . . Books are frequently sent by claimants on the Society; and authors and booksellers might be induced to furnish the new productions of the press. A library might, therefore, be annexed at a trifling expense; and admission to it as to a common room, to every member of the Society, by a small subscription, would not only assist the general income, but attract the subscribers to a common centre of communication and action, and produce numerous and important effects. There are other means by which the utility of the Society might be extended."

The Society, as we have shown, had but a struggling life in Williams' days, and had not obtained its formal charter of incorporation when he died; but his known intentions were so far remembered and respected, that the establishment of "a hall or college" is one of the objects for which the committee are em-

powered in the charter itself. Williams, however, it should be borne in mind, never proposed taking a house out of the sums subscribed and bequeathed for the "relief of learning and genius." The Fund, he said, would be better for a house, but it must be obtained, if at all, "without expense." He asked the "Prince of Wales" to "bestow on it a place of abode;" but, until he obtained it, he held his meetings as the Artists' General Benevolent Fund and other societies now do, in a room hired for the occasion. The Reformers, however, did not venture to recommend the giving up of the house which the committee had so resolutely defended, but merely suggested that it should be made at no additional expense useful to literature and learning in some way. They proposed, in fact, to carry out the details of Williams' plan, and recommended the committee so to do; but the tide of reform suddenly turned, and the committee at the next meeting refused to adopt the suggestions. The sudden change in the committee's determination evidently received a strong support from their more aristocratic members, who seem to have taken offence at the Reformers' recommendation to remove them in favour of persons more closely connected with literature. The Reformers, however, appear only to have objected to Lords who were not men of letters, their proposed house list comprising Earl Stanhope, the Earl of Ellesmere, Lord John Russell, Lord Carlisle, the Marquis of Normanby, and others. We are decidedly of opinion that every member of the committee should be a man of letters. "Common charities," as Franklin remarked upon the first proposal of the Society, "spring from common feelings." A committee composed of literary men will best judge of the troubles of their brethren; and what is of still more importance, will probably have the best knowledge, or the means of obtaining the best knowledge of the claimants themselves. Such a committee would hardly think of pleading, as this present committee have done, that the men of "learning and genius" whom they relieved were so little known to them that a large portion of the Society's annual revenue was consumed in merely inquiring into and verifying claims.

We have treated this subject at greater length than the interests directly involved would perhaps warrant, because it appears to us to yield an instructive chapter on benevolent committees. We agree with Mr Dickens and his party in thinking that it forms "a remarkable instance of the condition into which good-enough men will often lapse when they get behind a large table." We cannot, however, believe that improvement can be much longer resisted.

ART. XI.—*Politics, and Political Economy of Weak Governments.* By F. C. London, 1858.

DURING the session of 1858, we have witnessed the fall of a Liberal Government, strong both in public opinion and in individual ability, and the accession in its place of a nominally Conservative Government, comparatively weak in either of these characteristics, and born under an ill-starred numerical minority. We have seen this Conservative Government acknowledging no political opinions, repudiating the traditions of the party which they led, apostatising from the first principles which they themselves professed, introducing in the place of those principles an elastic latitudinarianism suitable to every exigency of the hour, expiating blunders by means of scape-goats, submitting in humility to measures carried over their own heads, and against the will of their legitimate supporters, and originating not one single measure of their own (for Indian Reform, in all but its details, was essentially Lord Palmerston's). Yet we have seen this Government, in spite of all this abandonment of consistency, of self-respect, and of political belief, apparently not more insecure than when they assumed office, and so balancing parties in the House of Commons as to float safely into the haven of a prorogation. What is the solution of this problem?

It is said that political parties are rapidly dissolving, and that our view of the duration of a ministry must henceforth be based on different calculations from those which have hitherto prevailed. But we see no sufficient ground for this assumption. We do not think that either the facts, or the altered tactics which we have lately witnessed, necessarily imply a disruption of party government. Party government in some shape is, in our view, the indestructible and inalienable tendency of our parliamentary system—a tendency kept alive partly by an innate spirit of partisanship, and partly by a perpetual liability to a succession of great controversies. But in order to vitalise and render efficient the action of party in a legislative assembly, there must be not simply traditions of parliamentary difference, but real conflicts of popular interest. These conflicts are exactly what are now wanting; and it is precisely because they *are* lulled, that parties have, for the moment, lost their organisation. Unless two cardinal classes of interests are brought into action against each other, the whole system must lose its tension.

But it does not follow that, because opposite interests are not at this moment in active hostility, they have permanently ceased to actuate the House of Commons. If such active conflicts of interest were finally defunct, they could be so only as a

result of one of two causes. Either the reform of Parliament must have annihilated party organisation, or the recent settlement of several questions, which had been long in dispute, must have exhausted the elements of general controversy.

Now the former hypothesis, which ascribes the decline of party to Parliamentary Reform, can hardly be thought tenable, if we bear in mind the vigorous and disciplined Conservative Opposition which Sir Robert Peel conducted through the second and third Reformed Parliaments against the liberal policy of Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell, or which Lord George Bentinck, in the fourth Reformed Parliament, opposed to the Repeal of the Corn Laws. It cannot be denied that, in 1846, fourteen years after the Reform Act, party spirit and party discipline were as prominent as they had been under the former constitution of the House of Commons. The latter hypothesis, which would refer the decline of party to an exhaustion of the elements of controversy, is scarcely more probable. It seems to ignore the fact, that we already see several great questions of national importance which must shortly be developed into active dispute; and that the infinite complication of interests of which this empire is built up, can hardly fail to divide the nation by similar differences again.

It must be remembered that all great parliamentary parties have been formed and maintained by offering themselves as the champions of principles for which large classes of society, without any spirit of partisanship, were contending. Whigs and Tories were always a small numerical fraction of the country. But they have always formed the rallying point around which great popular disputes have been developed and organised. The Reform Act, as we have seen, has not vitally shorn them of their power. The recurrence, therefore, of a question of first-class magnitude appears to be alone wanting to reorganise an active system of distinct party government.

Now, it is perfectly true that, during the last thirty years, a rapid succession of settlements has taken place in regard to long-disputed great questions. Thus the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed in 1828; Catholic Emancipation was won in 1829; the Reform Act was passed in 1832; several ancillary reforms of no mean importance were passed by Lord John Russell and his friends between that year and 1841; Free Trade in meat was carried in 1842, and Free Trade in corn in 1846, by Sir Robert Peel; and other questions of Free Trade have since been settled. Party has run through its disputes, like a spendthrift who has run through his income before his next instalment becomes due. But we believe that Party, like the spendthrift in such circumstances, will have something more to live on, even yet.

The fact is that, previously even to the Reform Act, there have been instances of a nearly equal want of efficiency in the system of government by party with those which we now experience. We will take the first thirty years of this century for our examples. In 1804, the demarcation between the Whig and Tory camps was so broken down, that Mr Pitt and Mr Fox were then quite as near a junction of their forces as Lord Palmerston and Lord Derby were in 1855. The Whig and Tory leaders were even then much nearer an identity of opinion than they were in 1855. They were then agreed on the cardinal questions both of peace and war. Mr Fox and Mr Pitt both advocated a vigorous prosecution of war with France; they both supported Catholic Emancipation; they both supported Parliamentary Reform. It may be said, perhaps, that, if such were the approximation between the two leaders in opinion, the force of the party system must have been great to have prevented their junction. But the fact is, that the Crown, and not the party spirit which prevailed, prevented this junction; and, if the leaders of the two parties had then amalgamated, what would have become of the distinctiveness of the two parties?

If this example be regarded as the extraordinary result of a crisis in the European war, we will take the opposite instance in which, during an equal crisis in that war, the Tory party was nevertheless so disorganised that the country was reduced to the verge of anarchy. We allude to the long interval between the death of Mr Perceval and the appointment of Lord Liverpool in 1812. This year was unquestionably that of our greatest commercial and military difficulties. Yet the problem, "How is the King's government to be carried on?" was one of far more pertinent application then than it has ever been since. The questions of dispute within the ranks of the Tory party then turned, not on military, but on domestic questions. Yet very shortly afterwards we saw a strong Government established, even though Catholic emancipation, which was the chief ostensible point of controversy between the Whig and Tory party, was avowedly an open question in the ministerial ranks. If, again, we pass on to 1827, we shall find that Mr Canning headed one of the strongest Governments of this century, without the support of any distinct party. Mr Canning ruled, very much as Lord Palmerston ruled, by the support of sections from all parties. But his support was drawn from sections alone; for Lord Grey opposed him as vigorously as did the Duke of Wellington.

These few remarks are enough to show that we have formerly experienced an equal dislocation of parties, an equal tendency to fusion, and an equal inability to govern the country on a principle of parliamentary majorities with what we now experience.

It is clear, therefore, that the influence of both these classes of agents has been greatly overrated. Under the old constitution of the House of Commons, during the lull of a great question, we have seen parties wholly lose their organisation, either by dissensions among themselves, or by an approximation between opposite parties. On the other hand, under the new constitution of the House of Commons, we have seen the sharpest distinctions between rival parties. We deduce, therefore, that the present absence of party discipline does not result from any change that has taken place, either in the feelings of society or in the constitution of Parliament. We therefore look forward to the revival of an efficient system of party government whenever any great question shall become active.

It is the natural result of the present loss of party discipline, that ephemeral subdivisions of parties should arise. These subdivisions are to be found on either side of the House, though in a more prominent form in the Liberal ranks. Thus Mr Gladstone and Mr Bright each represent small parties, professing liberal opinions, yet supporting an illiberal Government. On the other side of the House, we find Mr Bentinck totally dissevered from Mr Disraeli, and supporting Lord Palmerston when in office, in preference to his natural leader. We have also seen Mr Cardwell definitively breaking away from the Peel party, and ranging himself as a supporter of the Whigs. The Irish Radicals form another party. These subdivisions are created and maintained, partly by personal feelings, partly by political differences; and their existence both complicates every scheme of government, and gives an insecurity to the existence of each Administration, independent of the real merits of its policy.

It follows from these subdivisions of the House of Commons, that a minister can govern successfully by one of two alternatives only. Either he must comprehend a representation of such a variety of opinion in his government, as to command an aggregate majority of the House;—or he must govern by means of a skilful counterpoise of parties, backed by the general support of the nation, which is only exceptionally defined into distinct factions. The first alternative was adopted by Lord Aberdeen, the second by Lord Palmerston.

The former of these schemes, which was that of governing by coalition, quickly broke down. No coalition could endure for any long period, unless it were consolidated by a community of vital interests. Accordingly, with the commencement of the third session during which it had existed, Lord Aberdeen's Government fell. It is true that this result is ascribed to the fact of the hostilities which we were then waging, and to the well-grounded dissatisfaction of Lord John Russell with the conduct

of the war department by the Duke of Newcastle. These circumstances, no doubt, hastened the fall of that Ministry. But no one who bears in mind the misadventure of much of its domestic legislation in 1854, in spite of the talents and experience of its leader in the House of Commons, can think that it could in any case have survived the session of 1855. This result arose from the absolute impossibility of commanding a numerical majority in support of measures deemed necessary by the Government, in consequence of existing dissensions in each of these sectional parties. The experiment of governing by means of a coalition had therefore been tried and exploded.

Lord Palmerston—deserted by the whole Peelite party, in spite of the patriotic advice of Lord Aberdeen, that his party should unite under Lord Palmerston's banner—at once abandoned the policy of governing by a coalition which should represent a numerical majority. It was, therefore, his aim to rule by means of a balance of parties in general favour of that policy which he individually represented, and which the country approved. It was undoubtedly a bold experiment, to rise above the ordinary trammels of parliamentary government, and to rule independently of party. In a Reformed Parliament it was without a precedent. There was in this expedient, too, no sacrifice of principles for power; and it involved even a less direct compromise of policy than that of a coalition Ministry. The Whig Government may have failed to keep pace with the ultra-Liberal party. But it happened to be the best organised representation of that union of Liberalism with Conservatism which has long constituted the dominant policy of Great Britain. The policy pursued by the leaders of the Whig party before they entered upon power, was substantially the same with that which they afterwards pursued in power.

The policy of Mr Disraeli at this moment is an imitation of the policy of Lord Palmerston, without the aid of the individual popularity which Lord Palmerston maintained, and by a direct repudiation of the policy and the professions of his own life. We ourselves looked upon Lord Palmerston's mode of reliance on majorities more consistent than secure. But it is quite impossible that Mr Disraeli can succeed in maintaining himself in a position which he holds under the widest inconsistencies, and without popular support. Lord Palmerston acceded to power with a profession of Liberal principles for a quarter of a century, and he maintained those principles in office. Mr Disraeli acceded to power with the profession of Conservative opinions for twenty years, and he immediately entered the Liberal communion!

The result is, that there cease, for the moment, to be any poli-

tical principles *practically* in dispute. Whatever be the Government of the day, the same liberal principles are carried. The Whig Government carried them, because, subject of course to some qualification in point of extent, they sincerely believed in them. The Conservative Government carry them, because, though they have professed to disbelieve them, they like their offices better than their consciences.

It may be said then, perhaps, "If under either Government the same liberalising measures be carried, what does it signify which party are in power?" We answer, that it matters a great deal to political morality, and to the action of the whole theory of parliamentary government, that ministers should believe in the principles they adopt. Moreover, ministers are much more likely to carry out their own principles successfully than the principles of their opponents.

There is no doubt that the records of all the Conservative Governments of the last thirty years in some degree betray this character. But a question of degrees may sometimes be a very wide question; and Lord Derby's and Mr Disraeli's immediate repudiation of their political professions, on their first assumption of office in February last, has no precedent that we know of in parliamentary government. Each Conservative leader, when in office, has, however, been the "huge appropriation clause" which Mr Disraeli termed Sir Robert Peel. There is no doubt that the Duke of Wellington's Government, after Mr Huskisson and Lord Palmerston left it in 1828, existed on the King's prejudices, when they ought to have made way for Lord John Russell, whose victorious measures they were content to adopt rather than abandon their places. In the same way Sir Robert Peel, during his ministry in 1834-35, established himself on the basis of a reforming activity. In the same way, again, from 1841 until the close of his second ministry in 1846, his policy consisted of little else than an appropriation of the domestic policy of Lord John Russell. In 1852, Lord Derby and Mr Disraeli found it safe neither to adopt the policy of their opponents, as the Duke of Wellington and Sir R. Peel had done, nor to repudiate their own professions, as is their policy at this day. They therefore hit upon the policy of believing nothing; and the positive maxims of Conservatism faded away into a kind of political negativity!

This was the chrysalis administration under which Mr Disraeli, passing then through an intermediate state, has attained his present development. All reserve is now thrown off, consistency is derided, recrimination dared.

It may be asked, how does a minister manage to sell his party, and yet to keep them? The problem, in truth, would be hard of solution in any other phasis of life. It would not be easy for

a man to sell his estate, and then to get it back, without restoring the consideration, on the ground of a flaw in the conveyance. Yet this is substantially the device in which Mr Disraeli has succeeded. It may seem surprising that it should be possible for him to do in 1858 what it was quite impossible for Sir Robert Peel to do in 1846. But the Conservative party have grown wiser, more tolerant, less powerful, and more conscious of their incapacity to resist. They now know that their long-cherished principles are defunct, and that their own power is inadequate to support any administration during a single week of parliamentary debate. Many of them, perhaps, may think that, in spite of this sweeping abandonment of all tradition, and this violation of all profession, Mr Disraeli may be doing his best for them. But the Bentinck party would certainly prefer to see Lord Palmerston again in power, although the breach between them and the rest of the Conservatives is not at present sufficiently distinct to induce them openly to avow their predilections.

It is, no doubt, an advantage to the cause of progress that, whatever may be the factions of the House of Commons, Liberal principles hold an inevitable ascendant. But it is, on the other hand, a corresponding evil to the cause of political morality, that the proneness of the majority to look rather to the measures that they extract out of a Government than to the principles which that Government may profess, should hold out so large an incentive to systematic apostasy. Mr Disraeli thought "Conservatism" a butt in the days in which he was a novelist and Sir Robert Peel was a Prime Minister. But when we revert to the innumerable taunts which he heaped, fifteen or twenty years ago, upon that policy, we are compelled to confess that they all lose their force in comparison with their application to his own policy at the moment that we write. If ever Conservatism consisted of "Whig measures marshalled by Tory men," if ever "a Conservative Government was an organised hypocrisy," it is surely now.

But this can endure only while factions are most rife. What, then, are the elements of a future Government?

The interested partisans of the present Ministry have been active in painting the Whig party as an exclusive oligarchy, prepared to resume office without any concession to the desire of the independent Liberals to a representation in the next Cabinet. We know of no foundation for such an assertion. We earnestly desire that, in the next Cabinet, there may be a fair representation of that great political class which does not belong to the aristocracy of the country. Such a representation in a Liberal Cabinet, is a species of corollary from what we may term a "ten-pounder" constitution. There is no doubt that, if the late Cabinet had more clearly recognised this basis, there would be

less incentive to the hostility of the Radical factions which aided in its overthrow.

Nevertheless, there are two important considerations to be entertained. In the first place, the alleged exclusiveness of the late Government is, by a singular obliquity of perception, held up as a distinctive ground of confidence in Lord Derby's Ministry. Now, a Conservative Government is just as exclusive as a Whig Government has been. With the single exception of Mr Disraeli, all the members of the present Ministry are either peers, relations of peers, or considerable landowners. So prominent was Lord Derby's former administration for the wealth of its commoners in land, that it went by the name of "the Cabinet of Quarter Sessions' Chairmen." The only member of either that or the present Ministry, with neither considerable estates nor high connections, is therefore just the member, without whose rhetorical abilities the whole cause of the Conservative party would immediately expire. It must be confessed, then, that a charge of exclusiveness against the Whig party comes with very ill grace from their recognised opponents.

In the second place, it must be considered of whom the independent Liberals mostly consist. It ought undoubtedly to be the aim of a new Premier, charged with the formation of a Cabinet, to look chiefly to principles and abilities. At the same time, if it be expected that he should discard the consideration of station in society, it must be allowed that he should discard also the consideration of obtaining representatives, *merely as such*, from each political class in the House of Commons. In other words, if he is to prefer an able politician of the middle class to a peer of intellectual mediocrity, he certainly cannot be expected to prefer a mediocre politician of the middle class to an able aristocratic politician, or even to one of the same intellectual grade.

Now, it must be acknowledged that the public men among the independent Liberals in the House of Commons, afford, for the most part, a very sorry representation either of the intellect or the common sense of the middle class of society. There are, no doubt, in the ranks of that party, several men possessed of a natural ability, which few can afford to despise. Mr Bright and Mr Cobden (though the latter is not at this moment in the House) are our principal instances. But these members would not accept office if it were offered them. If we turn to the ranks of the independent Liberals, we shall certainly find uncommonly few of conspicuous ability. The truth is, that no other 654 presumptively educated men could probably be pointed out in this country, with so low an average of ability. There may be many independent Liberals who are men of business, but there are scarcely any who are men of debate; and under a sys-

em of parliamentary government, in which each minister is not only responsible for his policy, but has also to defend that policy, rhetorical qualifications can hardly be less necessary than administrative qualifications. Moreover, even if aptitude for administration could dispense with aptitude for debate, it would still be extremely difficult to discern the administrative ability before it was put to trial in practice. You argue that a good debater will prove a good administrator, by reason of the general ability which his rhetorical talent implies. But as public speaking is generally the only test of talent in members on whom office has not yet been conferred, it is generally impossible to presume administrative ability without it. If, therefore, a new Whig Premier were to select three or four independent Liberals for his colleagues, there can be no doubt that his choice would be very much by way of experiment.

The paucity of talent in the House of Commons is obviously a result of the Reform Act. That Act transferred 141 seats, formerly in the gift of parliamentary patrons, to the free election of the large towns. It is hardly surprising that the latter should not have chosen representatives of equal ability with the nominees of the former. An aristocracy has, no doubt, strong social prepossessions; but it has also strong intellectual prepossessions. An aristocracy has not less to defend its interests in the House of Commons, by putting forward men of conspicuous rhetorical ability. It had, therefore, every incentive, under the old constitution, to adapt and systematise its parliamentary patronage for the encouragement of natural ability, to whatever social station that natural ability might belong. More than all, the men whom the aristocracy introduced into Parliament were *young men*, ductile in all the arts of political debate.

In place of this system, we now find a fixed determination, in nearly every large borough, to elect its own municipal worthy, already perhaps fifty or sixty years of age, engrossed in mercantile affairs, having no wider knowledge of politics than the interests of his own borough, and developing his ambition for parliamentary fame by stammering in unintelligible accents. We do not, however, complain of the choice generally thus made by the large boroughs, unfortunate as it is. The result could hardly be otherwise. Young men can be put forward only by the few, because they are known only to the few. A nomination-holder may introduce rising talent into Parliament, because its adoption depends on his individual discernment and will. But no young man of five and twenty is likely to be known to a great borough. The evil, therefore, is less that the large boroughs exhibit an inveterate prejudice in favour of their own leading mercantile men of middle age, but that they have not the means of ascertaining the

qualifications of those whom the dearth of parliamentary talent and parliamentary training makes it necessary to introduce. Eminent lawyers, and even young politicians, who have already had a parliamentary career of a few sessions, may no doubt gain the favour of these large boroughs. But eminent lawyers will not make trained debaters, and the young politicians who might be thus elected are without the means of political antecedent.

We have been led thus far from the immediate scope of our inquiry, by a desire to point out an evil which we hope the authors of the next Reform Bill—be they who they may—will endeavour to remedy. The vested rights of the large boroughs are of course inalienable ; but, had it been within the scope of this article, we might have shown how this object might be realised without appreciably trenching on existing privileges.

The application, however, of what we have just written to the points immediately under discussion is, that while the paucity of talent in the ranks of the independent Liberals is a certain fact, it is no matter for surprise. It cannot be denied that a Premier compelled to choose between impracticable orators and dull plodding committee-men, among the independent Liberals, is thrown into a dilemma not very easy of extrication. There is, therefore, a certain reason for the alleged exclusiveness of the late Government. But we have no doubt that means will be found for the representation of the independent Liberals in the Cabinet, which we hope will be formed in the spring of 1859. This may be accomplished by a choice of such as are most apt to the discharge of public business.

It must be remembered that, when Lord Palmerston undertook to form a ministry, in February 1855, the House of Commons was so divided into factions, that, in spite of his brilliant antecedents, and of the immense prepossessions of the country in his favour, the success of his experiment was deemed extremely doubtful. There were those, we believe, who might have had office, but who were too selfish to attach themselves to what they deemed a falling cause. Lord Palmerston, justly confident in his own abilities, as well as nobly regardless of any other consideration than the public welfare, assumed office with such colleagues as he could obtain. The Crimean war was the one great exigency of the hour : India was at peace ; and no other department of the State required extraordinary vigilance. Yet, in all the departments involving the conduct of the war, the colleagues of Lord Palmerston were of first-class eminence. Lord Panmure held the War Office, Lord Clarendon held the Foreign Office, while Sir G. C. Lewis and Lord Lansdowne are probably our two greatest living financiers. It is said that Mr Vernon Smith was unequal to the crisis to which he was afterwards exposed.

This, no doubt, is true ; and, probably, if the Indian crisis had arisen in February 1855, Mr Vernon Smith would neither have been nominated to the India Office, nor himself have been willing to accept it. But it would have been too much that he should be expected to abandon it, in a moment of emergency, in favour of a statesman of greater natural ability ; and it formed no part of the generous policy of Lord Palmerston to render his colleagues the tools of his own political ambition. But Lord Palmerston assumed the government, with all these difficulties, in a moment of great military disaster, and he governed this country with a vigour and energy, yet with a prudence and foresight, of which our political history has few examples.

It ought not to be entirely forgotten that Lord Palmerston made certain offers to the independent Liberals, which were not well accepted. He offered Mr Layard the post afterwards held by Mr Peel at the War Office. Driven from that offer by the interposition, it is believed, of the Peelite party who were then members of his Cabinet, he offered Mr Layard, with the concurrence of Lord John Russell, a similar post in another department. This offer, however, was rejected. We might refer to one or two other instances in which Lord Palmerston did not find the independent Liberals very easy to deal with. At the same time, we believe that, in a new Cabinet, any such difficulties will be surmounted. Indeed, it is obvious that the Whig party, while foremost in talent, form but the nucleus of the Liberal majority on which the next administration must be based, and, therefore, that they neither would nor could disappoint the expectations of the Independent party.

The party of independent Liberals are at present but partially developed ; they are also ill organised. It is therefore hazardous to predict what their future career will be ; but their present position marks an era in the period of Whig and Tory rule. We allude more especially to the manufacturing class. In them we see an important and distinct class, possessed of great individual wealth, and solicitous of political power. We have already remarked that Whigs and Tories were always a small minority. But they divided the government of the State between them, in virtue of the immense advantages they possessed. Their system and organisation, the distinctions in birth and rank enjoyed by the leading members of either party, their average superiority of culture over other classes, their great individual wealth, their early training in government and in debate, and their borough nominations, which have now nearly ceased to exist, conferred on them advantages with which no other distinct class could for a long period attempt to compete. Minority though they were, no popular hostility, if popular hostility existed, could contrive a

political organisation by which they might be supplanted in the alternate exercise of the powers of government.

But the present position of the independent Liberals—who have their chief definite reflex in the manufacturing class—is altogether different from the position of any of the classes which, in former periods, may have attempted to disturb the exclusive possession of political power by Whigs and Tories. They have, for example, vast individual wealth. It remains to be seen whether, to borrow an expression from the turf, they can “run” a party against the Whigs and Conservatives in the House of Commons. Though not at present by any means homogeneous, it is not impossible that they may become so; and they are at least ambitious. At present they have by no means succeeded, although they have arrived at such a point of eminence as to constitute a distinct body in the House.

We confess, however, that we think the result of the present immense development of independent Liberalism in the House of Commons will more probably be to modify the characteristics of the two dominant parties, than permanently to constitute a third. Men are by much more readily drawn into existing systems, whenever their adaptation to the necessities of their own age is possible, than into the construction of new ones. The rising manufacturers of this age may very possibly be the aristocratic Liberals of the next. Where there are marked individual wealth, and marked individual energy, there are always the elements of prospective aristocracy.

With this view of the tendency of our present political parties, we can hardly consider that there is any such essential breach between the Whigs and the Liberals, as Conservative partisans are daily asserting. Any such breach would not only be a misfortune for the country, but it would equally injure the interests of either party. The independent Liberals, as they now stand, can no more govern without the Whigs, than the Whigs without the independent Liberals. The result of whatever misunderstandings may now prevail between the two parties, is vitally to affect the morality of our parliamentary government. It places in power a Conservative Ministry, who in Opposition had conserved nothing but effete traditions, and who, from the moment that they attained office, abandoned all their professions with a hardened alacrity which seemed to scoff at principle itself.

We look forward to the forthcoming question of Parliamentary Reform as one that is calculated to readjust the party differences in the House of Commons. In that question the Whigs will find a magnificent opportunity for consolidating the Liberal interest. Unless any unforeseen incidents should arise, a serious discussion of Parliamentary Reform during the next session is

inevitable. The Conservatives are in power, and they must either bring forward that measure, or abandon office without a contest. If they bring in such a measure, no one can believe that it will prove such as any considerable section of the Liberal party will support. Mr Disraeli, in the first place, has too long been hankering, both in his novels and in his speeches, after a great Conservative fallacy, to render it probable that he will fail to assert it in the Reform Bill of 1859. We allude to his favourite argument of the inadequate representation of the counties as distinguished from the towns. This theory, which was reproduced by him, as leader of the House of Commons, during the present year, was fully exposed and refuted by Lord John Russell, on the ground of the agricultural character of many boroughs, and of the oppidan character of many of the county constituencies in manufacturing districts.

We glance at this as one of many symptoms that the Conservatives, if they introduce a Reform Bill at all, will make a desperate effort to readjust the balance of the constitution in their own favour. We cannot indeed understand how any bill of their own introduction can pass the House of Commons. We may look forward to a stormy session, opened by Mr Disraeli, and terminated in all probability by a Liberal Government. Whether a reform of Parliament shall be accomplished so early, is however doubtful. When the question is once wrested from the present administration, it is possible that it may be too late to carry it through before 1860. This additional reform has at present been pledged by the Whig Government during seven years only: it was first assented to by Lord John Russell, on his resumption of office in February 1851. So short a period has rarely settled questions of such magnitude. Catholic emancipation was not carried for twenty-two years after its introduction had overthrown Lord Grenville's Ministry in 1807; and the former scheme of Parliamentary Reform remained for a yet longer period in agitation.

Our inevitable approximation to an earnest discussion of the further reform of Parliament involves some questions of more immediate interest. Granted that Mr Disraeli must introduce a Reform Bill next session, what course will be adopted by the various sectional leaders by whose policy he has thus far been maintained in power? It seems to us that Mr Disraeli will be thrown into an irretrievable dilemma. The problem on which his existence depends, is that of devising a scheme which shall win the support of a sufficient proportion of the independent Liberals, without involving a revolt of his natural adherents. And it must be remembered, that, if a portion of the independent Liberals, or rather the Radical party, now manifest a disposition

to support him, which they did not in 1852, the Conservatives, on the other hand, are by much less tolerant towards his liberalising policy than they were then, though more tolerant than they previously were towards those of Sir Robert Peel. For example—the proposed halving of the malt-tax, though an extremely unpopular measure even among the Protectionists, was assented to, without a single public remonstrance in that quarter, in 1852; but during the present session, the Conservatives have not failed to inveigh against Mr Disraeli for his concessions to the necessities of the hour on several minor subjects.

The question, therefore, stands in some such compass as this—Will Mr Bentinck support any scheme which Mr Gladstone, Sir James Graham, and Mr Bright can possibly uphold? It seems to us that the eager conversion of the present Government to the principle of Parliamentary Reform is too barefaced to be tolerated by their own party, except on the understanding that their efforts will be directed to that recovery of a portion of the lost influence of the Conservatives which Mr Disraeli shadowed forth last year at a Farmers' Ordinary at Newport-Pagnell. If this anticipation be just, no doubt Mr Bentinck will support the Government. But the Radical orators can only do so at the expense of their own annihilation. And if the measure be a compromise, dictated with a view of catching votes on either side, it can hardly be the less a failure; for, in that case, a great branch of the Conservatives, who would tolerate Parliamentary Reform on no other ground than that of its directly restorative character, would immediately coalesce with the Whigs, who, when the bill came before them, would probably see good cause to take the measure out of the hands of Mr Disraeli.

There is no doubt that the results of the Duke of Wellington's unfortunate policy in 1830 will be distinctly inculcated on the Conservative party. That party will be reminded, that to the Duke's refusal of all concession, their ostracism during twenty-five out of the twenty-eight intervening years is to be ascribed. They will be conjured not to allow the settlement of this question to lapse into the hands of Whig statesmen a second time. But we apprehend that their ductility will entirely depend on the provisions of the bill when they see it before them; and if those provisions should be calculated to win the support of a party so indisposed to disturb the existing constitution of Parliament, they can hardly fail to bring about a reorganisation of the Liberal body.

The future of the Peelite party is extremely doubtful. They appear to have lost all cohesion among themselves, as well as all consistency of profession, since the withdrawal of Lord Aberdeen into private life three years and a half ago. They then lost

their leader, and with their leader they lost all the foresight and consistency of their party. They appear to us to present the almost hopeless spectacle of a party inseparably divided in opinions, and yet inseparably united in traditions. The future of Mr Gladstone's career seems yet more doubtful than that of his friends. He seems to illustrate individually Pope's description of man collectively—

Sole judge of truth, in endless error hurled,
The glory, jest, and riddle of the world.

For, while every man pays homage to his powers of reasoning, no man acquiesces in the justice of his conclusions; and his intellectual power is neutralised by a practical incapacity, which is more puzzling to his countrymen than any other conflict of inconsistent qualities.

Whenever a union between either section of the Peelites and the Whig or Conservative parties has been proposed during the past three years, Mr Gladstone has found himself unable to join the latter, because Sir James Graham, Mr Herbert, and the Duke of Newcastle are too Liberal; and Sir James, Mr Herbert, and the Duke have found themselves unable to join the former, because Mr Gladstone is too Conservative. Thus it is probable that Mr Sidney Herbert's refusal to join Lord Palmerston on the death of Sir William Molesworth, towards the close of 1855, may have been dictated by some such consideration as this. And it is well known that the resolute refusal of the Liberal section of the Peelite party to join Lord Derby, both in February and in May last, prevented Mr Gladstone from entering the present Ministry on both those occasions. It seems improbable, therefore, that the Peelite party will occupy an important place in the government of the country.

We trust that, before the next session of Parliament commences, such an arrangement and understanding will be arrived at between the different portions of the Liberal body, as may insure to the country a firm and intelligent Liberal Government, with a steady Liberal majority. It is difficult to perceive that the differences which are thought to interpose between the Whigs and the Independent party, are of a vital, or even of a serious nature. In point of political opinions, there exists certainly no more substantial difference, than the inevitably-varying shades of conviction and of interest in every large body of men. The Whigs and independent Liberals may differ as to the degree in which they should respectively share in the Government of the country; and they may differ also as to the degree in which patronage should be exercised by the Government, and be awarded to competitive merit.

But these are all differences which both parties can readily arrange by compromise. The genius of the age is undoubtedly in favour of free disposition everywhere. But while concession must be offered to this uniform tendency, there is a force in prescription which no progress can entirely countervail. We trust that this conflict of force will produce a reciprocity of concession. We have already said, that we believe the breach between the two cardinal divisions of the great Liberal party has been greatly magnified by the declamation of partisans. We apprehend that the opinions of the Few among the independent Liberals who are speakers of eminence, have been erroneously taken for indices of the opinions of the Many, who are silent. It is to be observed, that the acrimony which has in many cases characterised the speeches of the former, implies a degree of personal and individual feeling with which the Few only can sympathise. These wounds being thus superficial, it will hardly be forgotten that, when a great constitutional question is about to be discussed, it becomes the Great Liberal Party to unite for its discussion in a spirit of impartiality and concord. We trust, therefore, that before the opening of the next session, we shall see a great Liberal Opposition, united by reciprocal confidence and concession, and prepared to maintain, in the wisdom of their ancestors, the morality and the repute of Parliamentary Government.

ARTICLE XII.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

I.—*The Resources of Estates: Being a Treatise on the Agricultural Improvement and General Management of Landed Property.* By JOHN LOCKHART MORTON. Royal 8vo, pp. 637, with 24 Plates. London: Longmans. 1858.

MR MORTON'S goodly volume is mainly designed for the instruction of owners of lands and tenant-farmers. We trust, however, it will get the attention of other, and, perhaps, more influential classes. At a time when so much unrest prevails in our monetary system, it is pleasant to discover that capitalists have modes of investment opened up to them, even "safer than the bank," and by which they may add very greatly both to their own usefulness, and to the comfort and elevation of that large class who "eat their bread in the sweat of their face." The work will also be found suggestive by those who are labouring for the moral and social improvement of our hard working peasantry—claiming for them a fair remuneration for their work, comfortable housing, a system of education equal to the necessities of the population, the removal of the "navvy hut" and "Scotch bothy," and the abolition of those fruitful sources of temptation, degradation, and crime—the game-laws. The attention devoted to these and kindred topics, in former numbers of this Journal, will be in the memory of many of our readers. We are glad to notice, that hints, thrown out in the articles referred to, have helped forward the influential, though comparatively recent movement towards a thoroughly scientific system of tillage, and towards the general management of land in a way most profitable both to landlord and tenant, and most conducive also to the moral health and material comfort of the labourer and his family.

In a work, intended to become a hand-book of industry, Mr Morton has wisely avoided the introduction and discussion of abstract questions concerning the *rights* of property, and has dealt chiefly with those which immediately relate to its *duties*.

He states, in the outset, that there is a very large extent of cultivable land in Britain which has never been touched by spade or plough; and shows, that what is at present under cultivation, might be greatly enriched and its fertility much increased. But several things are required in order to this. Theoretical knowledge and practical skill must be united in cultivators. When this union does not obtain, the merely practical man, ever jealous of new plans, will continue to do as his fathers have done, and remain unwilling even to harbour the thought, that the ways of a more intelligent and enterprising neighbour are better than his own. The theorist, again, will praise chemistry and geology, as supplying the grand "open sesame," by which he, as a privileged one, is sure to be admitted to the treasures hid in the soil—treasures which never reveal themselves to the men whose minds run in ruts. But, when united, theory keeps

up the spirit of enterprise, and ever has fresh thoughts waiting on work ; while practice modifies theory at one point and another, and keeps it from becoming proudly self-reliant.

If Mr Morton's well expressed and common sense views on this subject are to become influential, there must be a great alteration in the mode of educating the children of farmers. Notwithstanding very many exceptions, a somewhat large acquaintance with different classes of farmers, both in England and Scotland, warrants us to affirm, that, taken as a whole, there is really less enterprise, less devotion to the higher aspects of moral purpose in dealing with their servants, and less high-spirited enterprise in their own work, than can be found in any other industrial profession. Account for it as we may, there is little doubt but that the men who manufacture the implements of husbandry—whose applied skill has done so much for agriculture, are more knowing, more enterprising, more useful in social and religious matters, and found more companionable by educated men, than the common run of farmers. We rejoice that this reproach is being gradually wiped away ; and we know of no work so well-fitted to be helpful to this, as that now under review. We should like to see it on the parlour-tables of all our large farmers, as well as in the hands of owners of estates. It is characterised by much fine feeling, correct literary taste, and abundance of reliable information on all the topics discussed.

To our author's value for farm leases, as calculated to encourage men of capital and enterprise to throw their energies into their profession, we would add another element. The year by year, tenant-at-will system, not only cramps the spirit of industry and enterprise, it also degrades the tenant in his political relationships. The knowledge that landlords *do* set something by their political influence as fitted to open up ways for the advancement of family and of relative interests, is calculated, notwithstanding the denial of pure patriots, to bias, it may be unconsciously, the minds of tenants, and to lead them to vote as their landlords do. We could point out extensive estates, in which tenants have never been known to poll against their landlords, even though the owner's political creed may have been changed more than once in their lifetime, by the sale of the property, or on the accession of the eldest son ! Now, we do not regard this as adverse to free institutions only, but as even more injurious to the religious principles and to the whole moral tone of those thus influenced. If once a man allow a superior to dictate to him on political matters, he is not far from allowing him to interfere with his religious liberty. The economical and industrial disadvantages of the year by year system of leases are forcibly stated by the author at pp. 152, 153.

Mr Morton's estimate of the game-laws is judicious, and free from all that extravagance of statement, which is apt to become associated with this singularly irritating question.

Valuable information is given on accommodation in farm-steadings, on drainage, fence-making, on the choice of servants, etc. The chapter on "The Soil" affords good illustration of Mr Morton's accomplishments as a scientific agriculturist. We have read, with much

interest, the geological sketch of soils. The results of natural, and of scientific chemical action on the soil, are well put. The section devoted to "Double Silicates," sets Mr Way's theories in new lights; and the remarks on the influence of rain-water, sunshine, etc., are both graphic and instructive.

We have said that our author does not deal with debateable questions. He rather avoids them, even though they turn up at every point at which purely industrial pursuits come to have direct moral and social bearings. He not unfrequently, however, puts the former in such lights before us, as to suggest the latter, as, for example, when he discusses the question of "the Extent of Farms." We should have liked had he given as free scope to his large sympathies in dealing with them, as he has done in connection with Croftings, and told us what he considers the influences of the large-farm system to be on the community. In looking at this work, we have not even indicated a fourth of the interesting matters which, with great ability, are discussed in it. We have only glanced at such points as might be most interesting to general readers; and we leave the volume, very heartily commending it to all whom it may concern.

II.—*Hermeneutical Manual: or, Introduction to the Exegetical Study of the Scriptures of the New Testament.* By PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D., Principal and Professor of Divinity in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1858, pp. 480.

AMONG the distinguished cultivators of Biblical literature both in this country and in America, Dr Fairbairn deservedly occupies a high position. The work at the head of this notice is his latest contribution to Scriptural studies, and his first direct application to New Testament criticism. It was with some regret, however, and also apprehension that we saw this work announced; regret at the author's even temporary abandonment of the field wherein he had already so successfully laboured, and with a prospect of materially advancing our acquaintance with the Old Testament, the study of which is so much overlooked; and apprehension lest he should be thus entering on a department with regard to which, judging from the direction of his previous studies, he must be indebted more to the testimony of others than to his own direct investigations. It is only by division of labour, and a sedulous cultivation of special, and even minute subjects, that any valuable contributions will be made to the higher literature of the Bible. A careful perusal of the work has removed much of our misgiving, though we are still convinced, notwithstanding the proofs here given to us of the versatility of the author, that this will not, as an original work, take rank with any of his previous productions. But while there is not much that is strictly original, as regards either the interpretation of particular passages, or the exposition of the principles, yet there are, it is fully conceded, many new and striking thoughts, particularly where the author traces the connection between the two parts of the inspired volume, a subject for which his previous labours pecu-

liarily qualified him. His success, in this and other particulars—a matter to which we shall presently revert—we regard as confirmatory of one of our most strongly cherished convictions, that the critical study of the Old Testament is the best preparation for, and, therefore, should, in all theological arrangements precede, that of the New, if the latter is to be successfully prosecuted.

This volume is about equally divided into three parts; the first only of which treats directly of the principles of Hermeneutics, the remaining space being devoted to “Dissertations on particular subjects connected with the Exegesis of the New Testament,” and “The use made of Old Testament Scripture in the writings of the New Testament.” Our estimate of the work will greatly depend on the circumstance of its being viewed strictly as a treatise on Hermeneutics, or as partaking of a more miscellaneous character. As a collection of disquisitions on New Testament topics, we attach to it a high value; but in any other light, the plan on which it is constructed must be pronounced decidedly faulty; for, in no circumstances can we approve of an arrangement which reduces to something like a prefatory chapter what ought to constitute the bulk of the volume. The miscellaneous dissertations are no doubt important, and are for the most part handled in a masterly manner, but they have no more relation to the main subject than many others which might be named. We have, indeed, been particularly pleased with the discussions on the term βαπτίζω, and on the import and use of διαθήκη, especially in relation to Heb. ix. 15–17 (p. 314), as also with the remarks on the terms indicative of the nature and extent of the renovation to be accomplished through the Gospel (pp. 318–33). The subject of Part III. is also of great importance and of acknowledged difficulty; but as it has been already partly considered in the later editions of the “Typology” (*Appendix* vol. i.), and belongs perhaps more to the interpretation of the Old Testament than to that of the New, we feel that along with the whole, or at least the majority of the “Dissertations,” it might, without serious inconvenience, be omitted, and thus a place would be found for matters more closely related to the primary object of the work. Among other desiderata, we could have wished to find, in a “Manual of Hermeneutics,” a brief history of interpretation, an enumeration and estimate of the more important exegetical helps, and other subjects which might be specified. The literature of the science, in particular, scarcely occupies that place in the volume which its importance merits; and although the occasional references to, and estimate of, authorities are usually correct and judicious, yet we meet with a few, though not serious, mistakes; as for instance the mention of Robert Stephens among those who contended for the absolute purity of the Greek of the New Testament (p. 13), whereas it should be Henry Stephens (Preface to Greek Testament, A.D. 1576); nor is it correct to represent him as contending for the *absolute* purity, for he held much the same views as Beza; the first proper representative of the Purists being Sebast. Plochen, 1629.

In selecting, however, from the multiplicity of subjects, such as should have a place in a work like the present, there will of course

be diversity of opinion, as also in determining the relative importance of those that have been selected ; and although we think Dr Fairbairn errs here, too, on the side of brevity, yet he has succeeded in conveying much valuable information in a very limited compass, often by a single happy remark placing the matter in a light which at once commends his proposed interpretation, or obviates some formidable objection. Several of his remarks on the Parables are of this character ; particularly the answer to an objection from the father's reception of the prodigal son as to the need of an atonement. "It is not as a *father*, but as a *righteous governor*, that God requires an atonement for the guilty" (p. 165). In tracing out the great principles of revelation, and establishing the connection, as well in words as in ideas, between different portions of Scripture, especially between the Old and the New Testaments, the author is particularly successful. This is a characteristic feature of the work, giving, in many instances, freshness to the illustrations, and force to the reasoning ; and, as an aid to interpretation, it is found to be of great service in connection with such texts as Heb. x. 22, and Romans xii. 1. The portion of the work specially devoted to this subject (pp. 109-36) is of high value ; and we exceedingly regret that from our limited space we cannot refer to it more fully. We would, however, direct particular attention to the rule of interpretation laid down on p. 116. Various examples, too, are furnished throughout the volume, of the manner in which the Old Testament serves to illustrate the sometimes obscurer words and expressions of the New ; but which are obscure only and misunderstood by interpreters, when not so viewed. The expression βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, for instance, which Campbell so grossly misinterprets, is shown to "point back to those prophecies of the Old Testament, in which promise was made of a king and kingdom, that should unite heaven and earth in another way than could be done by a merely human administration," etc. (pp. 41-43).

It is indeed, as already remarked, in the elucidation of matters such as these, that Dr Fairbairn is most successful, and this we certainly regard as no mean attainment. His mode of viewing a subject partakes more of a logical than a critical character ; and it is in his discussion of subjects which require the exercise and application of a sound judgment rather than the statement of nice philological distinctions, that we have least occasion to dissent from his views. In matters of philology there is sometimes perceptible a want of depth and preciseness. This renders the section devoted to "The Characteristics of New Testament Greek," upon the whole, the least satisfactory in the volume ; and yet this is a subject to which, in a treatise on Hermeneutics, the very first place is due. Of more value than any general rules is it to give the student a clear conception of the character and composition of the Hellenic Greek, and to impress on him the necessity of strict attention to the precise import of terms and constructions, for which sometimes, in cases of difficulty and apparent anomaly, a too ready explanation is found in assumed Hebraisms. To this object modern philology has furnished valuable contributions, and it would have greatly added to the value of the work had

Dr Fairbairn availed himself more largely of the materials within his reach by entering more fully into an examination of Hebraistic peculiarities, and even of such matters as perhaps more strictly belong to the grammar and the lexicon ; and on some of which he has made very excellent remarks. Thus, the use of *εἰς* after verbs of rest, is well explained (p. 37). In the instances given from Matt. ii. 23 ; Acts viii. 40, it manifestly depends on *ἰλθὼν*, and *ἔρχεσθαι* in the two cases respectively ; but in the third and most important passage, John i. 18, *ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρὸς*, the reason is not so clearly brought out. We should like a more express reference to *πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*, ver. 1, and a comparison with what Jesus says of Himself, *ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ σῶματι* (John, iii. 13) and with the expression *ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ* (xiii. 23). In another case, the author's remark that *ὃν ἔθηκε κληρονόμον πάντων* in Heb. i. 2 is classical Greek, but that *ἤγειρεν τὸν Δαυὶδ εἰς βασιλείαν*, Acts, xiii. 22, is Hebraistic (p. 25), explains nothing ; and is not even strictly correct, for the two constructions are employed both in Hebrew and in Greek (for examples of the first see Gen. xvii. 5 ; Ex. vii. 1 ; Ezek. iii. 17, and comp. Ewald, sect. 284 a. Leip., 1844 ; and for examples of the second in Greek, see Winer, sect. 32, 46). To us there appears to be a considerable distinction in the ideas expressed by the two constructions, and therefore a sufficient reason for the use of the one or the other. With Acts xiii. 22 given above and vii. 21, xiii. 47, comp. John vi. 15, *ἵνα ποιήσωσιν αὐτὸν ἰὸν βασιλείαν*, from which and other examples it is plain that the preposition is used rather than mere apposition, when it is desired to give special prominence to the state or relation expressed by the second noun. We also question very much whether the Apostle Paul makes any reference to his deficiencies in respect to classical style (p. 15) when he intimates that his speech and his writing were "not with the wisdom of words," or "the enticing words of man's wisdom" (1 Cor. i. 17 ; ii. 4), or even when he uses the still stronger expression of his being *ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ* (2 Cor. xi. 6). Dr Fairbairn would also have done well to carry out still farther the idea as to the necessity of the writers of the New Testament drawing on the language of the Old (p. 16). One of the great ends of the Israelitish economy was the formation of a language fitted for the expression of Divine truth ; and Dr Fairbairn himself has, in a subsequent section, well shown how careful the writers of the New Testament were to avoid the use of terms which had been linked to heathen usages, and were consequently suggestive of the pollutions of idolatry (p. 117).

We had noticed various other statements calling for remark, but as we have already sufficiently indicated the nature and character of the work, freely admitting its high merits in several particulars, but no less freely calling attention to its deficiencies, it is unnecessary to prolong our observations. A stricter adherence to form, and a greater completeness in some of the matters adverted to, giving in fact the whole volume to the subject properly implied in its title, need not, as the author apprehends (Pref.), involve any sacrifice of value, but would, on the contrary, we are convinced, greatly improve its character, and render it more serviceable to the student of exegesis. But even as it is, the work will amply repay a careful study of its

contents, both as regards the exposition of the principles of Hermeneutics and the numerous and varied examples of their practical application.

ART. III.—*Sermons by the Rev. John Caird, M.A., Minister of the Park Church, Glasgow, Author of "Religion in Common Life."* WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS: Edinburgh and London.

GREAT PREACHERS come in flocks. No sooner was the cry raised that power had departed from the pulpit, than so many rose to contradict it, that it is now echoed by those only whose destiny it is to reproduce such statements when they have ceased to be true. The press, too, was soon to supersede the pulpit in the direction of public opinion. But our preachers have the advantage. They publish weekly to admiring circles; at the year's end, they throw their ten or twelve sermons into a book, and not only claim, but find, a hundred readers for every hearer who listened to the oral address. "Thirtieth thousand" is a notice not uncommon on the title page of such volumes. We have gone very carefully over a good many of these lately, and have, in most instances, discovered that in point of literary merit, directness of practical aim and purpose, close dealing with the conscience, and vivid views of the ways and works of God, the sermons fall very far short of the expectations raised by the names of their authors.

Mr Caird's Sermons were handed to us as reviewers, and we read them, biased we confess, but that only by the honest look of the volume.

The sermons are eleven in number, and bear evidence of having been preached by Mr Caird in the ordinary course of pulpit ministration. In glancing over the contents, we did not much like the title of Sermon III.—"Spiritual Influence." Looking at the text, we would rather have had the more precise and expressive term, "Regeneration," as the heading. And on reading the discourse itself, we felt that, in so far as the thorough handling of one of the most important doctrines of practical theology is concerned, this discourse must be held defective. We looked in vain for the treatment of the state of mind hinted at in the "marvel not"—or of the momentous suggestions in the "must be born again." It is clear, however, that the preacher's mind is fixed on the Spirit's work. Throughout the sermon, the need of His presence and power, in order to the turning of the soul to God, is distinctly stated. The sermon on the "Self-Evidencing Nature of Divine Truth," is much more to our taste. The subject is a favourite one with Scotch preachers. Mr Caird's mode of illustrating it bears witness to gifts for which we had not thought him distinguished. We like the plain recognition, at page 8, of the "latent beliefs, dim inarticulate yearnings, unexplained hopes and aspirations," as native to the soul of man. The preacher who studiously ignores this from the dread of heresy on the doctrine of human depravity, loses all hold for good on those natures which are

even naturally generous and noble. Besides, he departs from the teaching of Scripture, in thus pledging himself to what Chalmers, in strong words, used to call "buckram orthodoxy," and he misses the distinction in theology between the performance of things agreeable to the law of God, and things acceptable to God Himself. The recognition of this distinction will show us, too, how Rom. ii. 12-15 might, in pressing the need of an atonement, be urged as an aggravation of the guilt of the Gentiles. In this sermon, Mr Caird gives us a clear statement of the forensic view of the sinner's justification before God.

The discourse on "Self-Ignorance," has more of practical power in it, than either of those to which we have referred. Remarks like the following, bear testimony both to the earnestness and faithfulness of the preacher,—“There is a peculiar secrecy about our sins. Bodily disease or injury, in the great majority of cases, manifest its presence by pain. But it is the peculiar characteristic of moral disease, that it does its deadly work in secret. Sin is a malady which affects the very organ by which itself can be detected; it creates the darkness amid which it injures us, and blinds the eye of its victim in the very act of destroying him.” “One reason why the sinful man does not ‘understand his errors’ is—that sin can be truly measured only when it is resisted. It is impossible to estimate the strength of the principle of evil in the soul, till we begin to struggle with it.” “It tends greatly to increase this insensibility to the progress of sin in the soul, that, as character gradually deteriorates, there is a parallel deterioration of the standard by which we judge of it. As sin grows, conscience declines in vigour.” The mode in which he illustrates this subject, supplies a good specimen of the use which is made throughout the volume, of a well-trained fancy in setting forth truth. After reading Sermon XI., in which the necessity of a personal spiritual qualification, in order to the right performance of spiritual work—that is to the recognition of religious duty and the enjoyment of religious privileges—is exceedingly well put, we turned to Sermon IV., on “the Invisible God.” The subject is a difficult one, and, on the whole, is well treated, especially when he shows how Jesus in His sacrifice and sufferings revealed the Father.

The sermon which follows this one—“The Solitariness of Christ's Sufferings,” we reckon among the best in the volume. The different elements which went to fill the bitter cup of Immanuel's suffering are set, with much ability, in thoroughly practical lights. Sermon X. is characterized by great good sense, in handling a subject on which much keen feeling has recently been exhibited. It may be regarded as a well weighed protest against those small efforts after ritualism, which some Scottish ministers have lately paraded. We beg to commend it to the attention of these æsthetic and ritualistic leaders of the people!

We have never had an opportunity of looking on the class of hearers whom Mr Caird has gathered around him, but we should say, that if the sermons now glanced at are to be regarded as specimens of his weekly ministrations, he is not the preacher for the poor of the

people—for those great masses of men to be met with in our large towns, for whom the pretty fancy, the sparkling figure, the well turned period, and nicely trimmed sentence, have no attraction. He very seldom ventures on such strong modes of expression as come home to them at once, but from which more refined natures turn away. Only twice, we think, has he, in these sermons, trusted himself with such expressions, and these are wrought out in a way *not* to shock so-called fine feelings! “Conscious guilt is but the inward reflection of Divine wrath, the shadow of the darkened brow of God cast upon the spirit of man.” “Sin was to Him as if the mask were torn off, and a skeleton face revealed in all its hideousness—as if a flower-strewn bank was laid open, and a nest of serpents disclosed beneath.” We miss another element of strength, which will ever be found characteristic of great and successful preachers to the *multitude*—we mean much use of the very words of the Bible. Mr Caird seldom quotes Scripture. Yet it should never be forgotten, that however attractive man's views of God's words may be, these words are the seed which take hold of the heart.

As these sermons are to be regarded as virtually the first appeal which the author has made to all denominations, either to acknowledge or reject his claims to a standing before the public, not inferior to that which he holds in the estimate of the Church to which he belongs, he may expect much free criticism. His theology will bear rigid examination; and the literature of his discourses will, we are persuaded, be found equal, in some cases superior, to what any of our present most accomplished popular preachers can lay claim to. We like to meet with one evidence and another of his acquaintance with current literature, and with the generalisations, at least, of natural science. It might, however, have been as well, had he not sometimes brought modes of expression from quarters not much in harmony with his themes. Thus he speaks of “the sorrowfullest thing under heaven,” and of “the poorest wretch who shrinks into poverty's squalledest den.”

But enough. If these be blemishes, they are very small ones. We cordially thank Mr Caird for his very welcome and able contribution to religious literature. “The Sermons” will find their way into other households than those of the Church to which he belongs. To many it will seem high commendation if we affirm, as we do, that the author's celebrated discourse, on “The Religion of Common Life,” appears to us inferior to any one of the sermons now reviewed.

- IV.—1. *Lettres de la Mère Agnès Arnauld, Abbess of Port-Royal. Publiées sur les Textes Authentiques, avec une Introduction.* Par M. PROSPER FAUGERE. Paris: B. Duprat. 1858. Pp. xxxiv., 528 and 543.
2. *The Jansenists: A Chapter in Church History.* By S. P. TREGELLES, LL.D. London: Bagster and Sons. Pp. 98.
3. *History of the so-called Jansenist Church of Holland.* By the Rev. J. M. NEALE, M.A. Oxford: Parkers. 1858. Pp. 411.

ON two memorable occasions, at the interval of some centuries, have England and France been agitated by religious movements of a powerful, but widely contrasted character. In the end of the fourteenth century, when the Papal "captivity" at Avignon, and the great schism, which followed soon after the return of Gregory XI. to Rome, had shaken men's confidence in the claims of the alleged successors of St Peter, we find the views of Wickliffe, struggling for a Biblical reformation of the Church, obtaining extensive acceptance in England. In France, on the other hand, while a reformation of the Church "in head and members" was loudly demanded, and prevailing ecclesiastical abuses were freely condemned, we find the ablest reformers, as D'Ailly, De Clemangis, and John Gerson, all limiting their views to such changes as could be effected by Church authority, without recognition of Scripture as the supreme standard of appeal. In practical furtherance of such principles, the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, were convened, and in them Gerson and his associates had full opportunity of showing how far they were prepared to go in reform. The schism was terminated by the removal of the contending Popes; the superiority of a General Council to the Bishop of Rome was affirmed, and many excellent arrangements of ecclesiastical detail were made. But the unfettered use of the Bible by the laity was denied; the Bohemian demand of the cup in the Eucharist was refused, and the two most eminent continental advocates of Bible reformation, Huss and Jerome of Prague, were committed to the flames. The great Councils of the fifteenth century have found many admirers among moderate Romanists. The most elaborate recent history of these Councils, by Von Wessenberg, formerly Bishop of Constance, was written in support of his views as an influential member of the reforming party among German Romanists. But, while due praise is given to the honesty of these reformers on a conciliar basis, we must rejoice that the practical failure of their persevering efforts to purify the Church operated as a beacon to the Continental and British reformers of the next century, and, with other reasons, led them to take their decisive stand, not on Church authority, but on Bible law.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, England and France were again agitated by religious movements. The mighty experience of the Reformation had intervened. On this side the Channel we see the principles of the Reformation developed in the most solid, powerful, and profound manner, by the Puritans. If the great writers of that school were generally deficient in the mastery of style, which

has won for Hooker and Taylor, for Barrow and South, a foremost place in the history of our literature, they were distinguished for all other qualities, which are to be looked for in great thinkers and illustrious divines. Their Apologetics may be less valuable than those of succeeding theologians; their Exegesis may be inferior to that of those who possess the larger experience and more varied helps of later days; but their dogmatic, controversial, and practical writings, must always retain a primary place in our estimation, and vindicate their superiority to opposing schools of religious thought.

Contemporaneous with the Puritan development of British Protestantism, was the Jansenist development of Continental, and especially of French, Romanism. The Augustinian element, which, in the Middle Ages, had characterized all who sought the religious good of the community, whether, like Anselm, Bernard, and A Kempis, they merely endeavoured to make the most and the best of the existing Church system, or, like Tauler, Janow, and John Wessel, they laboured for a less or greater measure of ecclesiastical reform, was not all absorbed by Protestantism, was not all extinguished by the Council of Trent. Even in that Council voices were raised in behalf of more evangelical views than the assembled fathers sanctioned in their decrees. One of these friends of scriptural truth was Michael Baius, Professor of Theology at Louvain, who afterwards incurred the enmity of the Franciscans, and, through their influence, seventy-nine propositions, extracted from his writings, were condemned by a bull of Pius V. in 1567. Augustinian views had been extensively propagated in the Netherlands by the Brethren of the Common Life, as Ullmann, Schmidt, and others, have shown; and in the same university where Baius taught, Cornelius Jansen was first a student, and afterwards a theological professor, before he was elevated to the bishopric of Ypres.

Jansen, and his fellow-student de Hauranne, Abbé of St Cyran, undertook the cause of Church Reform, the former devoting himself to doctrine, the latter to worship and practice. The chief work of the former was his "*Augustinus*," from which five propositions were formally condemned, by a "*Constitution*" of Innocent X. in 1653, as "*heretical*," and some of them "*blasphemous and accursed*." Jansenism has for the last two centuries been a recognised party in the Romish Church. It has given birth to every effort after reform in that Church; it has produced the struggles of Febronius and his supporters for a National German Catholic Church; the reforming exertions of Ricci and the Synod of Pistoia; and the evangelical labours of Sailer, Bishop of Ratisbon, Martin Boos, Lindl, and others, in the latter end of the last and the beginning of the present century.

It was in France that Jansenism attained its highest distinction, and produced its most distinguished men. Of French Jansenism, Port-Royal was the intellectual centre. If Jansenism produced no great pulpit orator—if it left to Jesuits and Oratorians the high places of ecclesiastical rhetoric, in almost every other department of religious literature it gave birth to men of the highest distinction. If the Benedictines of St Maur were the more learned, the Port-Royalists were

the more immediately and generally intellectually influential. A community, where Tillemont was the church historian, Antoine Arnauld the indefatigable controversialist, Nicole the writer on practical religion, De Sacy the translator of the New Testament, Rollin the instructor of youth, and Racine the poet both for the world and the Church, was a centre of the most powerful influence over intellect. Its zenith of fame was reached when in Pascal it produced a leader of thought, a master of style, worthy as the third great prose writer of France to rival in sway, but to counteract in tendency, the sensual Rabelais and the sceptical Montaigne.

M. Cousin has remarked—"The French women of the seventeenth century were not less remarkable than the men; there were then, even in the austere retreats of religion, women great alike in mind and in heart, who, doubtless, had not the literary ability of authors by profession, but who have written much, because it was the practice of the time, and who could not write in a mediocre manner, with the thoughts and the feelings which were their characteristics."

The Arnaulds occupy a prominent place in the religious and literary history of France during the seventeenth century. That member of the family, whose correspondence is under review, Agnes, Abbess of Port-Royal, has been considerably thrown into the shade hitherto by her elder and more energetic sister, Marie Angelique, previously abbess of the same convent. In general church histories, Protestant or Romanist, Angelique is mentioned, to the exclusion of her sister.¹ The same omission is found in Hallam and in Biographical Dictionaries. This may be partly accounted for by the fact, that the Letters of the elder sister were published upwards of a century ago, while those of Agnes, with the exception of about thirty, have hitherto remained in manuscript. La Mère Agnes wrote, besides the contents of these volumes, several Treatises on Practical Religion, which, in manuscript, passed under the notice of Racine, while engaged upon his History of Port-Royal. He has characterised her as "distinguished by the elevation and the solidity of her mind."

Some years ago, M. Faugere distinguished himself by giving to the world the first thoroughly accurate edition of the "Thoughts" of Pascal, which Vinet, elaborately criticising it, termed "a work considerable in every sense of the term." This was followed by a volume on Pascal's sisters, Jacqueline and Madame Perier. The work before us is a continuation of the same meritorious researches on "The Sanctuary of Jansenism," as Voltaire called Port-Royal.

M. Faugere has prefixed an interesting introduction, and has further given a number of annotations on the volumes. These notes, however, are by no means sufficiently numerous to make the work thoroughly intelligible to the reader. He ought to have given references to the passages of Scripture quoted, especially as these are sometimes inexact, as given from memory; and a reader, even if well acquainted with the Romish Bible, whether the Vulgate or the

¹ Gieseler makes only one sister of Dr Arnauld Abbess of Port-Royal. Reuchlin, in his article on the Arnaulds in Herzog's Cyclopaedia, calls Agnes merely a nun.

French version, may be at a loss to know what part of Holy Writ is referred to.

The reader will, of course, not expect to find in this Correspondence, which embraces a period of forty-five years, from 1626 to 1671, the year of the writer's death, the variety or the secular interest of the nearly contemporary Letters of Madame de Sevigné. The sphere of Agnes Arnauld was far more limited, and her mind was at once less powerful and less cultivated than that of the literary *marquise*, of whom Sainte-Beuve has said that, "without wishing or suspecting it, she has raised herself by her Letters to a foremost place among French writers."

In these two volumes are contained 637 letters with date, and 114 undated. Many of them however, are very brief notes comprised in a few lines. The various members of the Arnauld family, as might have been expected, occupy a very large place among those, to whom the letters are addressed. A large number, also, are written to various members of the community of Port-Royal, and some to ladies, purposing to join themselves to that institution. In these she shows herself careful to give accurate pictures of what the conventual life really was, that they might enter upon it fully prepared. In the letters to nuns, all excessive austerity in treatment of the body is discouraged, and the attention is directed to the state of the soul's health.

Of the external transactions of the period comprised in these letters we have scarcely a glimpse. The wars in which France was involved in are referred to in passing, when danger threatens a relative of her correspondents. The troubles of the Fronde are alluded to, when they involve the partial dispersion of the inmates of Port-Royal. Though contemporary with the commencement of the most brilliant era in French literature, there is no allusion to works of a secular character. Though contemporary with at once the most distinguished writings of the French Calvinists, and the most atrocious series of restrictive and oppressive measures against them, there is scarcely a reference to the existence of a Protestant Church in France.

The chief merit in these volumes is in the natural way in which they bring before us, during the changes of nearly half a century, the life of the religious women of Port-Royal. They give us a full and striking portraiture of the life of that community, first in its undisturbed tranquillity, and afterwards when the clouds began to thicken, and the storm of royal fury fell upon the unoffending sisters.

Agnes Arnauld died at the age of seventy-eight. She did not live to see the last bulwark against the persecution of Port-Royal struck down, by the death of the Duchess de Longueville, or to behold the exile of her illustrious brother Antoine to the Spanish Netherlands. Her last letter, dated 10th February 1671, only nine days before her death, though then so feeble that she was obliged to dictate it, and could not sign it, betrays no marks of mental feebleness. It is addressed to Pavillon, Bishop of Alet, one of the four Jansenist prelates who refused to subscribe the formula of condemnation of the five propositions enjoined by Alexander VII.

The work of Dr Tregelles is somewhat enlarged from the article

which appeared in the "Journal of Sacred Literature," from his pen. It contains a compressed, but accurate and interesting account of Jansenism and Port-Royal, and in the absence of a more elaborate work, may be thoroughly recommended to the general reader. We are surprised to find in this and the volume immediately to be noticed, no reference to Sainte-Beuve's elaborate work on Port-Royal. The little book of Dr Tregelles is concluded by an account of a visit paid in 1850 to the Jansenist archbishop of Utrecht; and is agreeably illustrated by portraits of Jansenius, St Cyran, and Angelique Arnauld, and a view of Port-Royal, taken from old prints.

Mr Neale's book is of a much more ambitious character. It contains a history of Jansenism, an account of the Brethren of the Common Life, and an extended notice of the Archbishopric of Utrecht, from its foundation. The Jansenist Church of Holland occupies about one-half of the volume.

Mr Neale's Tractarian views are well known, and the reader of his volume will not be surprised to meet with strong expressions of Anti-Protestant opinion. Thus he gladly anticipates, that at the commencement of next century, Holland will be a Romanist country; he terms the brutalities of Alva less shocking than the partisan excesses of some obscure patriot chiefs; and he speaks of a Dutch prelate having escaped, by a natural death, the crown of martyrdom, during the Stadholdership of William the Silent! It is amusing to find the complacency with which he dismisses the authorship of "the Imitation of Christ," as a "settled point among ecclesiastical scholars," that it must be adjudged from A Kempis! To whom he wisely does not add! We read in Mr Neale's volume of Philip II. being king of *Germany*; of Margaret of *Pavia* being ruler of the Low Countries! Desirous to have a hard hit at French Calvinism, he tells us that Aubertin and Blondel were silenced by the work of Arnauld and Nicole on the Eucharist, which first appeared in 1664. But *Death* had silenced Aubertin in 1652 and Blondel in 1655!

The style of Mr Neale is at times very ambitious, at times very slovenly. We read in his volume of a "village which the French would call a *pays riant*;" of "the age and infirmities of eighty-two;" of "one of the most *prononcé*" (more than once); of "words in the same sentiment;" of "a crowd of works deluging Holland;" of (rather an equivocal expression) "excellent priests being turned out from that institution;" of "a Church so tremendous in its Cistercian and Transitorial sternness!" If any advanced class in the National School at East Grimstead be taught composition, a clever boy or girl may soon write better English than the "Warden of Sackville College!"

It is fantastic inaccuracy in Mr Neale to quote the Psalms used by dying Jansenists from the Prayer-Book version, of which, doubtless, these worthy Dutchmen had never heard. The quotations ought, in all historical accuracy, to have been from the Vulgate.

Mr Neale, however, has given to the world a volume, which, in spite of its un-Protestant tone and questionable English, is worth reading. He has obviously composed some parts in a great hurry, or he would have given a correct statement of the number of Baius' propositions

condemned by the Roman See—not 76 but 79. But his sketch of Van Espen, his account of the Council of Utrecht in 1763, and his narrative of the opposition of the Dutch Jansenists to the Immaculate Conception are very interesting. In support of some startling assertions which he makes, he adduces no authorities, and beyond Tractarian circles, Mr Neale's word will not convince men of the contrary, to what they have hitherto accepted as true. In parting with this gentleman, we would advise him to study German, of which he is obviously ignorant, and to endeavour to acquire an unpretentious, forcible, and uninvolved style.

Encyclopädie und Methodologie der Theologischen Wissenschaften. Von Dr H. R. HAGENBACH. 5th Edition : Leipzig.

WE have much pleasure in directing the attention of our readers to a new edition of Dr Hagenbach's admirable work, and in indicating the scope of it to all engaged in the scientific study of theology.

The author does not profess to furnish a complete knowledge of all that is important in the domain of Theology. Such a work would be too large to be available for students. He rather aims at mapping out the domain, that the student may find in his work both a guide and excitement to study. The problems which he seeks to solve are two :—first, and more generally, to distinguish the province of theological science, and mark out its relation to other sciences ; second, to define particularly the mutual relations of the different departments of theology. In the German Universities, a course of lectures upon these two questions is the ordinary introduction to the study of theology, and is well-fitted to impart definiteness of aim to the student. In the first or general division of the work, Dr Hagenbach vindicates the claim of theology to rank as a science ; and defines its sphere and objects, insisting especially on the necessity of intimate acquaintance with the past history of the Christian Church, if we would either understand what her present theology is, or seek to determine what it ought to be. The relations of theology to classical education, to art, and to philosophy, are next treated of,—the last at considerable length, and with special reference to the various phases of philosophical speculation in Germany. Our author insists that every system must be rejected by the Christian theologian which does not leave intact the facts of the distinct yet mutually connected existence of the Creator and His creatures, and of spirit and matter. “A god without a world, or wholly dissociated from it, is not the God of the Bible : a spirit which has no flesh to subdue is not the spirit of the living Christian : a freedom which knows nothing of the feeling of dependence is not the liberty of the children of God” (p. 65). In treating of the various tendencies which theological inquiry has manifested towards Rationalism, Mysticism, and Supra-naturalism, and the position to be assumed by the student with respect to these, Hagenbach advocates a system of conciliation and eclecticism, by which all that

is good in each of these opposite tendencies may be combined, and finds the point of union for all in a deeper submission to the doctrine, and love to the person, of Christ.

The second portion of the *Encyclopædia* opens with the discussion of the vexed question concerning the relative importance of the various branches of theological science, and the order in which they ought to be studied. As was to be expected from the history of German theology, Apologetics is not placed by him at the threshold of the curriculum, but occupies a subordinate position as an outpost of systematic theology. Whilst insisting that no really exclusive study of any one department is possible or desirable, he maintains the natural order of study for Protestant theologians to be,—1, Exegetical Theology; 2, Church History; 3, Systematic Theology, and 4, Practical Theology; the reasons for which are at once obvious and satisfactory. Each of these four great divisions is handled at considerable length, in such a manner as to present a connected view of the subdivisions, its past history, and the best method of prosecuting its study,—together with a valuable list of classified works (chiefly German) bearing upon each department. A discussion of the manner in which this part of the subject is treated would demand longer illustrative extracts than we have space for.

The work abounds with valuable hints both for the student and the pastor. There are two subjects, however, on which the statements of Dr Hagenbach appear to us to require a guarded and careful scrutiny. The first is, his tendency to ascribe too much importance to the fact that the writers of Scripture, though inspired, were *men*, and to seek in their human nature an opening for criticism and conjecture in the study of the Bible, which we cannot but regard with apprehension. The second is, a strong reactionary feeling against the use of confessions of faith, together with unwarranted contempt for the theology of the seventeenth century.

The style of the work is varied and entertaining; distinguished for perspicuity and force, as well as freshness of illustration. The greater part of the book has been issued in each edition almost in the same form as it appeared in the first, about 30 years ago, the chief alterations and improvements being additions to the lists of books and estimates of their value. In the present edition, Dr Hagenbach has endeavoured to embrace, so far as possible, the theological literature of Germany for the years 1854–56. This department of the *Manual*, both because of the great labour incurred and because of the great discrimination shown in it, is peculiarly important; for of no literature can the witty warning of Niebuhr be more appropriately used than of the theological literature of his own country:—"Beware of reading without discrimination; Æolus caused only that one wind to blow which should waft Ulysses home,—he bound the rest,—set free and conflicting with each other, they sent him hopelessly astray."

THE
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

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- ART. I.—1. *Mouvement Commercial*. Published by the French Government.
2. *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*. 1857.
3. *Statistical Tables of the Board of Trade*. 1857.
4. *Personal Observation*.

THE attitude of the French Government, and the interests of the French nation, present certainly the most important, and perhaps also the most complex, question of our external politics. Great Britain and France are the two European empires from whose mutual alliance each has the greatest commercial and diplomatic advantages to secure—from whose mutual hostility each, possibly, has the greatest actual danger to apprehend, and each, no doubt, has the greatest contingent glory to acquire. It must be acknowledged that the deductions which we would draw from the events that have transpired around us, are not of an uniform tenor. On the one hand, the alliance between the two countries has subsisted, without any solid interruption, during twenty-eight years, and under three distinct forms of government in France. It has been based, therefore, on a foundation more secure than that of an alliance with a single dynasty under the present Empire; or a sympathy with cognate political institution, under the Orleans monarchy. In 1854, after twenty-four years of general amity between the two nations, their friendship was cemented by a union in war, in defence of the principles which England had invariably cherished; but in defiance of those projects of territorial acquisition at the expense of Turkey, which had been the dream both of the first Empire, and of the restored Monarchy in France. It may not only be thus assumed, but it

may be also demonstrated, that the Anglo-French alliance exists under a direct reciprocity of commercial interest. And while the peace or war policy of this country rests upon fixed and determinate principles, the French Government, since the treaty of 1856, has actively addressed itself to domestic interests, which it will require all its attention to promote.

On the other hand, it cannot be forgotten that France, since her peace with Russia, has exhibited a large amount of warlike activity; that the French military establishment is far more than commensurate with the contingent necessities (large though they be) of civil government; that the increase of the port of Cherbourg, the extensive shipbuilding, and the large maritime conscription of that country, imply a desire to rival our naval strength, if not also to contest our naval supremacy. It must be remembered also, that, on two recent occasions—that of the Russian claim to the Isle of Serpents and Bolgrad, and that of the conspiracy of last January—the policy of the French Government indicated a certain divergence from the principles before recognised in the alliance of the two countries. Nor can we reject, as entirely without significance, the fact, that the absolute control exerted by that Court over the French press, and the restriction from discussion of all topics hostile to its policy, do not preclude the publication in Paris of innumerable attacks on the British constitution and the British people.

The leading characteristic of the French imperial policy is that of a government too firm for domestic revolution, and yet too calculating for impulsive war. It is the apparent object of the present Emperor to approximate, as far as possible, by means of a prosperous peace, to that international predominance which the Great Napoleon achieved by means of military success. The maintenance of the British alliance in the interest of commerce has, therefore, hitherto formed the cardinal aim of his policy. For no war would so directly cripple the external trade of France, as a war between that country and our own. This alliance, far from checking, has, on the contrary, developed the naval and military power of the French Government, inasmuch as, by increasing the national wealth, it has added to the means of war. Prosperity and arms form obviously the two chief conditions of political power. The combined development of this double object appears to be the problem which the French Emperor has set himself to work out. We shall here endeavour to indicate the degree in which it has been realised. A government which could so regulate its commercial policy as to create a public wealth adequate to the permanent establishment of 400,000 troops, of whom 150,000 are disposable for foreign service—to increase its fleets and docks, and to maintain 40,000 registered

sailors in reserve—might fairly aspire to pre-eminence among the European powers.

We pass from these general observations to an inquiry into the actual condition and resources of the French Empire. We will take first the question of its population, which must materially affect its external policy.

It is a singular anomaly, to see a civilised and wealthy nation, like that of France, scarcely contributing to the population of the New World in an appreciable degree, and yet interposed between two nations which are annually emigrating to an extent by ten times that of the present increase of the French population itself; for it would be difficult to determine, from authentic returns, whether Germany or the United Kingdom had availed itself most largely of the modern system of colonisation. It is computed, on the other hand, in statistics published at Paris, that emigration from the French territory does not exceed, on an average, 12,000 annually. The immediate cause of this fact is obvious. The French population does not indeed decline; but the ratio of increase has vastly diminished, both under the census of 1846–51 and under that of 1851–56. It is to be assumed that the population does not increase more rapidly than the labour, the production, and the importation, which together constitute the means of living. France, therefore, has not the motive of necessity which has actuated other nations in emigration; and, probably, some other intrinsic differences between the character of the French people and our own might be adduced in relation to the distinction of the two nations in point of colonisation. But it is to be apprehended that the arguments which have been drawn from the last and the preceding census are somewhat hasty; and that it is not possible to form such conclusive deductions, with regard to the political future of France, as have been put forward on those data.

We will first glance at the returns of population during the last twenty years. The census, as has been already intimated, is taken in France not decennially, but quinquennially. It appears that, under the census of 1841, as compared with that of 1836, the French population had increased by 650,000; and that, under the census of 1846, as compared with that of 1841, it had increased by 1,170,000. On the other hand, in 1851 the increase above the census of 1846 was not more than 382,000; and the increase in 1856, above the census of 1851, was not more than 254,000. What are the assumptions to be drawn from these figures?

Now, so far as politics are immediately concerned, we know only of four leading influences on the tendency of the population in regard to numbers. The population may be depressed by a

sense of insecurity, arising from unstable government, by a course of commercial impolicy in the fiscal laws or the foreign relations of the state, by loss of life in war, and by a costly and oppressive system of administration. There are, of course, many other influences which are not immediately set in motion by the character of the government; but, in regard to those which have been enumerated,—if we refer the difference of increase between 1,170,000 in 1841–46, and 382,000 in 1846–51, chiefly to the difference in public security between five years of M. Guizot's administration and five years principally of revolution, how are we to account for a still greater difference between the periods 1841–46 and 1851–56, as represented by the figures 1,170,000 and 254,000, since both those periods were periods of nearly equal public security? If, again, the difference of population is to be referred mainly to the cost or oppression of the system of government, how are we to account for the fact, that this system was hardly less costly and oppressive under the Soult-Guizot Ministry, when the increase of population was at its highest point, than under the Empire, when it had been at its lowest ebb? For, towards the close of Louis Philippe's reign, the French army was nearly as extensive as at present; and whatever titular liberty might exist was cancelled by venality.

“For freedom's forms disguised the despot's thought;
He ruled by synods, and the synods bought.”

There has been no considerable difference in the commercial policy or the commercial alliances of the French Government during any one of these periods; and although the Crimean war, during the last of them, involved a greater mortality to the French than to ourselves, even in proportion to the numbers engaged, their losses would account for a very small part only of the difference of increase between the census of 1856 and that of 1846; while the war in question formed no distinct incident of the imperial system, but would have been pursued, in similar circumstances, by any one of the governments of France since the year 1830, with the exception, perhaps, of that of M. Thiers.

Thus far, therefore, we arrive at the negative conclusion, that the declining ratio of increase in the French population cannot be ascribed, at any rate in considerable degree, either to the expenditure or despotism of the French Government, or to its belligerent character, or to its commercial policy. We have seen, moreover, that the stimulus to population, arising from a sense of public security, which the French people undoubtedly possessed during the chief part of the five years 1851–56, in as great a degree as during the five years 1841–46, could hardly be imagined, if we were to take bare figures for our index, to

have produced an appreciable result in the later period. What, then, are the causes of the present decline in the ratio of increase; and are they permanent or accidental?

It would be quite inconsistent with the variety of topics at which we propose to glance within a small compass, to enter at any length into those indirect agencies which may spring from the composition of French society. It is sufficient to observe, that no social causes of a permanent nature have been satisfactorily adduced, any more than political causes arising from the present organisation of the State; for, although the condition and prospects of French agriculture, and the laws of inheritance which have in great degree governed them, might plausibly be counted as an influence hostile to the growth of the French population, that influence must have been too gradual to account for any considerable distinction between the ratio of increase in the population ten or twelve years ago, and the ratio of increase in the population now.

We are inclined to ascribe these altered circumstances to the concurrence of three temporary and incidental causes during the five years over which the last census extends, as well as to the commercial and monetary effect of the Revolution of 1848. In the first place, after eliminating so many theories of increase, it appears most rational to refer the rapid rise of the population during 1841–46, as compared with the previous five years, to the marked continuance of good harvests, which exactly coincided with those five years; whereas the harvests of 1836–41 were invariably, and those of 1846–56 were frequently, deficient. Regarding, therefore, the harvest as one agent in the ratio of increase, it seems not unfair to account for the reduction in this increase from 1,170,000 in 1841–46 to 382,000 in 1846–51, in a primary degree to the general scarcity of the latter period, and in a secondary degree to the pauperising influence of the Revolutions of 1848, both in the internal trade of France and in its relations with the Continent. If we then pass to the period 1851–56, during which the increase declined to 254,000, we shall find, as we have said, three concurrent causes—the cholera, the Russian war, and a recurrence of the same scarcity—to set against the restored stability of government. If we admit that the French lost 100,000 men in the Crimea, we shall at once account for nearly the whole decrease below the preceding census. We have, then, the losses by cholera to balance the gain from the increase of political security.

Two observations require to be made here. The first is, that the losses to the population, by defective harvests, are of two kinds—these are, those immediately incurred by death from actual famine, and those indirectly sustained by the influence of the

poverty arising from such harvests upon marriages and other causes of population. The second is, that—unless it can be maintained (and we have no notion that it can) that the decrease of legitimate births, through a decrease of marriages, is attended by a corresponding increase of illegitimate births—the influence on population of the poverty which revolution produces is liable to survive that poverty itself, by inducing a permanent habit of single life upon those who might have been disposed to marry, when the poverty in question prevented them from doing so. It may be doubted, therefore, whether the period 1851-56 is sufficiently removed from one of unsettled government to develop the full advantages of its political security on population. In all these circumstances, while we look upon the immense increase of the population during the five years 1841-46 as the result of an extraordinary combination of four favourable classes of causes—namely, five abundant harvests in succession, domestic security, external peace, and the absence of epidemical disease—we regard the subsequent reduction in this increase chiefly as the result of influences in their nature temporary, and not more liable to recur than under any preceding census. We see no reason to apprehend, therefore, that a recurrence, during the period 1856-61, of the four classes of influences observable in the period 1841-46, to which we have adverted, would produce materially different results from those exhibited by the census of 1846.

The application of these considerations to the adoption of a policy of peace or war by the French Government—so far as such a question can be influenced by the ratio of increase in the population—is that, although it would be impossible to enter upon an aggressive career with such figures before them, it is not improbable that the census of 1861 may show a very different result, and point to a different conclusion. It is, therefore, only the *immediate* war or peace policy of France that can be presumed from the last and the preceding census.

2. We now turn to the financial condition of the French Government. Certain statements of receipt and expenditure are periodically published by authority in Paris. They are neither so full, nor so satisfactory in some other respects, as our own. But we are not disposed to question the good faith in which they are drawn up. It is certainly no uncommon supposition that these statistics are cooked. We are, however, ourselves content to take them as not wilfully inaccurate, although there are certain matters on which a free Parliament would demand explanation.

This view of the sincerity and general accuracy of these returns is based on their internal evidence. A government, willing

to deceive the public in order to improve its own cause, would hardly avow to the fact of the declining increase of population to which we have just adverted. And we see nothing irreconcilable with probability in any of the details of receipt or expenditure which have appeared. It is true that less appears to be expended on the army than we should have imagined; but, on the other hand, the expenditure of the rest of the revenue appears to be satisfactorily accounted for. We can only, therefore, suppose that the government have made a fictitious return of military expenditure below its real amount, on the supposition that they have made a similarly fictitious return of income. But, as they would as much lose credit for prosperity by underrating their revenue, as they would gain credit for pacific intentions by underrating their military expenditure, it is difficult to perceive that any counterbalancing advantage could be secured from a falsification of these returns.

In a similar manner, a certain sum is charged in the schedule of expenditure, under the joint head of "Commerce, Agriculture, and Public Works," without defining the sum allotted to each of the three subjects. This is, no doubt, an unsatisfactory statement; and, we suspect, the expense of the Home Departments is thus commingled, that the public may not be made aware how large a proportion of this charge relates to Works, and how little to Commerce and Agriculture. But it would be easy for the government to divide these three subjects of expenditure, if it pleased, and make a false return upon each, without a probability of detection. Here, therefore, is another indication that these statements, though defective, are not untrue.

On the other hand, there are no statements of the expense incurred by the Russian war, and the military charge for the year 1856 is nearly the same with that for 1857. This, if designed as a complete statement, would be obviously absurd. The only information on this point is obtained by contrasting the interest paid on the public debt in the two years respectively; and while, on the face of the French financial statement for 1856, the income exceeded the expenditure, there is nevertheless an *additional* charge of 55,000,000 francs for 1857, under the head of interest on this debt! We will assume, however, that these financial statements are designed to refer simply to the ordinary expenses of a peace establishment; and though singularly defective, are still reliable. A government which acknowledges such an addition to its public debt, may fairly claim credit for sincerity in other details of its expenditure.

In order to make intelligible the French financial statements, it should be stated at the outset, that they are drawn up under three principal heads. Of these, the one relates to income, the

other two to expenditure. The computed revenue in these statements is, not the gross, but the net, revenue. Independently, therefore, of what we term public expenditure in this country, there are charges for collection. Now, the French Government, with a logic or a faculty for hair-splitting, in which we are unable to follow them, have divided from their chief expenses, some which they have included under the head of "*Dépenses d'ordre*," as though they deemed that they could really draw a precise line between expenses incurred in the maintenance of public order, and expenses incurred for objects beyond it. Under this head, they have added the charges for collection of revenue; so that, in addition to the principal head of expenditure, there is a second, entitled, "*Dépenses d'ordre et frais de perception*."

We will quote the figures for the year 1857. It appears that the French revenue was then 1,709,000,000 francs, or somewhat more than L.68,000,000 sterling. The "expenditure," meanwhile, was 1,121,000,000 francs, or somewhat under L.45,000,000; and the costs for "order and collection" were 523,000,000 francs, or nearly L.21,000,000. There being no subdivision between the two charges thus thrown together into a single column, it is impossible to ascertain in what degree the aggregate sum of 523,000,000 francs refers to the expense of public order, and in what degree to that of collecting revenue. In addition to this, there is a further charge of 54,000,000 francs for "extraordinary public works," by which either Cherbourg, or the recent precautions against a fresh inundation are probably designed. The total of what is thus charged on the gross revenue is therefore 1,698,000,000 francs—less by 9,000,000 francs than the gross revenue itself. This will certainly prove a satisfactory statement, if no additions shall have been made to the interest on the public debt for the current year.

The details of French revenue can scarcely be of much further interest than in regard to the relation of direct to indirect taxation. It appears that the former amounted to 429,000,000, and the latter to 1,026,000,000 francs. Notwithstanding the disparity of figures which evince the great preponderance of indirect taxation, we can hardly be dissatisfied with the result, when we bear in mind that the increased recognition of the principle of direct taxation in our own country is of recent origin; and that our own finances exhibit probably as great a preponderance of indirect burdens. The remainder of the French gross revenue is derived from minor sources.

It may, perhaps, be surprising to those who imagine the immediate expenses of the army to constitute the chief burden of the State, under the Empire, to learn that military expenditure does not form so much as *one third* of the total expenditure,

even exclusively of that incurred under the head of "expenses of order," etc. The total current expenses of the French army and navy are less by fifty million francs than the interest chargeable on the national debt. It appears that, for 1857, not less than 510,000,000 francs, or more than L.20,000,000 sterling, was paid as interest on this debt. This charge is (though we here speak from memory) within thirty per cent. of that upon our own treasury. The charge for the military department was 336,000,000 francs for 1857, and 337,000,000 for 1856.¹ This equals nearly L.13,500,000 of our money. The navy, meanwhile, cost 120,000,000 francs for 1857, and 121,000,000 for 1856. This is somewhat less than L.5,000,000 of our money. Thus far we account for between L.38,000,000 and L.39,000,000 sterling. The charge for agriculture, commerce, and public works, is together 80,000,000 francs, or more than L.3,000,000; and the other expenses are scarcely of much importance. It will be seen that the French gross revenue, about L.68,000,000 sterling, is expended under three principal and some incidental heads. More than L.20,000,000 are charged on account of collection and public order, more than L.20,000,000 on that of interest on the debt, and nearly L.20,000,000 on that of the army and navy. The remainder—nearly L8,000,000—is expended in the minor obligations of the government. Although we cannot determine the proportion paid, under the first of these heads, to the account of revenue-collection alone, we shall hardly be wide of the mark, if we estimate the *net* revenue of the French Government at about L.55,000,000, and their *available* revenue (or that which remains after payment of interest on the public debt) at about L.35,000,000.

In regard to any direct inferences which may be drawn from these figures, in their relation to a policy of peace or war, although it must be confessed that the indications are not of a very circumstantial kind, it certainly strikes us, that a government forced to borrow so largely, and to add so slightly to taxation, during the Crimean war, is by no means in a pecuniary position to undertake another great military expedition, unless it be supported, in its own country, by the strongest popular enthusiasm. It is to be observed also, and it will presently be more clearly seen, that all those portions of the "available" French revenue which do not already relate to naval and military affairs, are, to all appearance, inalienably appropriated to civil, ecclesiastical, and educational interests.

3. We pass, thirdly, to the question of the singular position of

¹ It is to be observed, that this sum includes that charged for the military department under both heads of expenditure.

France, in reference to her supply and exportation of precious metals, as a question ancillary to that of her finances. In this respect, the French Government appears likely to be thrown into extreme difficulty; and the subject has a direct relation both to its financial and its diplomatic policy.

The truth is, that, in the French territories, gold is growing more plentiful and silver is growing more scarce, in a degree which threatens the extinction of silver coin. This tendency has been noticed for many years; and nothing but the improbable discovery of additional mines, which shall produce silver as the mines of California and Australia produce gold, is likely to counteract it. We will take the returns which we have before us, for the years 1855 and 1856, by way of example. During the former year, it appears that the importation of gold and silver jointly amounted to 500,000,000 francs in value; and the exportation of the same metals to 480,000,000 francs. Here, certainly, was a balance in the aggregate of 20,000,000 francs, or an increase of four per cent. in the import over the export of precious metals. But, of the imports, not less than 380,000,000 francs, or 76 per cent., were in gold; and only 120,000,000 francs, or 24 per cent., were in silver. If we turn to the corresponding analysis of exports, we shall find that, of the total of 480,000,000 francs, only 162,000,000 were in gold, and not less than 318,000,000 in silver. The French exports in silver were, therefore, nearly double the exports in gold, while the imports in silver were less than one-fourth of the imports in gold.

In 1856, this inverse relation between the export and import of silver was yet more prominent. The total imports of both metals were, in that year, 575,000,000 francs, and the total export 483,000,000. The aggregate gain was then nearly four times as large as in the previous year, and not less than 92,000,000 francs. But the disparity between the export and import of the two metals, as we have said, was still greater. It appears that, in 1856, out of a total of 575,000,000 francs, the importation of gold reached the amount of 465,000,000, and the importation of silver only 110,000,000. If we turn to the export table for the same year, we find that, out of a total of 483,000,000 francs, the exportation of gold did not amount to more than 90,000,000 francs, while the exportation of silver amounted to 393,000,000.

The first two questions which suggest themselves are, the quarters from which, in either case, the metal is derived, and the quarters into which it is drawn away. With regard, in the first place, to the import of gold, its abundance in France arises, as we have said, from the successful working of the mines of California and Australia. Nearly all the gold which France imports

in bullion is derived from those two countries. And there can be little doubt that the proportion of gold which she imports in coin must be very small. If we turn to the table of money struck at the French Mint in 1855, we shall find that the gold coinage of that year largely exceeded the total importation of gold, both in coin and in bullion. The Mint, of course, must have received a large balance of bullion outstanding from the preceding year. It appears that, while the importation of gold in 1855 amounted to 380,000,000 francs in value, the gold coins struck at the French Mint amounted to not less than 446,427,000. It must be presumed, therefore, that nearly the whole of the gold imported into France in 1855 was imported in the shape of bullion.

But with regard to silver, the inference is exactly the reverse. While 120,000,000 francs' worth of that metal were imported during the same year, it appears that the silver coinage did not exceed 25,500,000 francs. It is probable that a government possessed of so ample a supply of gold, would not always keep up in its coinage with the rapidity of its importation. But it is extremely improbable that a government, growing poorer and poorer in silver year by year, should fail to coin immediately all the silver bullion it might receive. We may, therefore, take the difference between the receipts of France in silver and her coinage in silver, as representing the difference between the silver coin and silver bullion imported into her territory. We have already seen that, while the French imports in silver, during 1855, were valued at 120,000,000 francs, the French coinage in silver, in the same year, did not exceed 25,500,000 francs. We must, therefore, presume that the difference, namely 94,500,000 francs, was imported into France in the shape of coin.

The drain of silver from the French territory arises principally from its Chinese and Indian trade. In China and India, silver is the only negotiable precious metal for commercial dealings on an extensive scale. In the meantime, gold is growing a drug. It may be premature at present to anticipate the effect of these circumstances on the relative value of gold and silver in France; but it is quite clear that gold must, before long, be much more extensively used in coining than at present. Indeed it has been felt that the coinage of gold could not be reserved exclusively for twenty-franc and ten-franc pieces. The introduction of five-franc pieces in gold could not have been much longer delayed. The Mint will then probably call in all five-franc pieces in silver, and recoin them as single francs. The French will thus be rid of the most awkward coins that they possess, and derive a large additional supply of single franc pieces. There is no doubt that there will thus be a loss on the aggregate amount of silver coinage current in the empire; for the five-franc pieces will

hardly produce, on an average, more than four single francs each. Twenty per cent. is no excessive allowance for the loss incurred by wear and re-coinage. But the advantage in negotiation will be immense, by increasing the quantity of small money still woefully scarce. The recent gold five-franc pieces will take the place of the silver ones; and the result will be, that every five-franc gold piece struck will represent the addition of four single silver francs to the negotiable coinage of France.

This alleviation of the difficulty will in itself, however, as is obvious, be but temporary. The silver five-franc pieces would soon have been called in, re-coined as single francs, and shipped off to the eastern world. Yet the expedient is not to be despised; even as a momentary expedient; and if the French Government could devise a mode of arresting the present tendency to the diminution of silver, it would be calculated to render permanent advantage. But, unless either this tendency can be countervailed, or vast silver mines shall be shortly discovered—and it will be acknowledged that the one achievement is as difficult as the other event is improbable—there appear to be only two possible issues for the French financiers. First, they must introduce, on a large scale, either the coinage of base metals with a factitious standard of value, or the small paper money, such as are now current in the Austrian Empire; or perhaps both. Or, secondly, they must acquiesce in the almost total elimination of any intervening currency between gold and silver. The choice, in the latter case, will lie between copper francs fit for Brobdignag, and gold francs which might be used in Lilliput. The alternative, in a word, will lie between the coinage of Lycurgus and the application of the homœopathic principle to the French Mint!

One observation on this point remains. To arrest the drainage of silver by eastern nations is, no doubt, a matter of extreme difficulty. But if this difficulty be insurmountable, as some politicians assert, what is to become of the French trade with India and China, when all other silver has been drained from France, except that comparatively small proportion which she annually imports from Europe and America? It is clear, that if the difficulty be then found insurmountable, her oriental trade must nearly perish.

These considerations have a direct bearing on the pacific policy of the French Government. We have seen that France is threatened with the alternative between a gold currency and scarcely any currency in precious metals whatever. We have seen, also, that California and Australia are the two quarters from which she chiefly derives her supply of gold. Now, if

her communications with those two regions were cut off, what would become of her currency? In regard to the event of war between France and this country, her direct supply of gold from Australia must immediately cease, at least until she could conquer that colony by force of arms; and her direct supply, even from California, would be regulated by the degree in which she might attain the dominion of the seas. Nor are we disposed to think, that her indirect supply from either territory through neutral powers is likely to be extensive. It is not less obvious, that whatever silver coin she might derive from commercial interchange with this country, would cease also. It must be for French politicians to determine whether the chances of war with this country would be worth the difficulty to be anticipated from the positive and contingent loss of France in respect of precious metals.

4. Turn, fourthly, to French commerce. It appears that, in 1856, the total number of ships "entered" at French ports was 25,673, and that they represented a tonnage of 4,000,000. Of these, the French flag covered 10,000 ships, which possessed a tonnage of 1,400,000. It appears that the total number of ships "cleared" in the same year was 14,000, with a tonnage of 2,300,000. Of these the French flag covered 5950 ships, and a tonnage of 1,052,000. The disparity between export and import shipping is partially, though by no means wholly, to be explained by the exports incident to the Crimean war. It appears that the total excess over the navigation of the preceding year, in point of vessels "entered," was 3200 ships, and 1,042,000 tons. That this excess is to be ascribed chiefly to the return of the French army, and its *matériel*, must be inferred, both from the extraordinary increase of ships entered in 1856, as compared with 1855, and also from the size of the vessels, which their aggregate tonnage indicates. These vessels must chiefly have been foreign transports.

The increase of French foreign and colonial trade may be more readily gathered from the tables of the Douane. According to them, in 1856, the French "general commerce," in exports, was 2,267,000,000 francs in value, and the French "special commerce," in exports, 1,520,000,000. The corresponding figures, respectively, of general and special commerce, in imports, were 2,319,000,000 francs, and 1,626,000,000. According to official statements, the increase over the preceding year was 155,000,000 francs in import, and 185,000,000 francs in export (special commerce).

If we turn to the French coasting trade, we find that it amounted to 2,202,000,000 tonnage in 1855, and to 2,231,000,000

in 1856. The increase is 29,000 tons. It is difficult to perceive that either these figures can, in any degree, or the figures in the preceding paragraph can, in any great degree, have been influenced by the Russian war.

These figures, in spite of the increase to which they attest in French trade, do not warrant a high estimate of French mercantile activity on the seas. It appears, both from the ships "entered," and from the ships "cleared," that the French flag does not cover more than *two-fifths* of the shipping, if we calculate it according to tonnage, trading with French ports. What is, perhaps, more surprising than all, is the probability that France will be beaten out of the field by Austria in Mediterranean traffic. If we contrast the trade of Marseilles with that of Trieste—and the French trade on the Mediterranean with the Austrian trade on the Adriatic—we shall find, in either case, the latter nearly double the former. It appears that the French marine on the Mediterranean does not exceed 30,000 in men, and vessels representing a tonnage of 181,000. The Austrian marine on the Adriatic, on the other hand, amounts to nearly 60,000 men, and to a tonnage in ships of not less than 316,000. We are here, it is true, comparing what is the only sea-board of Austria with a very small proportion of the sea-board of France. The *total* French maritime inscription amounted, on the 1st of January 1857, to 168,000 men, together with ships 14,200 in number, representing an aggregate tonnage of 784,000. But it must be remembered, that while France has more sea-board than frontier, the sea-board of Austria, represents not one-tenth of the total of her boundaries. The maritime trade of Austria, moreover, is advancing with great rapidity, while that of France, on the Mediterranean, is comparatively stationary.

There is no doubt that, although the direct trade between France and England may not be so large as M. de Persigny, in a remarkable address, delivered in his own country, lately represented it, much of the prosperity of France, as arising from her external commerce, depends on the maintenance of peace between the two Powers in question. In the first place, every maritime Power going to war with another maritime Power, has to encounter the contingency of losing the dominion of the sea. To suffer naval defeats, or naval blockades, at the hands of a rival in possession of an immense fleet of cruisers, is nearly equivalent to a commercial blockade of the whole coast. This is the peril, or the *contingent* loss, of either Power, with a difference of degree, by a declaration of war; and it would enter into its policy according to the probability of the issue. But, besides this, there is a great *positive* loss to be encountered. It happens that the immediate loss to French commerce by a rupture with this country is

almost exactly proportioned to the contingency of trans-maritime acquisitions as a result of that rupture. Our colonies present, no doubt, a temptation to naval conquest. But in nearly all those colonies, the French nation has commercial settlements and commercial interests, which a rupture with this country would certainly and immediately destroy. It is at least clear that France would enter upon war with this country under immediate commercial disadvantages, such as she never experienced in her war with Russia, which her finances appeared unable to sustain.

5. A few words must be said on the domestic activity of the French Government and the French nation, in reference to the important question of material reforms. Without entering at length into the French territorial laws of inheritance, it may be surmised that they are the origin of the present deplorable tendencies of the population. It is well known that there is an apparently irresistible incentive among the French people, in nearly all districts, to abandon a country for a town life. This tendency at once overstocks the towns and depopulates rural districts. The population rises above the natural capabilities of the labour market in the one case, and falls below what the labour market ought to yield in the other. The last French census indicates the migration from the country to the towns very clearly. We have seen that the total increase of the population during the five years 1851-56 was only 254,000. But, in the meantime, the Department of the Seine—in which Paris lies—gained 305,000, or 51,000 more than the whole French nation, inclusive of that department. Exclusively, therefore, of the capital department, the French population had declined by 51,000. This was chiefly the result of migrations to Paris. What Paris is to the rest of France, the *chefs lieux* are to their respective departments. They absorb the rural population on a similar principle, but on a smaller scale. Agricultural districts decline in proportion as industrial centres increase. Instead of the reciprocal interests which we see on our own soil, uniting the rural to the oppidan population, the country is abandoned for the towns. This unnatural tendency to social centralisation, if it be suffered to proceed, must eventually pauperise France.

The backward condition of French agriculture is undoubtedly the spring of this incentive of migration to the large towns, which are as great a temptation to the French peasantry as the rich pastures of Australia to those of our own nation. And this, again, is the result of the landholding poverty which successive divisions of the soil have brought about. Where there is no landholding wealth to foster, and to apply agricultural art, there can be no agricultural prosperity. The evil, therefore, is so

deep, that it lies at the very foundation of the French social laws. Yet its accumulating magnitude will at length become so intolerable, that France must ultimately either remodel her territorial laws, or perish. The very intensity of the evil may possibly elicit from the French people that recognition of the necessity for a reform of their territorial laws, without which no government, perhaps, would be competent to effect it on a complete scale.

This is, in our view, the hardest and the most important problem with which the French Government can have to deal ; and its solution in practice would strengthen the imperial dynasty more effectually than all the victories of the First Empire beyond the Rhine. They have to address themselves to an evil which acts not less perniciously on politics than on society. The accumulation of oppidan population, beyond the means of labour, supplies a perpetually increasing incentive to popular revolution, just as the decline of rural populations threatens to pauperise the whole of France. There are indications that the government is occupying itself in this great question. The danger of a recurrence of the late inundations has been provided against, in the execution of extensive works along the banks of the great rivers ; and some other instances of administrative activity in the interest of agriculture might be mentioned. The French Government have here a task to pursue, which many years of activity and peace would very imperfectly accomplish.

French railways now demand a moment's attention. The activity, both of the government and of the people, is here very marked. The reason does not lie deep. There is a good deal of floating commercial capital, while there is very little agricultural capital, in France ; enterprise is active ; the government lends a willing hand to the improvement of communications ; and railway speculations have not yet, we believe, suffered from the reaction which, as we lately observed, has reduced railway profits in this country to an average of between one and two per cent.

It appears that, up to the close of last year, nearly 7000 kilometres, or about 4500 miles, of railway had been laid down, and were in actual working. Much more is in contemplation ; for the government has conceded rights of railway-making to the extent of 12,000 kilometres, or 5000 kilometres more than are now in working. If the national ardour for these investments should continue as at present, it is probable that the whole of the concessions already given will soon be carried out ; for the progress in French railways has usually been not less than from 600 to 700 kilometres a-year. It appears that, during 1854, 601 kilometres, and, during 1856, 674 kilometres of railway were constructed.

We find no statement for the intervening year. These figures certainly supply a striking indication that the war of 1854–56 did not cripple French domestic industry.

The total cost of French railways, up to the 1st of January last, was 3,000,000,000 francs, or L.120,000,000. Of this sum four-fifths, or L.96,000,000, was contributed by individuals, and the remaining fifth, or L.24,000,000, by the State. It appears, also, that, so largely has railway activity increased during the last few years, not less than L.36,000,000, or about *two-sevenths* of the whole, were spent during the years 1855 and 1856. We cannot but suspect, however, the inaccuracy of these figures; but it can hardly be doubted that there is wealth enough in France, when the present railway mania of that country shall have subsided, to effect considerable progress in agricultural reform. It appears to us that, if there cannot be great individual landholders in France, there may be great collective landholders; and that the experiment of relieving the poverty arising from the subdivision of the soil, by encouraging a system of joint-tenancy, in the shape of *agricultural companies*, is well worth a trial. The companies might be endowed by government with a power of purchase, subject to valuation; or if such general rights should trench dangerously on the prepossessions of the petty landholders, there is no doubt that voluntary sales might be effected on terms which a broad-backed company could afford to agree to.

6. The French religious establishment, and the French system of national education, claim attention in this general view of the condition of the French people, even though they are distinctively connected with the present dynasty. The French Government is not tolerant of divergence from its recognised bounds of religious belief. It ought, however, to be remembered to what differences of opinion those bounds extend. In the first place, France is not, like our own, a nation recognising an aristocracy of religious opinion. The believers in transubstantiation, the believers in consubstantiation, and one class of *disbelievers* in Christianity altogether, are equally included in the religious establishment. France acknowledges four distinct systems of religion—the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, the Calvinistic, and the Jewish; and its government pays the stipends of the ministers of each of these four systems.¹

The position of the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches in France is one of great advantage. Nothing, perhaps, can better attest the religious liberality of the State, which, meanwhile,

¹ The toleration would be perfect, if free action were permitted to Dissenters from these great religious bodies.

professes to be itself Catholic, than the fact that it not only establishes other churches on an equal footing with that of its own faith, but pays higher stipends to the clergy of the Reformed Churches, than to the priests of the Roman Catholic. This difference is based on a recognition of the fact, that the Reformed clergy are men usually of much better origin, and almost invariably of far superior education, to the Catholic priests. The government is thus willing to sustain the social and educational distinction which has long subsisted between the two religious orders.

Their difference in point of education is readily explained. Our readers are no doubt more or less acquainted with the French academical system, under which there exist the four universities of Paris, Poitiers, Toulouse, and Montpellier. These universities, again, are parted out into colleges, scattered away from the seat of the parent or metropolitan university; and there is commonly one college in every department, in direct connection with its central university. The curriculum of academical education commences with the college, and concludes with the university. It is in this scheme of instruction that men designed for the ministry of the two Reformed Churches participate. The Romish Church, on the other hand, educates its clergy in its own ecclesiastical seminaries, in which the curriculum of education is very limited, and its expense very inconsiderable. This course is pursued by the latter community, partly, perhaps, on pecuniary grounds, but chiefly no doubt in order to maintain for itself entire control over the system of education adopted. The marked inferiority of the Romish priests to the Reformed clergy is therefore no matter for surprise.

No one who, after attentive personal observation, contrasts the clergy or laity of these two main divisions of the ecclesiastical system of France, can fail to see in the Reformed communities the chief hope of the social and religious regeneration of France. The learning and the moral excellence of their clergy supply just that influence which a Christian ministry ought always to possess. The effect of this character may be traced and reflected in the character of the laity of the Reformed communions. Those who know them will not describe them otherwise than as sincere and intelligent believers in their faith; while it has always appeared to ourselves that the great majority of the Romish communion either disbelieved in their nominal professions, or had surrendered their reason to religious sentiment and religious enthusiasm.

The charge upon the French Exchequer for the four religious establishments of the State in 1857, was 45,000,000 francs; and the charge for public instruction 14,000,000 francs. The total

is L.2,360,000 of our own money ; and we are glad to perceive that, during the last few years, both the religious and educational charge has increased—the former by a million francs annually, the latter by about half that sum. Of course, 14,000,000 francs, or L.600,000, is a sum very insufficient in itself for the education of the French people ; and, in France, it is one of the many evils incident to so complete a system of centralisation, that the fact that the State assumes so many burdens to itself, tends to repress a sense of private responsibility and obligation. The French Government, if it be predisposed to a pacific policy, will certainly find ample scope for the expenditure of its superfluous revenues in educational as well as in agricultural interests.

These observations may suffice to indicate the general position of France in its leading pacific relations. Our own countrymen have, no doubt, taken more interest in the question of its military establishments. That question, however, is one which has been here reserved for more brief discussion ; both because the British public are, in all probability, better acquainted with the naval and military power, than with the domestic resources and domestic interests of the French Government, and because the latter considerations enter hardly less largely into the question of the prosecution of a policy of peace or war. We have seen that the permanent prosperity of France can only be attained by the maintenance of a pacific attitude towards the great Powers of Europe—that the Government is occupied with the prosecution of domestic interests, which the rupture of any one of its chief external relations would destroy—that, while the existing application of the French revenues could scarcely be changed, with a view of increasing the means of war, the extraordinary expenses of 1854-56, were derived in so great a degree from loans, as to indicate the impossibility of much additional taxation—that a rupture with this country, during any considerable period, would pre-eminently compromise both the maritime commerce of France and her supply of precious metals—and that the unnecessary adoption even of territorial war would destroy that belief in the pursuit of French domestic interests, which constitutes the moral foundation of the imperial dynasty. But, at the same time, the extent of the French naval and military armaments is so much more than commensurate with the contingent danger either of foreign aggression, or of domestic revolt, that it becomes necessary to inquire for what purposes they are designed, and what consequences they may produce.

7. The French army may, perhaps, amount to 400,000 men. No very recent returns of an exact description have reached us. It appears that, in 1853, before the commencement, or even the

imminence, of the Russian war, their muster-roll enumerated 373,000 men. We have reason to think that, since the conclusion of that war, the army has been approximately reduced to its number before the war. Granting that 70,000 or 80,000 may be stationed in Algeria, and some 10,000 in other transmarine colonies, there remain about 300,000 engaged in home service. In this computation, we assume that such returns of the French army as we possess are *bonâ fide* returns; and that, in a period of peace, the proportion of invalided troops is extremely small. At the same time, we are aware that continental governments have occasionally succeeded in dissembling on the subject, both of their numbers and of their condition, in an extraordinary degree. It is well known that, when the Russian General Diebitch enforced the stipulations of Adrianople, in 1829, the Turkish Government supposed him to be at the head of a large army in the field, whereas he had but 6000 men. It is well known that Austria, though supposed to be at the head of an immense force, during the War of Independence, in 1813, never brought 50,000 men at any one time into the field. It is well known that the French army, though supposed, during the Crimean War, to be in possession of comforts from which our army was debarred, suffered more severely than ours. It would not, however, be so easy to misrepresent the number of an army cantoned, during a state of peace, in a country accessible to the subjects of every nation; and the internal evidence of general fidelity, which French official documents display, does not warrant a belief that the French Government, like the Austrian and the Russian, parade a paper force to support their foreign policy.

Of the 300,000 troops thus computed to be on home service, it is believed that nearly one-half, or nearly 150,000, are in condition to act in any foreign expedition. At the back of this array is the conscription, which, without any violation of the constitutional laws of France, enables the government to draw 80,000 men annually for the recruiting of the army—and so great were the contingent necessities of the Crimean war in 1855, that the conscription was raised prospectively to 140,000 for the following year. The system of recruiting, during peace, is, even proportionately, much more rapid than in our own country, in consequence of the unpopularity of military service. It appears that, in 1853—the latest year to which the duration of peace enables us to calculate with preciseness—of the army of 373,000 then on the French muster-roll, only 44,000 had seen seven years's service. The conscription extends to that period; and, after the lapse of seven years, the continuance of the same soldiers in the service is the result of voluntary enlistment. It

was the effect of this system, that the French Government never possessed an army of veterans, and their troops withdrew when the greatest reliance could be placed in their efficiency.

In order to counteract such a tendency, the War-Office has lately offered not less than *one thousand* francs to every soldier re-enlisting after each service of seven years, together with an increase in daily pay, on the first re-enlistment, and a further increase on the second. By these means, it is expected that fourteen, and even twenty-one years' service, will become no uncommon event in the French army. The expedient does not involve the pecuniary sacrifice which it may seem to do; for military training, and some other expenses incident to a first enlistment, are thereby saved in an equal proportion. The corresponding reduction in the amount of the French conscription will also lessen its unpopularity, just as the cause of that reduction will add to the experience of the army.

Now, it is obviously the object of the successive French Governments which have developed and fortified the port of Cherbourg, to render it as easy for a French army to cross the Channel as it has always been easy for such an army to cross the Rhine. Cherbourg is not to be explained away as a work of defence, even though it is true that France has no other arsenal in the Channel between Boulogne and Brest. If Cherbourg had been built chiefly for a defensive port, its construction would have materially differed from what it actually is. It bears but a faint resemblance to either of the four chief naval arsenals of France—Brest, Rochefort, L'Orient, or Toulon. Those naval and military officers who have inspected its docks, declare them to be constructed with the special view of embarking a great army with extraordinary promptitude. In the event of a rupture between this country and France, it is unquestionably to be apprehended that a fleet of steam transports, supported by a convoy of line-of-battle ships, might be collected at Cherbourg, and an army of fully sixty thousand men be embarked within twenty-four hours of a declaration of war. Such an expedition might be directed against Ireland, or against the coast of Sussex or Hampshire, with a view of seizing Portsmouth, or even London. It would then become our aim to intercept this expedition by means of a superior fleet; and, failing in this interception, to be prepared to encounter a French army upon our own soil. We have supposed the invading force to be 60,000 in number; but, if the French Government could rely on the neutrality of the German Powers, they could probably double its number without any addition to their present military establishment. And, if the transports at their disposal were insufficient to convey a larger force than 60,000 men at any one time, a second army might

be shipped, and disembarked on these coasts, within a few days of the disembarkation of the first.

All this, of course, presumes either the naval ascendancy of the enemy in the Channel, or their fortune in eluding the vigilance of our fleet, or their rapidity in anticipating our naval preparations. The realisation of *any one* of these three contingencies would unquestionably bring a French army, in such circumstances, on the British coast.

We have already expressed our belief, that neither the domestic interests of France, nor the professions of the present Emperor, will be sacrificed in favour of such a daring enterprise. All that we believe Napoleon to design is, the attainment of such a superiority as may enable him to hold high language to this and to other governments, whenever interest or policy may differ. But such language might lead to recrimination, which the public spirit of neither country would brook, and from which either government might find it impossible to recede. Moreover, no political calculations can be safely based upon individual life; nor can any man predict the astuteness of the policy, or the fierceness of the passions, which might become dominant in France, even five years hence, under a new ruler, and perhaps also a different polity.

The two chief precautions against this contingent danger, even though we acknowledge that so rapid a change in our relations with France is not supported by a balance of probability—are to be found, first, in our naval and military defences; and, secondly, in our foreign alliances. The method in which we have resolved to gain adequate security at the least possible expense during peace, is that of the maintenance of a large force of reserve in either service. Lord Palmerston's Government addressed themselves, on the conclusion of the Russian war, to this object; and we believe that we are strictly accurate when we say, that the name of Lord Palmerston individually is associated with every recently constituted element of defence which now exists in this country.

The precautions devised by Lord Palmerston's Government after the peace of 1856, were of three principal kinds. It was first their aim to consolidate the militia into an efficient army of reserve, equal to an encounter with the trained legions of the Continental Powers. And few military officers will probably dispute, that that force, which was first resolved on at the instance of Lord Palmerston, when he held the seals of the Foreign Office, which was organised according to his views, accepted by the House of Commons, at the expense of the existence of Lord John Russell's Administration, and which, on his accession to the premiership, he found little better than a rabble,

is now one of the chief and most reliable defences of our soil. In the second place, the late government organised a system of naval reserve, which had for its aim the maintenance of a force, in men, and in ships advanced for commission, sufficient to form a large channel fleet at almost a day's notice. In this object Lord Palmerston's Ministry were engaged until their resignation during last February; and we regret to find so little reason to believe that this defensive organization, which is essential to the security and to the international independence of the British empire, has been pursued by Lord Derby's Administration.

In regard to our foreign alliances, there are, no doubt, three distinct courses to be pursued, with regard to our domestic security,—the maintenance of the Anglo-French alliance is the first in importance; the creation of a friendship between this country and Russia is the second; and the union of Austria and Prussia into a common alliance with ourselves is the third. Two out of these three courses have obviously formed the chief springs in the policy of Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon. The French alliance was created by the former statesman twenty-eight years ago; and it was developed by him and by Lord Clarendon during the Russian war. But since the divergence of France from this country on the question of the Isle of Serpents and Bolgrad, rendered it necessary to establish a counterpoise to the event of an alliance between France and Russia, the cultivation of the friendship of Austria and Prussia is understood to have been earnestly pursued by the late cabinet. Few objects are now of greater moment to the independence of Europe than the integration of Germany by a diplomatic union between those two Powers.

The latter of these three courses—namely, the pursuit of an alliance between this country and Russia—has, perhaps, its distinctive representation in the Marquis of Clanricarde. Such a policy has certainly been founded on this just assumption, that, in the event of a rupture between Great Britain and France, Russia is the only power in a position singly to ally herself in arms with ourselves. And, until the union of Germany shall be complete, these views must always be maintained; for our experience of the Crimean war evinces that no confidence can be reposed in the active co-operation of Austria in our behalf, without the unequivocal support of the whole Germanic Confederation. It is true that the foreign policy with which Lord Clanricarde's name has been associated, is fraught with much difficulty in practice; and the recent and undoubted political intrigue of the Russian Court at Villa Franca, indicates that the encroaching policy of that government has not been buried in the ruins of Sebastopol. But as this spirit of encroachment did

not prevent the salutary union against France of this country with Russia in 1840, even upon a great Turkish question, much more may it, at a future time, be compatible with such a union in a maritime war.

But, subject to all these reservations, the maintenance of the present union between Great Britain and France must be the cardinal aim of our own age ; and there is no course by which it is more likely to be attained than by adding to an existing reciprocity of commercial interest, an approximate equality in military and naval power. To preserve the French alliance, and yet to provide the means of resisting French aggression, are now acknowledged to be the chief objects of our policy. Yet it happens, by strange inconsistency, that Great Britain has, at this moment, contrived to dispense with the services of the statesman who is the author at once of this system of defence and of that principle of alliance. Lord Palmerston's Government was broken up by a combination of those parties in the Liberal ranks, who, if true to their professions, were, beyond all others, indebted to its policy. Though opposed by the Peace Party, it was nevertheless Lord Palmerston, who, by creating and maintaining, during nearly thirty years, the Anglo French alliance, had long preserved the peace of Europe. Though opposed by the advocates of freedom abroad, it was he who had been the champion of Parliamentary Government in almost every State. And though opposed by men like Mr Roebuck, whose policy it now is to demand security against invasion, it was he who organised our national defences. The principles by which Lord Palmerston generally regulated this alliance, under three distinct forms of government, and amid an infinite complication of events, are those on which only it can be maintained ; and, in this respect, each successive administration must, in a greater or less degree, be the organ of his policy.

- ART. II.—1. *Rig-Veda-Sanhita, a Collection of Ancient Hindu Hymns.* Translated from the Sanskrit by H. H. WILSON, M.A., F.R.S., etc. London, 1850–57.
2. *Rig-Veda-Sanhita, ou livres des Hymnes.* Traduit du Sanscrit par M. LANGLOIS. Paris, 1851.
3. *The First Two Lectures of the Sanhita of the Rig-Veda, with the Commentary of Mádhava Acharya in Sanskrit, and an English translation of the text.* Edited by Dr E. ROER. Calcutta, 1849–55.
4. *Yájnavalkya's Gesetzbuch, Sanskrit und Deutsch.* Herausgegeben von Dr A. F. STENZLER. Berlin, 1849.
5. *Sacoontalá; or, The Lost Ring.* Translated into English Prose and Verse from the Sanskrit of Kalidása, by MONIER WILLIAMS, M.A., etc. Hertford, 1855.
6. *Vikramorvasi.* Translated into English Prose by EDWARD BYLES COWELL. Hertford, 1851.
7. *Málavika und Agnimitra,* aus dem Sanskrit ubersetzt von ALBRECHT WEBER. Berlin, 1856.

WE have had a firm footing in India since the cession of Bombay in 1668. The formation of a native army under British control in 1757 enables us to say, without exaggeration, that we have occupied the Indian Peninsula for a hundred years, and yet the key to the mysteries of the conquered country has but recently been handled, and is even now scarcely turned in the lock.

We speak of the language and literature of India. Of course, we can only mean one language. Hindi, Hindustani, Tamil, Telugu, Bengali, and others of its many modern dialects, have their literature, their grammars, their dictionaries, and commentaries; but even where these languages are in no way connected with the Aryan stock, the subjects of their compositions are all referable to those of the one language of which we speak—Sanskrit.

It is no insult to our readers to explain what Sanskrit really is. A language which is not only dead, but the very spoken existence of which at any time has been doubted by some of its most zealous students,—a language which has no national name, but is known to all only as *Sanskritá-Vách*, the “Perfect Language,”—which, lastly, is the vehicle of the older literature of almost every part of India, is an anomaly difficult to define.

The language of the earliest literary productions of the Hindus, the sacred Vedas,—to which dates varying from 1200 to 2000 years B.C. have been ascribed by different scholars,—is not properly Sanskrita, the Perfect Language, but its extremely

imperfect and irregular parent. Again, from the facts, that Piyadasi, a Buddhist monarch of the third century B.C., desiring to exhort the peoples of India to peace and morality, set up inscriptions in the eastern, northern, and south-western regions of India, in a language and character presenting very slight dialectic variations, but certainly not Sanskrit though allied to it; and that another king, Asoka, having defeated Antiochus (B.C. 206), graved an account of his victory on certain rocks in the Prakrita, that is, the "Common," the "Enchorial," not the "Perfect" and exclusive dialect,—we gather, that at that period at least, Sanskrit, if spoken at all, was confined to the educated castes, the Brahmans and Kshatriyas. We have, however, we believe, sufficient proof that Sanskrit was at one time spoken by all classes in certain regions of India, and was to a late period the vehicle of daily conversation among the educated.

For the former of these assertions we have the Epic in evidence. Two great epics were composed in India at a very early date, and both have as much a national character as the Iliad, the Nibelungen, or the Sagas of Scandinavia. Whatever may be thought of the Rámáyana, which is a complete poem, having one subject throughout and a uniform character, there can be no doubt that the Mahábhárata is a collection of ancient lays of different dates, and different qualities as poetical compositions. We see little doubt to discredit the Puranic legend, that the Mahábhárata was the subject of various recensions, and that, therefore, at one time its language may have been older in form than that which has come down to us; but even of this last recension the date can scarcely be fixed later than the third century B.C., and should probably be put back at least two centuries. Such an epic as this, consisting of popular legends, cannot but have been in the mouths of the people, describing as it did a great national struggle of their ancestors, which we have now reason to think took place shortly after the Vedic period, before the immigrant Aryans had entirely quitted their north-western settlements. But if such were the case, then Sanskrit was the common language of the whole Aryan people at some period between that when the Veda hymns were sung at each man's morning sacrifice, and that when Piyadasi found it necessary to address the people in debased dialects,—at some period, in short, between the twelfth and the third century B.C.

The drama, on the other hand, presents the singular feature of two languages, holding somewhat the relation of Latin and Italian to one another, spoken in the same play, before the same audience. The male characters of superior caste here speak Sanskrit; the females, and those of inferior rank, Prakrit. Now we know that the drama was represented only before monarchs,

chiefs, and Brahmans, or, at least, intended for their amusement only. We cannot suppose that they could find entertainment in a language which they did not understand, or had only studied as a dead tongue. The Westminster boy may be able to laugh at the jokes of the Adelphi or Phortrs which he has coached up during the preceding year; but Vikrama and his court, if Sanskrit was not their common language, would have been poorly amused at the mirth of a Vidushaka, whose part had been written in that dialect only just before it was acted, and in a play never represented again in the same district.

We may, therefore, premise that Sanskrit, in all its perfection, was at one time—probably between the eighth and fourth centuries B.C.—the *spoken* language of that race which immigrated into India from Central Asia, and to which modern Orientalists give the name of Aryan; that its very perfection was a drawback to its popularity; and that it was in time replaced, among the lower orders, by easier and less regular forms, and a less complicated grammar, but was retained as the vehicle of conversation among the educated classes until at least the third century after Christ.

The systematic character of the Arvan race must account for the completeness of their language. The alphabet itself leaves nothing to be desired. Different characters are used for the long form of each vowel, and the aspirated form of each consonant; of its seven vowel sounds, two—E and O—are here properly set down as diphthongs; to each of its five classes of consonants, beginning with those articulated in the throat, and ending with those pronounced by the lips, a regular nasal is attributed; and modern grammarians now admit that there are in reality five—if not six—kinds of nasals, though we have hitherto comprehended them under two forms only. Again, the right to compound any number of words together,—the value of which in a far less degree is fully recognised in German,—gives the language the power of continually renewing itself, and adapts it to the requirements of the most progressive civilisation. Every verb may be conjugated in a causal, a desiderative, and a frequentative form,¹ so that one root may be developed so as to express a very numerous variety of ideas; and, indeed, the powers of derivation are so great, that the whole language, which certainly does not contain less than 50,000 simple words in common usage, may be reduced to less than 2000 roots of one syllable,—many of them, indeed, of one letter only.

Such capabilities and such regularity cannot fail to interest

¹ And these again in each several form. Thus, from the simple root *bhú*, to be, we have a verb *bobhúyayishayati*, "he causes the wish to occasion frequent existence," regularly derived and uncompounded.

the grammarian ; and it is no exaggeration to affirm, that many grammatical problems that have long puzzled the world have been solved by an introduction to this perfect language.

But Sanskrit has a far more important interest than this, if only viewed as a language, and independent of its literature. Although the latest researches have exploded the theory, that it was the actual parent of that large stock of languages which goes by the name of Indo-European, and extends from Hindustan to the Americas—comprising Zend, Persian, Afghan, Armenian, Greek, Latin, and all their progeny, the Celtic, the Slavonic, the Teutonic, and Scandinavian families, the languages of the whole Japetic branch of mankind—in short, the great literary vehicles of the world (excepting only, of course, Arabic and Chinese)—it is not denied, that while it is the actual parent of some, as the Teutonic and Slavonic families, it is certainly the eldest brother of, and presents older and more original forms than, all the rest. It is, in short, the language which must have been first separated from, and therefore most closely resembles, that primeval form from which all the Japetic stock is derived ; and, as such, is of great importance and interest to the student of philology.

The value of a study of Sanskrit, however, is not to be measured by the advantages gained from it to Comparative Philology. The classical literature of India, which undoubtedly holds the place next to those of Greece and Italy, has a high value and a deep interest, both independently and in its relation to that of other countries. We have here the phenomenon, so rare throughout the world, of a spontaneous civilisation, owing nothing or very little to external influence,—a civilisation sufficient for the necessities of its age, and not exhausted. The literature, through which alone this is now approachable, must therefore be full of interest because of the light which it casts on the history of the human race.

The mythology of India has explained that of Greece and Scandinavia. Jupiter and Thor are no longer mere personal divinities, mere substantial representatives of a revealed God. Indra, the electricity in the firmament, that rides upon the clouds, that shivers them with his thunderbolt, and lets loose the collected waters within them,—Indra, who is nothing more than the impersonation of the commonest phenomena of the skies above our heads, explained them both ; and we now learn to derive all polytheism from the personification of a few elements, and to connect these again with original monotheism.

The philosophy of India, on the other hand, displays at once the simplest and most refined aspects of Pantheism ; and men like Frederick Schlegel and Victor Cousin, in spite of the poverty

of resources at their command, have not hesitated to record their admiration at the lofty, yet well-controlled theories of Kapila, and the acute system of Gautama.

But the study of Sanskrit rises from a mere interest to a great duty, when, as Englishmen, we reflect on the responsibility that our Indian empire entails upon us. No people that has come under our control has given us so much trouble to understand, and therefore to rule judiciously, as the Hindus; no nation is so firmly bound by tradition, or so devotedly attached to the wisdom of its ancestors. No people, in short, is so easily comprehended through its literature, yet so utterly incomprehensible without it. The fact is, that since the decline of their grandeur, since the turning point of their civilisation, when the smaller kingdoms of Northern and Central India were merged into the grand empires of the Vikramas and Bhojas, the Hindus—ere long brought under the yoke of the Mussulman, so utterly opposed to all internal progress—have been living over again, as it were, their former civilisation, and learned to invest with a character almost sacred every production of those halcyon days. It was now not only difficult, but scarcely permissible, to conceive and produce an original work. The few that appeared were, like the Purānas, built upon the literature of the classical age, or plentifully interlarded with quotations as a guarantee for their orthodoxy. Translations there were, and a few adaptations now from Persian, Arabic, and even Greek literature; while foreign legends, and even Christianity, were grafted upon the original stock of Hindu fables. But nothing flourished so much as commentaries. It was only natural that the Vedas, the philosophical Sūtras, and even the Laws of Manu, should be explained by the learned; but, besides these, we have commentaries on grammars, commentaries on vocabularies, commentaries on commentaries themselves.

Thus the Hindu of to-day, if he has shamefully deteriorated from the Hindu of the early ages, from the Kosala and Videha of the third cent. B. C., and even from the bold Arya of the Vedas, is influenced by much the same motives, uses almost the same laws, the same worship, and clings tenaciously to the same errors, which every day, by lending them age, renders more difficult to remove. We might as well attempt to understand the Hebrew Rabbi without Moses, as the Benares Brahman without Manu and the Vedas; and the same vantage-ground that we gain over the one by a study of the Old Testament, we are confident may be, and is already being obtained, over the other by a profound and critical examination of their religious authorities.

Nor would these advantages be confined to facilitating con-

version, much as that is to be desired. A better knowledge of the laws and religion which influence and, indeed, completely mould the Hindu character, would awaken a mutual respect between the Hindus and their rulers, which would tend greatly to the establishment of permanent tranquillity. No English gentleman would willingly offend the prejudices of his Jewish neighbour, or servant. He would not force him to work on Saturday, nor starve him because he refused the hated swine's flesh. Yet cruelties as vulgar as these are continually practised by English officers and English officials towards the natives of India, and that simply because he cannot appreciate the laws, a reverence for which have become to the Hindu a second conscience. But while our missionaries are inculcating the brotherly love and the peace of Christianity, the lie is openly given to their preaching by the useless brutality which English officials, nay, even English ladies, by their own confession, consider it necessary to employ towards their native dependents. We are far from desiring to see a foolish indulgence displayed towards the prejudices of caste; and we are confident that the weak yielding of successive governments, in this respect, has been the indirect cause of every mutiny in our native army from 1782 to the present day. But if Christianity is ever to become general in India, we must convince the Hindus of its practical value by our own behaviour; and this will not be effected until our civil servants are taught to understand the subjects over which we set them, and that through the medium of their literature.¹

Our earliest modern information on Sanskrit literature came, as we might expect, from the French Jesuits, who, with their usual shrewdness, saw at once that this was the channel through which alone these reserved and mysterious Orientals were to be approached. Letters from these missionaries, written in the early part of last century, were published among the "Lettres Edifiantes," in 1780; and though the information they contain is often erroneous, always unsatisfactory, it suffices to show that their writers had succeeded in fathoming some of the most cherished mysteries; and, indeed, the knowledge they acquired enabled them to compose a Veda of their own, somewhat in the style of the sacred works of the Hindus, in which the doctrines of Christianity were ingeniously put into the mouth of the most favourite native saints and deities! In 1765, Warren Hastings induced eleven Brahmans to draw up an epitome of the principal law books, with a view to assist the British in administering the

¹ As Haileyburg is now defunct, we will not say more here than that we know from personal experience that the examinations in Sanskrit were treated by the greater portion of the students at that college in such a manner, as to be no test whatever of their acquaintance with that language.

native law; but the language still remained known to a few only, who, with the aid of Pandits, studied it from curiosity. Among these was Charles Wilkins, who, in 1785, had the honour of publishing the first translation from Sanskrit that was imported into Europe. This was one of that strange medley of Brahmanism and philosophy, of rigid ethics, mystic Pantheism, and wild speculation, clothed in majestic metre, the Bhagavadgítá, or Sacred Lay,—the poem which, more than any other, the Brahmans look upon as only inferior to the Vedas, and which, as the visitor to the British Museum will have observed, they delight in writing upon yards of narrow ribbon, which they can wind conveniently round a stick or reel, to carry about their persons. Indifferent as was Wilkins' translation, it sufficed to excite among the learned of Europe no slight curiosity as to the philosophy of this subtle race; and the two Schlegels took it up in Germany, the one employing it liberally for his *Essay on Indian Philosophy*, in 1808,—the other producing an edition of the text, with a Latin translation, in 1823, which G. v. Humboldt afterwards made the subject of a clever *Essay*.

Sir William Jones was, however, the first man who thoroughly mastered the language; and, like Wilkins, he was fortunate in selecting one of the masterpieces of Hindu literature for translation. In 1789, he gave to Europe an elegant prose version of Kálidása's *Sacuntalá*, a play which excited Göthe to rapture, and led Chézy to learn Sanskrit. This play has, perhaps, been oftener translated than any other Sanskrit work. Chézy put it into French; Hirzel, Böhtlingk, Ernst Meier, and Lobedanz, succeeded one another in rendering it into German prose or verse; while Mr Monier Williams has given us the charming translation in mingled verse and prose, after the manner of the original, of which we shall presently speak at length.

Nothing more of any merit was achieved during the last century in this direction. Before its close, however, were published the first volumes of a series, which has been, and still is, of infinite value to the Indianist, containing, as it does, the studies of the best scholars, who enjoyed the advantage of residence in India, and intimate intercourse with the most learned of the natives. The *Asiatic Researches* commenced in 1788, with Warren Hastings as patron, and Jones and Wilkins on the committee, and concluded with its 20th volume in 1839, during which period the best English students of Sanskrit had been its contributors. We have now an Oriental or Asiatic Society in almost every country of Europe; and most of these, besides publishing a journal, in which the sacred language of the Hindus receives its due share of attention, are engaged in the reproduction of texts, the cost of which would be too great for private

individuals. In England, besides the direct grants from the East India Company, we have an Oriental Texts Society, which numbers among its Sanskrit texts the Sáma Veda, edited by the Rev. G. Stevenson; the Oriental Translation Fund, which has published about a dozen translations from Sanskrit; and the Royal Asiatic Society; while in Calcutta a rapid succession of productions, comprising the most valuable portions of Vedic literature, the Puránas, etc., has, since 1849, taken place under the auspices of the Bengal Asiatic Society, with Dr Röer as manager; and it is cheering to find that the most enlightened Bráhmans have heartily co-operated in thus bringing the works of their ancestors beneath the test of European criticism. The present century, and particularly the last thirty years, has seen a rapid progress in the study of Indian literature; and we calculate that not less than 130 Sanskrit texts, and translations from 80 of them, have appeared since its commencement.

The students of Sanskrit in Europe and India may be divided into two classes,—those who have studied in the East, and those who have studied in Europe. The former have, as it were, smoothed the path for the latter, who again have done their best to make the results of their studies popular. Jones, Wilkins, Colebrooke, Wilson, Röer, Ballantyne, and Stevenson, are of the former. Under the latter head come Schlegel, Lassen, Rosen, Roth, Weber Benfey, Bopp, Bohlen, Böhtlingk, and many others, in Germany; Williams, Johnson, and Byles Cowell, in England; the celebrated Burnouf, Chézy, Langlois, and Pavie, in France. In Italy, Gorresio, the translator of the Rámáyana, stands alone; while little Greece has had one scholar, Dimitri Galanos, who, having studied for many years at Benares, where he died, left valuable translations behind him.

Having thus briefly sketched the progress of Sanskrit studies, and premising that, in spite of the labours of so many diligent scholars, much, very much, remains to be done before we can affirm that we understand Sanskrit literature entirely, or could sit down to write its history, we now proceed to examine some of the principal fruits of these studies within the last few years.

Although we have said that the language of the Vedas was not Sanskrita, in its strict sense, there is not sufficient difference between it and classical Sanskrit to authorise our calling it a separate language. The difference is not so great as between Anglo-Saxon and modern English, but it is greater than between Homer's and Demosthenes' Greek. The nearest parallel is perhaps between Old High German of the twelfth century, and the pure Hanoverian speech of the present day. One may often, for instance, light upon a whole sentence in the Vedas which might be transferred into a work composed 500 years later, yet

not appear antiquated in construction, or obsolete in the forms of words. The difference consists rather in the use of numberless words which were lost at a later period, and in that apparent disregard of grammatical rules which invalidates the claim of the Vedic language to be called Sanskrita or Perfect,—a laxity which commentators and grammarians express by the mnemonic words, “*bahulam chhandasi*”—“manifold in the Veda.” There is also a certain breadth about the forms and inflexions of all words; and the broader vowels, particularly the long A, are constantly found where the later language has more delicate sounds. Composition, again, had not arrived at the perfection to which it attained in the classical period. The rules of Sandhi, or the conjunction of words—a systematic element of grammar in Sanskrit, while in Greek, Latin, and French it is rather accidental, and in the first two almost confined to poetry—are here often disregarded, just as in the hiatus of Homer, which cannot be totally explained away by the introduction of the digamma, but must sometimes be regarded as a crudeness of the earlier language. Another parallel to the Homeric, and no less to the old German language, is the separation of prepositions from their verbs, and the strong adverbial force given to the former, while in the old forms of the infinitive we find undeniable traces of the inflexions of a yet earlier language; and we may, from these, hazard the conjecture, that the infinitive was not, as has been so often suspected, an old dative, but rather an obsolete *genitive* form.

The Vedas, however, are undoubtedly a portion of Sanskrit literature, whatever be their language. Their spirit runs through every subsequent composition. Their darkly tinted legends are the bases of later works; their crude philosophy is developed in every age of Hindu civilisation. They have therefore been for a long time the Ultima Thule at which every explorer of Sanskrit literature was eager to arrive; and great were the expectations entertained as to the light that they would throw on the strange theology and most eccentric tenets of the Hindus. We expected here to find the true origin of caste; here the primitive forms of the Hindu triad; here the source of the doctrine of metempsychosis; here that combination of Pantheism and Polytheism which ought to have preceded the schism of the Darsanas, or philosophical schools, from orthodox Brahmanism. We found none of these things; and it is one of the grandest results of the study of Sanskrit, that we are enabled by the Vedas to pronounce Brahmanism a gross imposition. For centuries the Brahmans have appealed to the Vedas as their authority for every error and malpractice which they maintained; for years they have met the arguments of Europeans by referring to those so-called sacred books, which they did their best to keep back

from us. "So say the Vedas," has long been the support for every doctrine and every practice. "There is nothing of this in the Vedas," has always been the argument used to confound an opponent. It has been ceded that the laws of Manu, though excellent and authoritative in one age, were not binding in all; but the universality of Vedic precept has always been insisted on, and if a principle were not found in those books, it would not be adhered to. Upon these grounds, we are now enabled to overthrow half the institutions, social as well as religious, of modern Brahmanism; and no labour has possessed such value as that given to the interpretation and criticism of those works which the Hindus assert to have proceeded from the mouth of Brahma himself.

The Vedas are generally considered as four in number,—the Rich, the Yajush, the Sáma, and the Atharva; but the last of these evidently belongs to a much later age than the rest, when the hierarchy was asserting its supremacy, and the religion had already begun to change. Besides the indications it presents of a more advanced civilisation, we find its hymns adapted to private rather than tribular, public, or even domestic worship. A mystic and magic character runs throughout it, little in accordance with the simplicity of a primitive age; and we find dark superstitious formulæ to be employed against giants, demons, disease, and so forth, and even imprecations to be used against enemies. We are often told in Sanskrit writings that there are but three Vedas; and perhaps it would be correct to say that there was originally only one, now represented by the Rich. The hymns of this Veda are repeated entirely in a disjointed form in the Sáma, and, with little alterations, in the Atharva also; while the Yajush contains principally forms of prayer. But it is curious that the same question which has been started, especially in Germany, with regard to our own four Gospels, should be also that which suggests itself in the case of the four Vedas. To the fourth, indeed, as to the Gospel of St John, we can assign a decidedly later date than to the other three, which, like the three Gospels, may be considered as synoptic. The questions, which is the earliest? and did one borrow from another, or all three from some common source, or the Yajush and Sáma from the Rich? are still unanswered, and can indeed only be satisfactorily set at rest, by supposing that no collection whatever was made of these hymns until such time as their meaning had grown obsolete, and a greater reverence was attached to them; that in the meantime they were handed down orally, traditionally explained, and used according to primitive practice in connection with the various sacrifices.

The question is not, however, of the first importance, as, whatever be the date of the various collections or recensions, it is

generally admitted that the Rig-Veda contains the oldest forms of the hymns which are found in all; and the pre-eminence given to this book by native writers confirms the opinion of modern scholars. It is therefore to the Rich that the principal attention has been allotted. A young German of great promise, attached to University College, London, as Oriental Professor, was the first to venture on the interpretation of this book; and if F. Rosen's Latin rendering was little calculated to popularise the Veda, it was at least the pioneer of more lucid expositions. In 1833 he gave us a "specimen" of his work; and in 1838 the whole of the first Ashtaka, or eighth part, was published after his death in 1837.

But between 1847 and 1850 three translations appeared almost simultaneously, as the results of the independent studies of three first-rate scholars. In India, Dr Röer published a good literal rendering of the first two chapters of the first Ashtaka. In France, a most adventurous and indefatigable student, the late M. Langlois, gave us a free French version,—too free, indeed, to be of much value to the student, but, as conveying for the most part the true sense of the hymns in readable, nay even poetical diction, well calculated to interest the general reader. A little later, our own chief Indianist, Horace Hayman Wilson, produced the first volume of a translation which will undoubtedly be the text-book of all future students.

The difficulty of these labours can scarcely be overrated. It is not that the text presents many variations. We have no MSS. earlier than the 16th century; and by that time, if not long before, the reverence attached to every word of the Vedas must have fixed the readings unalterably, while copyists have, in transferring such a work, been always too careful to raise difficulties by their mistakes. Again, the Commentaries—of which those of the two brothers Mádhava and Sáyana, in the 14th century, are the most esteemed—repeat every word of the text, with its signification appended; so that the real difficulty lies in discovering first the true meaning of the words themselves, next the sense of each sentence. What this difficulty is, may be inferred from the words of Dr Max Müller, after twelve years' indefatigable study of his subject:—"Words, verses," he says, "nay whole hymns, in the Rig-Veda, will and must remain to us a dead letter."

The extent, too, of these books adds considerably to the labour of the interpreters. Roth has calculated that the mere Sanhitá or metrical portion of the Vedas, as distinguished from the Bráhmana or later ritual appended to each, contains not less than 30,000 couplets, of which 11,000 go to the Rig-Veda. In the splendid edition of this book which Dr Müller is producing at

the expense of the E. I. Company,¹ little more than half the *Sanhitā*, with *Sāgana's* Commentary, occupies little less than 3000 pages of large quarto.

But perhaps the greatest difficulty lies in the obsolete words. In spite of the ancient *Nirukta* or Vedic glossary of *Yāska*, in spite of *Pānini's* valuable interpretations, in spite of direct and indirect commentaries, there are many words to which it is impossible to attach a satisfactory meaning. Sometimes the commentators content themselves with a signification which, however correct in its derivation, throws no light on the sense of the passage. Such a word is *Siprin*, which is interpreted to mean "having a prominent nose or jaw;" but which we find applied indifferently to *Indra*, the king of gods, to common mortals, and to fourfooted beasts. Sometimes they give us two or three meanings, leaving us to choose which we will. A striking instance of this ambiguity is the word *Swarya*, which the scholiasts concur in rendering by "that which can be well sent (*sushtu preranīyam*), or noisy (*śabdaniyam*), or praiseworthy (*stutyam*)." The word is an epithet of *Indra's* thunderbolt, and each translator has adopted a different equivalent. *Wilson*, evidently thinking of the darts *ἑκατηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος*, has preferred the first, and translated *swarya* by "far-whirling." *M. Langlois*, adopting the second, gives the equally appropriate meaning "*retentissante*;" while *Dr Roër* has the third, "praiseworthy." We have no means of deciding between these disagreeing doctors. *Westergaard*, a good authority on roots, but who wrote in 1841, when the *Vedas* were little understood, gives, as the meanings of the root *swri*, from which *swarya* is derived,—1, *sonare* (comp. the German *schwören*, and our own *swear*), as the common meaning; 2, *laudare, cantare*, as the Vedic signification; 3, *ire, se movere*. *Wilson*, in the 2d edition of his Dictionary, gives, "to sound, be diseased, pain or torture." The quotations from the *Rich* support the sense of "praiseworthy," which is apparently the least suited to the context. Now, it matters little whether a thunderbolt be spoken of as fleet, noisy, or worthy of praise, but it does matter much that the translators of the *Veda* should be able to arrive at more definite conclusions with respect to single words, which, in language so elliptical, yet so revered as that of these books, may often be of sufficient importance to confirm or annul a whole branch of philosophy, or a whole system of law. We know, for instance, that by restoring the true reading in a single sentence, *Prof. Wilson* has taken from under the feet of the *Brahmans* the only text upon which they stood to support the suicide of widows,—a discovery which would have saved India

¹ It is much to be desired that the Government will continue this and similar liberal grants made by the late Company.

its disturbances in 1835 and 1838, had it been known to Lord W. Bentinck when he abolished Suttee.

The three translations are, then, all worthy of commendation, at least for diligence; but while we cannot but deprecate the independence of scholiasts, and extreme freedom which distinguishes the arbitrary renderings of M. Langlois, we must deplore the prosaic and too scholastic tone of the other two. When once the meaning is ascertained, the diction of the Vedas is by no means difficult to turn into elegant and even poetic English. The sentences are short; the language bold, broad, and nervous; the ideas original, often poetical, always lofty. It is peculiarly full of simile, of startling freshness and spirit. Thus, the early dawn is described as follows:—

“Westward she goes as a brotherless maiden seeks the men of her kin;

And as one mounts the hall of justice to recover stolen goods;
Like the wife that yearns to charm her spouse,
Dawn decks herself in pleasing garb, and smiling, as it were, displays her charms.”

“The youthful dawn approaches from the East;
She yokes her team of purple oxen.”

“Dawn, like a barber, shears the thickened gloom;
And bares her bosom as the cow her udder yields;
And as the cattle hasten to the lea, she westward speeds,
And shedding brilliance o’er all the earth, drives back the night.”

The similes are, it is true, sometimes ridiculously forced, as in speaking of the god of fire, Agni:—

“At whose worship the priests pour the dripping butter on the flames,
And the drops mount the fire, as though they were its many children, just as boys upon a father’s back.”¹

It is quite possible to give the literal sense, and even the proper order of the words, and yet retain the spirit and warmth of the original. We shall now give a specimen of this, which, at the same time, is perhaps the most spirited hymn of those yet published. It describes the contest of Indra, the lord of thunder, with Vritra, otherwise called Ahi, the personification of the rain-cloud. Those who know India can well appreciate the joy that welcomes descending showers upon the parched and heated fields, and understand how the cloud which is supposed to imprison the waters is regarded as a demon, while the lightning that cleaves it, and sets them free to descend on earth, is worshipped as a beneficent deity:—

“Of Indra now, the ancient mighty deeds, which he, the thunderer, achieved, I sing.

¹ So the scholiast, but the passage is obscure.

The cloud he slew, then spilled the waters. He broke (channels) for the mountain-streams.

He slew the cloud that slunk back to the mountain. Twashtri¹ had made his rattling† bolt for him.

As to their calves do cows, the flowing waters hurried to the sea. Like a bull, he sought† the Soma. At the triple rites he drank it as 'twas poured.†

Maghaván² seized his shaft, the thunderbolt; he struck that first-born of the clouds.

When, Indra, thou hast slain the first-born of the clouds, then hast thou destroyed the deceptions of those deluders.

Then sun and sky and dawn producing, thenceforward found'st thou not a foe at all.

Indra struck the clouder† cloud-god, maimed with his bolt with mighty blow.

As tree-trunks felled by the axe, Ahi lies stretched upon the earth. Like a warrior, malignant, Vritra challenged the great hero, destroyer of many, slaughterer of his foes.

He has not escaped the contact of these slaughters. Indra's foe has crushed the river (banks).

Footless and handless, Indra he defied. He struck his thunder-dint upon his upper side.†

As an eunuch desiring to be like a man, Vritra lay bereft of many limbs.

As from a river of broken banks, the waters, bringing joy to the heart, flow o'er him lying there.

At the feet of the waters which Vritra in his might imprisoned, lies Ahi stretched.

The mother of Vritra lay across her son's (body). Indra on her brought down his weapon.

The mother was above, the son below. Dánu lay as a cow with her calf.

O'er the nameless corpse of Vritra, cast in the midst of restless, never-ceasing waves,

The waters pass. The foe of Indra lay in lasting gloom.

The waters, the wives of the destroyer, had stood restrained, guarded by Ahi, like the cows by Panin.

Indra, having slain Vritra, has opened the cavern which confined them.

Like a horse's tail wast thou, Indra, with thy thunderbolt, when he alone, resplendent, struck at thee again.

Thou hast won the kine. Thou hast won, O hero, the Soma juice. Thou hast sent down the seven rivers to flow.

Not the lightning, not the thunder, not the rain which he poured, nor the thunderbolt, reached Indra,

When he and Vritra fought. Even in other (fights) was Maghaván victorious.

¹ The Hindu Vulcan. ² Another name for Indra.

† These words are all of doubtful interpretation.

What slayer of Ahi didst thou look for, Indra, when fear entered thy heart, about to slay him,
And nine and ninety streams, like frightened hawk, thou fled'st across ?
Indra, bearing the thunderbolt, (became) king of the moveable and immoveable, of tame and of horned beasts ;
Thus he dwells the king of mortals. All those things he comprehends, as does the wheel its spokes.

We pass now to consider the most interesting portion of our subject, namely, what light is thrown on the history and early civilisation of the Hindus by the critical examination of these hymns. Now, in the first place, the more we read, the less respect we feel for these productions. Not only is the divine origin claimed for them by the Hindus at once refuted by the very ordinary character and the selfish creed which distinguishes them as peculiarly mortal, but they are not even all of them on sacred subjects. In one place we have an erotic dialogue of a loose description between a man and his wife ; in another, an address to food, which was evidently the composition of some hungry or gluttonous head-man of a tribe. In another, a gambler complains of his ill-luck. In one the hawk, in another the sacrificial pole, in a third the Francoline partridge, in others even the mortar and pestle, and the wheel-barrow in which the victim is brought, are the subjects of laudation. Yet there is no room to suppose that these animals and objects were raised, by an Egyptian system of deification, to an idolatrous polytheism ; everything in the Vedas militates against the idea of an infinite pantheon, such as that in which the Puránas revel ; but rather we must take a more extended view of the case. We agree, then, with Roth in believing that the so-called Rishis—sages or seers to whom the hymns are attributed—were not men of a purely priestly character, but perhaps nothing more than chieftains, whose position, as the heads of their tribes, obliged them to call upon their gods and take the lead in all public sacrifice. Such a character we find in the celebrated Viswámitra ; and the furious enmity breathed in some of these hymns is little consistent with that humanity which shrinks from the destruction even of a fly, by which Brahmans are distinguished in later works. Some indeed, and a large proportion, of these songs were evidently recited at the sacrifice which preceded a battle, and have no higher object than to elicit victory from a god who could give it. But, at the same time, we cannot deny that there were not only priests, but priestly tribes and families, in the Vedic age ; and to the ascendancy of these tribes over the others we must look for the origin of Brahmanism. The Brahmans of Benares, and elsewhere, still claim descent from some of the Rishis, to whom the composition of these hymns, or rather their delivery from Brahma, is ascribed ;

and, if we can believe the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa, a purely Vedic work, the families of these Rishis were early distinguished by white robes and peculiar arrangement of the hair. Thus the Váśishthas wore a single lock on the right side of the head, the Atreyas three curls, the Angirasas five, while the family of Bhrigu¹ were clean shorn. It is true that every man was his own priest in his own house, and that the common kitchen fire was worshipped as a form of Agni (ignis), who is often unwinchingly praised for his utility in the culinary department. But we also find continual assemblies of priests, in large numbers, to perform sacrifices for monarchs and chieftains.

So then the hymns of the Vedas, far from being mines of theology and philosophy, are very simple effusions of a simple people, sung either before battle, or at the public sacrifice, or on more ordinary occasions; composed by leading men in the tribe, whether of a priestly or secular character, and handed down from age to age till they acquired a sanctity which has since clung to them.

We have no space to dive into the vexed question of Hindu dates. No investigation is so unsatisfactory. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with stating, that it is now received by several good scholars that the Vedic hymns were composed mostly about fifteen centuries before Christ, but not committed to writing, and therefore not collected, until the eighth century B.C. The geography of these hymns confirms in a striking manner the theory, long held by the best Sanskrit scholars, that the Aryan or original Hindu race migrated from Central Asia about seventeen centuries before Christ, entered India by the north-west, dwelt during the earliest Vedic period in the Panjab, and migrated, or rather fought their way, into Central India during the five centuries that succeeded. Long before the laws of Manu could have been codified, long before men could have been found to advocate the life-hating asceticism of Patanjali, or approve the half-atheistic theories of Kapila, the Aryan emigrants must have been settled along the Ganges, and been utterly changed from their Vedic ancestors. We have here indeed a free people, with little traces of caste, if indeed any of the apparent traces can be relied on. They were indeed divided into the five natural classes, just as they are in Homer; but, so far from being coerced by any rules of *varna*, we find a great saint, Vámadeva, dining off nothing less polluted than the entrails of a dog; we find the meat of horses, and even cows, devoured after the sacrifice; we find the family chaplain driving his master's chariot in the most servile manner, as in the legend of King Tryaruna, while

¹ Suidas and Hesychius tell us that the Thracians attributed their laws to Briges, as derived from the god Men. This is evidently Bhrigu and Manu.

sovereigns take the duties of priests on their own shoulders. Not once are the Shúdras mentioned; the Vaisyas never, as a caste. The term Kshatriya is once mentioned to designate the dependent of a Rájá; and though the name of Brahman occurs often enough, we can only understand it in its broadest sense.

Again, that the Panjab was the locality of the Vedic Aryans, we learn from the frequent mention of the Sursooty, and others of its rivers; and that they had not long been settled there, we gather from a certain connection between their worship and that of the people they had just severed from. Herodotus tells us (I. 216) that the Massagetæ sacrificed a horse to the sun, and (IV. 61) that the Scythians did the same, *with other animals*. The same custom was observed by the Persians;

“Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum,
Ne detur celeri victima tarda Deo.”

The Massagetæ occupied precisely that position to which the legends of Mount Meru and its rivers, among which Jaxartes and Oxus may be clearly traced, point as the cradle of the Aryan race; and the early mention of the Sacæ (Sakás) and Bactrians (Yavanás) as the principal foreign nations, confirms the supposition that the Aryan race travelled southward from the highlands of Central Asia before entering the Panjab. Now there are two hymns in the first Ashtaka which describe minutely the sacrifice of the horse, the Ashwamedha, which those will remember who have read the “Curse of Kehama;” and the simplicity of this sacrifice, in which a single horse was preceded by a single black-necked goat of various colours, distinguishes it strikingly from the sumptuous Ashwamedha of later days, in which 349 animals were bound to 21 posts, and from the obscenity attending this sacrifice as described in the Rámáyana. But the great reverence even then attached to this offering, the distinction it gave to the worship of the sun, which had already given place to that of Agni among the Aryans, connects them very forcibly with the nomadic and semi-barbarous races from which they had separated. We may notice by the way, that in one of these hymns occurs perhaps the only indication of a future life, or at least of transmigration, contained in the Vedas:—“Verily, at this moment thou dost not die, nor art thou harmed, for thou goest by auspicious paths to the gods,” is addressed to the victim.

But it must not be supposed that the Aryans of the Vedic period were barbarians, or even nomads. We have mention in their hymns of cities, of commerce, merchants and sailors, of weapons of wood and iron, of chariots, of heralds, travellers, and inns for their accommodation, and even of the vices of a primitive civilisation, such as dice-playing, prostitution, debts, and

debtors. The position of woman was also that of a freer and better age. There is great reason to believe that monogamy was universal, although polygamy was probably admissible; for though the hymn in which Dīrghatamas is said to have married the ten daughters of King Swánaya, may well belong to a somewhat later age, we have, in the one translated above, mention of the waters as wives of Vritra. We find, however, that women at that period appeared in public, rode in chariots, though apparently ill at ease in them, as they are described as swaying to and fro as bushes in the wind, took part in sacrifices, and even inherited a share of the paternal wealth. In short, the Aryans of this period describe themselves much in the same colours as another branch of the same stock was painted by Tacitus in the Germania.

Whatever be the date of the first collection of the hymns of the Vedas, it is not disputed that their composition precedes that of any other literary work in the world, with the exception of the Pentateuch. It is therefore a matter of no slight interest, to inquire what ideas they present with reference to religion. Now, those who look to all ancient records to confirm the narrative of our own Scriptures, will be here disappointed. We have not only very few remains of primeval legends, but we have even few indications of any original worship of a Supreme Being.

The religion of the Vedas is essentially a *natural* religion, and that of the most selfish, worldly, and material description. The objects of worship were wealth, safety, victory, and food.

“I invoke you both, Indra and Varuna, for manifold opulence; make us victorious over our enemies,” is the common strain of their prayers. “Indra is a giver among the givers of thousands,” is at once their common praise and common hint. Coming, as the Aryans doubtless did, from a cold mountain plateau, where, to believe Herodotus, wood was so scarce as to oblige the Scythians to burn the bones of the animals they wished to roast, it is no wonder that Agni, the fire, both domestic and aerial, should have been worshipped as the preparer of food and the mystic messenger between heaven and earth.

It has been attempted—but we, for our part, think without success—to draw a pure Vedic philosophy from the hymns before us. With the exception of one Sūkta (Ā. 2, V. 14, Ś. 8), which is supposed by Sáyana to contain the doctrines of the Vedánta, but which, from its unusual length, and the fact that it is found again entire in the Atharva, may be supposed to belong to a later date than the rest of the R̥ich, these hymns seldom go farther in mysticism than to confound the deities and their attributes with those of the natural phenomena connected with them. It is true that Yáska not only affirms that all Devas

(spirits) are comprehended in one Mahán atmá, or universal soul, and that there are only three actual gods in the Veda—Agni, Indra, and Súrya. But we have sought in vain for any links between these which would constitute them a trinity, like the Trimúrti of Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva, of later ages. Agni has, it is true, somewhat the character of a superior god, somewhat the universality of that Brahmá who afterwards took his place. But this is only what we might expect from the deification of so universal and latent an element as fire. Súrya (the sun), again, became Vishnu; but then Vishnu was from all times one of the adityas or manifestations of the sun. In the 3d and 4th Ashtakas, however, we begin to find indications of an identification of all minor Devas with one or other of the three principal gods.

The lower Devas are not deities, but only attendant spirits. They are thirty-three in number; the Maruts¹ or winds being the chief of them, and most often addressed, because they collected the clouds, which again bring rain, and indirectly food. The demigods are very few: Manu has been identified with Noah; and the two Aswins, physicians of the gods, born of the Ocean, young, handsome, and valorous, and of a serio-comic character, seem to correspond to the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux. The only prominent female divinity is Ilá or Idá, the daughter of Manu, between whom and Cybele,

Alma parens Idæa deûm, cui Dindyma cordi,

we may fancy we see some slight connection. But we find no traces of a larger pantheon. Agni and Indra, with the same attributes and similar praises in each successive hymn, almost monopolise the earlier Ashtakas; and we seek in vain for a correspondent to Mars, Hercules, Venus, or even Neptune and Pluto. Katyáyana, Krishna, Lakshmí, and the rest, are developments of a later age; and a difficulty thus meets us in the question, at what age did the Pelasgic branch of the Indo-European stock separate from the Aryans, since the later mythology of the latter corresponds so nicely with the Greek pantheon; and yet in the Vedic period we find none of these deities? Only among the Celts do we discover a close analogy to the religion of the Vedas (or, perhaps, to a yet earlier creed in which sun-worship was pre-eminent), and an incipient hierarchical government. Yet philology and history both teach us that the Celts entered Europe long before the Pelasgians and Germans. Must we then suppose that the Pelasgians, the Germans, and the Slaves, who have all brought with their language so much of the my-

¹ Pardon an etymology here. Rudra is sometimes described as the chief of the winds, collecting the clouds as a shepherd's dog does the sheep, and attending on his master Indra. As lord of the winds, he is *Maruchchhura*. Is there not a resemblance between his name and offices and those of *Mercurius*?

thology of India, separated from the parent stock *after* the Vedic period? Are we not rather driven to believe that the Vedas do not represent the religion of the whole Arya race that immigrated into India; but that, side by side with the tribes who sang the Vedic hymns, came others, bringing each their own gods, who were afterwards associated into the common Hindu pantheon? If this be so, the value of the Vedas as an authority for Brahmanism is yet more narrowed; but this, and many another interesting question which affects the history of a great branch of the human race, can only be solved by a far deeper study of Sanskrit literature than the editions and translations as yet existing permit us to pursue.

When we have stated that each of the Vedas has now received attention from Indianists in India, Germany, England, and France; that Stevenson translated the *Sáma* in 1841, Benfey more satisfactorily in 1848; that Roth and Whitney edited the *Atharva* in 1855; that of the *Yajush*, Weber gave us the text of the white recension in 1852, and Dr Röer that of the black in 1856–57, and that this last gentleman has edited and translated for us some of the most valuable of the *Upa-Vedic Upanishads*, we may pass to review the other grades of Sanskrit literature. The body of Vedic literature is immense, and its existence can only be accounted for by supposing that at an early period, long before the Vedic language became unintelligible, but not until the Aryas had quitted their north-western settlements and were safely lodged near the Ganges and Jumna, schools were collected round the most worthy of the descendants of the Vedic Rishis and families of bards, for the purpose of hearing the sacred hymns taught and explained. Among the first results of these were doubtless the *Bráhmaṇas*, which are considered as belonging to the Vedas, and in which moral precepts, religious instructions, and information on theology are conveyed. Very little is known of these works, which are less interesting than the *Sanhitás*, as being of later date; and no one has yet undertaken their publication. They are said to recognise the institution of caste, and Wilson supposes them to belong to the eighth century B.C.

But the real business of the schools was transacted by means of *Sútras*, or short mnemonic sentences. Those which have been retained treat chiefly of Vedic grammar and prosody; and some of the earliest literary productions in India were those which in other countries are generally the latest, works upon grammar. These were doubtless compiled by disciples in the school in which their original utterer taught; so that, as a general rule, the age of the grammarian, when ascertained, is no criterion of that of his work. The most celebrated of these grammarians is Pánini, who is also the earliest whose *Sútras* have come down to

us, though he himself tells us of many who preceded him. He is said to have belonged to the third century B.C.

From teaching the language of the Vedas, it is only natural that learned Brahmans should have gone off at an early period to their theology, and thence to speculation. The next branch of literature was therefore philosophy. The earliest philosophers—Kapila, who taught that all things proceeded from an invisible, eternal plastic principle; Gautama, who arranged a system of logic; and Patanjali, who originated that strange unnatural fashion—for we can scarce give it another name—by which the most rigid asceticism was raised into the highest religious duty—taught in Sūtras, or mere mnemonics. The Hindus have classified six Darsanas—schools of philosophy—including among them the Mimánsá of Jaimini, which is little more than a Vedic essay. The three we have mentioned are undoubtedly the oldest; but the Brahmasūtras, the chief authority of the Pantheistic Vedānta school, though much later than the rest, are still mnemonics, as also the Vaisesika or atomic school of Kanāda. The Bhagavad-Gítá alone, the most intelligible and most interesting of all, is written in splendid metre, and belongs to a far later and more literary age.

The date of these schools depends on that of Buddha, who may have lived in 544 B.C., according to the Hindus, or in 350 B.C., according to German critics.

The law-book of Manu undoubtedly preceded, or was at least cotemporary with Buddhism. It could not have followed it at any great distance of time; and had it been composed when the new religion was warring with the old, it would of necessity have devoted much space to its condemnation. The few passages supposed to allude to Buddhists are very obscure, and might well have been written at a period when the new creed was struggling into popularity and despised by the orthodox. But Manu is also posterior to Kapila; for his philosophy (this Hindu lawgiver is philosopher too) is that of the Sāṅkhya to a certain extent. The date, then, that Wilson gives for this work—viz., the sixth century B.C.—is probably the right one. The name of Manu is of course merely appended to the book, after the usual custom of Sanskrit writings, by way of compliment. The Hindus themselves do not pretend that he wrote the work in question, but a far larger and more ancient one, from which this is an abbreviation.

The law-book of Manu opens with an account of the creation, and goes through the category of every difficulty that a man, a state, or a community can possibly be found in. It embraces, in fact, the whole duty of man and of men—religious, political, social, domestic, and private; the duties of monarchs are laid

down with as little ceremony as those of the veriest Páñchála; and from beginning to end we see the spirit of a powerful hierarchy, arranging and directing everything with vast ability, but intolerable arrogance. The laws of Manu are almost impossible, so systematic, so unflinchingly punctual must be the life regulated after their ordinances. A man's existence is divided into four parts, beginning from the day of his conception within the womb, and closing with the funeral pyre; and during that period not an action is permitted, to guide which a law has not been laid down. His very teeth must be brushed with a wood suitable to his caste; his most intimate conjugal connections are open to censure; his most innocent diversions limited to certain minutes and seconds, to go beyond which is to risk a continued and painful metempsychosis. The morality of these laws is of the least exalted description. No allowance is made, no encouragement given to genial and natural affection. The wife must be sought according to rule, her sole purpose being the procreation of male children. The old parent, at the time when his grandsons nestle round his knees, must leave the cheery fireside, and, with an abnegation scarcely human, seek solitude and even danger in the jungle, that he may prepare for a future life. The son must honour his parent; but even the offerings which he is to pay daily to his manes, are to be done with the selfish object of obtaining a like service from his own children when he is himself in another world. Yet so great is the faith in metempsychosis, so great the dread of returning to earth in a lower form, so hopeless, so resigned the state of the Hindu mind, that these laws still hold their place in India, still determine the limits and the rules of caste.

Thanks to the translations of Houghton and Loiseleur Deslongchamps, this law-book has been well known in Europe for the last thirty years. Some thirty-six authorities on points of civil and criminal law are still in use in India, and that of Manu, though always regarded as the highest, is rarely brought forward, as being scarcely fitted for the present age. Indeed, the laws of Manu take often even a milder view of the stern necessities of life than the Hindus now hold; and, if they alone were followed, no widow need ever have sacrificed herself beside her husband's corpse, no young mother given her child to the waves. There is no injunction in Manu for such practices.

The chief authority, however, on as much of the native law as is still used, is the *Mitákshara* of Vijnāneswara-Bhatta, who flourished in the tenth century of our era. It is a commentary on the law-book of Yājñavalkya, which again is an abbreviation of Manu, composed in the fourth or fifth century, and more suited to modern requirements than the older work. The

Mitákshara is still the chief authority in all parts of India on civil contracts and the law of inheritance, and a good edition and translation are much to be desired. The little work of Stenzler (Berlin, 1849) contains a clear edition of the text, and faithful translation, of Yájnavalkya's couplets ; but the Mitákshara is, of course, the important part, and this we have still to look for, as the treatises of Colebrooke are now by no means easy to obtain.

The great Epopœia followed the laws of Manu at no wide distance. It is doubtful whether either of them was composed as a whole, and the Mahábhárata was undoubtedly a compilation of popular lays on national events. The main story in each belongs to a post-Vedic, or rather Upa-Vedic age, when the Aryans had pressed far into the Peninsula. That of the Mahábhárata describes the internecine war of two closely allied tribes, the Kurus and Pándavas, for the supremacy of the Holy Land of the Doab, with Hastinápara, the modern Delhi, as its capital. The story of the Rámáyana has some resemblance to that of the Iliad. Sítá, the beautiful wife of the hero Ráma, is carried off by the giant Rávana—a very different character to the Phrygian herdsman—to the island of Lanká or Ceylon, whither Ráma follows him, and, after a variety of adventures, recovers his spouse. The reef across the Straits of Manaar is still called Ram's Bridge, and the legend asserts that he threw the rocks which compose it into the sea one after another. The bare story of each epic is probably historical.

If we pass over a few minor works of little interest, we come at once to the classical age of Sanskrit literature, ranging from the reign of the munificent patron of art and letters, Vikramaditya the Great, in 56 B.C., to the tenth century of our era. Hitherto we have had nothing but compilations, we have now compositions. Hitherto the dates given by the natives for their great works have been perfectly unreliable. We have from this time certain fixed eras from which it is easy to calculate the age of a work, although it is not until after the tenth century that MSS. begin to bear dates.

All the most readable of the Hindu effusions—the drama, the lyric, the sentimental and philosophical Kávyas, as Nalas and the Bhagavad-Gítá, the romantic histories and historical romances, the fables, Hitopadesa, Vetálapanchavinsati, and so forth, and most of the works on science—belong to these ten centuries. We have space only to notice the drama.

Though there can be little doubt of the spontaneous origin of the Hindu drama—and it can be traced, like that of Greece, to religious festivals—it presents, perhaps, the least Oriental aspect of all Sanskrit literature. It has none of that didactic stiffness with which Brahmans, never forgetting the sterner duties of life,

encumbered their lightest effusions; even the erotic lays of Bhartrihari being accompanied, like the nettle by the dock, by an array of melancholy proverbs. The drama was, in fact, like the game of Chaturanga, composed solely for the amusement of kings and their courts; and if we can trust the imaginative historian of the Bhoja-Prabandha, its authors, although of Brahman caste, were far from leading strict or even decent lives.

There were as many classes of theatrical representation as our own stage, from Covent Garden to Westminster Bridge, can display—martial pieces, short comic dialogues, farces, operas, and talking ballets; but among none of these do we find a single tragedy, and the nerves of the luxurious monarchs for whom they were composed would probably have been shaken beyond endurance by the *ὀροροροροροροι* of an Attic chorus, or the general slaughter that winds up Hamlet.

A drama without a theatre, represented in the music hall attached to a palace, with a highly sophisticated audience and no “gods,” with no machinery, no scenery beyond a curtain at the back of the stage, and another at right angles to it, if required; a drama written for the occasion only, and never acted again, must have required great excellence of diction to make it successful; and the long poetical descriptions of Kálidása have led to the supposition that these plays were written for reading rather than representation. Such, however, was not the case, as the MSS. which have come down to us contain full directions of the minutest description for stage entries and gesticulation, of which, in the absence of fitting properties, a great amount was required.

The chief orientalisms about the drama are the benediction with which it opened, the description of the piece, its author, and so forth, which followed this, and the unrestrained introduction of gods, angels, and spirits. In all other respects, as far as its form was concerned, a Hindu play resembled the comedies of Plautus and Terence. There was the same division into acts and scenes, the same absence of a chorus; and, strangely enough, the same unvarying *conviva*, the butt, fool, and confidant of the piece, always hungry, and ever ready, for a dinner in prospect, to do the hero's dirty work, and help him out of his scrapes. In Kálidása's plays the Vidúshaka, as he is called, has a great deal of fun about him, rarely, however, amounting to wit; but in the less lively productions of Bhavabhúti he is more useful and less amusing. Indeed, wit was scarcely aimed at by these authors; it is hardly cared for by the serious and sentimental Hindu; and to portray the delicate loves of innocent and bashful youth was his dearest art. In this none has excelled so eminently as Kálidása, who is said—and there is no good reason for doubting the fact—to have lived in the time of Vikrama the Great, B.C. 56.

No poet is so celebrated and highly esteemed in India, to none have so many poems, epic, lyric, dramatic, been ascribed; and certainly, if he is not entitled to a comparison with Shakespeare, it is not a little to his honour that his play of *Sakuntalá* should be considered the gem of Oriental literature, should have received the rapturous applause of the author of *Faust*, and should now, under the able management of Mr Monier Williams,¹ have attained a just popularity among those who are capable of appreciating the beauties of other climates. The Hindu theatre is not large. Wilson's list, which is probably complete, contains the names of only sixty pieces, and of these not more than six belong to the classical age, of which two are the works of the famous Kálidása. A third is attributed to him, the *Málaviká* and *Agnimitra*; and Weber, in his translation of this play, is anxious to establish the authenticity of this attribution. But, in spite of a certain resemblance in the plot, we are compelled to agree with Wilson in the opinion, that there is sufficient in the details of the piece to fix a later date for its composition.

Of the four other classical plays, three are those of Bhavabhúti, who lived in the eighth century; and the last is that wonderful production—to our mind the most interesting (though it has not the beauties of the *Sakuntalá*) of all—the *Mrichchhakati* or Toy-cart. This is the only play from any part of Asia which has been acted on a European stage. In 1850, Messieurs Méry and Gerard de Nerval courageously adapted it to that of the Odéon, where it had a very successful “run.”

We must leave the *Sakuntalá* to tell its own story, convinced that those who take up Mr Williams' translation will not hastily lay it down, and content ourselves with a few extracts from among its many beauties.

When the hero first meets *Sakuntalá* she is tending the trees of her father's hermitage, when a wicked bee attacks her, and a pretty warfare commences, which the king watches enrapt.

“Where'er the bee his eager onset plies,
Now here, now there, she darts her kindling eyes.
What love hath yet to teach, fear teaches now,
The furtive glances and the frowning brow.
Ah! happy bee, how fondly dost thou try,
To steal the lustre from her sparkling eye;
And in thy circling movements hover near
To murmur tender secrets in her ear;

¹ And we must add, of its publisher, Mr Stephen Austin, who, with an almost lavish liberality, has done every thing to make the vehicle worthy of the contents that can be done by chromatic borders, head and tail-pieces from MSS. in the British Museum, excellent engravings, the choicest paper, and printing which obtained the medal of the Paris Exhibition, and has gained this book a place among the typographical specimens in the Museum.

Or as she coyly waves her hand, to sip
 Voluptuous nectar from her lower lip!
 While rising doubts my heart's high hopes destroy
 Thou dost the fulness of her charms enjoy."—*Sac.* p. 19.

Kálidása delights in nothing more than in descriptions of nature of which he was a careful observer. He has more than one picture of those oppressive Eastern noons when the stillness is more profound than at midnight, and "you almost hear the great heat-drops from nature's forehead fall," when, as he says—

"The drowsy bee
 Sleeps in the hollow chamber of the lotus
 Darkened by closing petals."

In the following he gives us a sketch of the quiet jungle :—

"All undisturbed the buffaloes shall sport
 In yonder pool, and with their ponderous horns
 Scatter its tranquil waters ; while the deer,
 Couched here and there in groups beneath the shade
 Of spreading branches, ruminant in peace ;
 And all securely shall the herd of boars
 Feed on the marshy sedge."—*Sac.* p. 42.

Still more Indian is the description of the stout hunting monarch wasted by his passion :—

"As night by night in anxious thought I raise
 This wasted arm to rest my sleepless head,
 My jewelled bracelet, sullied by the tears
 That trickle from my eyes in scalding streams,
 Slips towards my elbow from my shrivelled wrist,
 Oft I replace the bauble, but in vain ;
 So easily it spans the fleshless limb
 That e'en the rough and corrugated skin,
 Scarred by the bow-string, will not check its fall."—*Sac.* p. 71.

The departure of the maiden from the quiet hermitage where she had lived so long is painted with much tender beauty :—

"In sorrow for thy loss the herd of deer
 Forget to browse ; the peacock on the lawn
 Ceases its dance ;¹ the very trees around us
 Shed their pale leaves, like tears, upon the ground."
 "It is the little fawn, thy foster child,
 Poor helpless orphan ! It remembers well
 How with a mother's tenderness and love
 Thou didst protect it, and with grains of rice
 From thine own hand didst daily nourish it ;
 And ever and anon, when some sharp thorn

¹ Alluding to the restless circular movements of this bird at the approach of rain.

Had pierced its mouth, how gently thou didst tend
The bleeding wound, and pour in healing balm.
The grateful nursling clings to its protectress,
Mutely imploring leave to follow her.”—*Sac.* p. 108.

The genius of our poet is not all of this placid and gentle nature, and at times he can burst forth in vehement passion and impatient grandeur. The picture of his hero's madness in the *Vikramorvasi* is one that would do honour to the literature of any age and country.

We have done our best to set forward the advantages to be reaped from a study of Sanskrit; but though its devotees are increasing every year in number, it will be long before it takes the place to which it is entitled beside the study of European classics. In the meantime, those among us who have mastered it owe a duty to the rest, and we fervently trust that there will be many to follow the example of Mr M. Williams, and rob their profounder study of a few hours, from time to time, in order to give to European readers the beauties which they meet with in a form in which they can be generally appreciated.

- ART. III.—1. *Lehrbuch d. Kirchengeschichte.* v. Dr J. C. L. GIESELER. Bonn : Marcus. 1842—1857.
2. *Handbuch d. Kirchengeschichte.* v. H. E. F. GUERICKE, Dr u. Prof. d. Theologie, Achte Auflage. Berlin : H. Schindler. 1855.
3. *Kirchengeschichte.* v. Dr KARL HASE, Sebente-Auflage. Leipzig : Breitkopf u. Härtel. 1854.
4. *Lehrbuch d. Kirchengeschichte f. Studirende.* v. Dr J. H. KURTZ, Dritte Ausgabe. Mitau : A. Neumann. 1857.
5. *Handbuch d. Kirchengeschichte.* v. Dr J. J. RITTER, Funfte Auflage. Bonn : Marcus. 1854.
6. *Die Grossen Kirchenversammlungen d. 15ten u. 16ten Jahrhunderts geschichtlich u. kritisch dargestellt.* v. J. H. v. WESSENBERG. Constanz. Glukhez.
7. *Die Kirchengeschichte in Biographien.* v. FRIEDRICH BÖHRINGER. Zurich : Meyer u. Zeller. 1842—1858.

A PROFESSOR of Theology at one of the English Universities was staying, in vacation time, with a clerical friend. Whether, like a Glasgow professor of the last century, he had taken Poole's "Synopsis" with him as light summer reading, we know not. At the request of his friend, he agreed to put a few questions in the Sunday school.—The first urchin that was called up had the astounding query put to him, Well, what can you tell me about the Monothelite controversy?" The perplexed lad was not more ignorant of the views of these old eastern heretics, than are most even of well-educated Englishmen of all special acquaintance with, or love for, the matters which Church History unfolds. In their minds this study is associated with all that is professionally dry and repulsive. Nor can we altogether wonder at this. We have in English no work on Ecclesiastical History to place on a level with the great works on Civil History, which the close of the last century and the present have produced. Church History has yet to find its Hallam; has still to wait for its Macaulay.

Two centuries nearly have elapsed since Thomas Fuller published his "Church History of Great Britain." Many corrections, owing to the publication of documents unknown to that witty author, might now be made in his work, but in readability he has not been equalled by any subsequent writer, either on a wider or a narrower part of the Church History field. It is exaggerated censure on the part of Hase to say of Milner, that "his book is merely popular Methodism without recourse to

the original sources." The master of the Hull Grammar School was a thorough scholar, and too conscientious to avail himself only of secondhand materials. But his view was too narrow to admit of his doing justice to the noble field that lay before him; and though he felt as a saint, he wrote as a sloven. On highly cultivated minds his book could make little impression. Dr Newman, in his bitter hatred to the Church which he abandoned, has told us that Gibbon is the source whence most Englishmen derive what knowledge of Church History they possess. The sneer may have some truth in it; but where have been the contributions in the English language to Church History from the Church to which Dr Newman has joined himself?

Some meritorious compends of Ecclesiastical History for professional use have, of late, issued from the English press, among which that of Hardwick, though not unfrequently sacrificing both vigour and accuracy to the affectation of point, is decidedly the best. But for the unprofessional reader, desirous either from devout interest in the past fortunes of Christ's Body, or from general views of intellectual improvement, to make himself acquainted with the bygone eras of Church History, there is, as yet, no work of native growth to supersede Milner. Hopes were once entertained that Scotland would furnish a history thoroughly adequate to the wishes of cultivated and serious minds. One whose name must ever be dear to the numerous students whom he trained for professional work—whose name must ever be venerable to the readers of this Review, which he first edited, Dr Welsh—gave to the world the first volume of a History of the Church, based upon his lectures. All who profited by his, alas! too brief professorial career, would agree in ascribing to him a great benefit, alike in the amount of information communicated, and in the direction given to their future studies. Dr Welsh was most thoroughly conscientious in his academical labours. There never lived a professor, in whose case there were less need of a vague unreasoning trust on the part of his students. Whatever he stated might be implicitly depended on, not, indeed, as absolutely accurate (of whom, in so wide a field, could that be said?), but as the result of careful, judicial, unimpassioned research and consideration. As years rolled by, and their own independent studies reached greater development, some might indeed have wished that, while under his tuition, more space had been afforded to such subjects as the history of Christian philosophy, or of preaching, or of sacred poetry, or of ecclesiastical art. But a little further consideration would probably lead them to the belief, that if their revered instructor did not do all upon these subjects in his lectures that might have by some been wished, it was because the space at his command, in a three years' course,

was limited, and because he knew that those who felt a longing to prosecute such subjects, would afterwards be fully able to gratify their desires. Dr Welsh was cut off in the prime of life, before he could fully mould a generation of students by his philosophic habits, his practice of accurate research, and his deep love for his subject. Scotland never before possessed so thoroughly qualified a professor, and, without unwisely seeking to compare men so radically different, it may be as easy to find a second Chalmers, as to meet with another Welsh. Had he lived to complete the History, of which only one volume was given to the public, Scotland would have had one man, of whom, without exaggeration, it might have been said that he had done what in him lay to make his native country what France in the seventeenth century was, and what, after Fleury's time, Germany has become in the Church History field.

While, from one cause or another, our country remains thus inferior, and even the great endowments of the English Universities are found unavailing to produce a class of men, who may compete with their Teutonic contemporaries, it is pleasing to contemplate the variety and the value of the contributions to the subject before us, which, especially since Mosheim's time, Germany has afforded.

A History of the Church, from the beginning to the present time, on a large scale, may be safely pronounced one of those gigantic undertakings, which no man can reasonably expect to live to accomplish. Baronius, Natalis Alexander, Fleury, Schrökh, Neander, Welsh, all quitted the scene ere their self-imposed task was finished. The original investigation of the thousand points which occur; the accurate proportionment of these, according to their intrinsic value; the casting these into a full, thorough, well-developed, picturesquely-narrated story—are beyond the compass of threescore years and ten. He who would, in any true sense of the term, be an exhaustive Church historian, must take a special country, or a particular age. Either may amply satisfy a reasonable ambition and a probable hope.

The Church historian, to come up to a reasonable anticipation of his qualifications, should be one fully able to seize and to present the salient points in the aspect of the past. Whatever was most characteristic of the age; whatever moved the minds of the thinking few; whatever stirred the feelings of the unreasoning many—he must know and show. Here it may be the German discourses of a Tauler, there the Latin sequences of a Jacopone; at one time the recasting in a new form of Church music, at another era, the advance or the decline of some form of ecclesiastic art. A due proportion, indeed, must be observed; the deeper must not be thrown into a corner by the superficial; the

permanent must not be cast into the shade by the transitory. If the historian's attention be drawn to Canterbury, it must be less by the noble minster which Lanfranc founded, and where the Black Prince found a tomb, than by the leadership of Christian speculation, which marked Anselm as the greatest of our mediæval prelates, and the profoundest thinker (with, perhaps, Butler's exception) that ever wore an English mitre.

The Church historian must, on a large scale, exhibit the same qualities of mind which characterise the unpartisan and non-sectarian ecclesiastical student. His professional library is the most true to its purpose, the ripening of the Christian scholar, which, on its impartial shelves, presents for view to friends, for use to the owner, the best productions of religious thought, from the first age till the present. The Greek and the Latin Fathers; the great mediæval writers of the Western Church; the illustrious men who in France fought the contest of the seventeenth century from a Protestant or a Gallican stand-point; the writers of modern Germany, of different schools, must find their place there, with the authorship of our several British sections of the Universal Church. No paltry or timid limitedness marks the library of the real scholar. What he is for personal advantage, the Church historian must be for the public good. He must have no narrow preferences to mar the impartiality, which is the first duty of a historian. Yet he must not be an Indifferentist. The supernatural origin of Christianity, and its Divine superintendence from era to era; its immeasurable superiority to every competing system, and its destined triumph over them all,—must be firm articles of faith in the historian's mind. With every variety of intellectual product that has honestly sought, within a narrow circle or on a larger platform, to extend Christianity where it was not known, to make Christianity real where it was only nominal, to make Christianity profound where it was only shallow, he must be ready, heart and soul, to sympathise.

The Church historian who would fully accomplish his work, must have in him a proportion of the systematic theologian and of the popular preacher; he must, if not himself a writer of sacred poetry, be one who can fully sympathise with a Gerhardt or a Tersteegen, a Charles Wesley and a James Montgomery;¹

¹ A proof of the unpopularity of Church History among us is presented by the very scanty use which our British poets have made of it. Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Sketches* are, as a whole, too stiff, and too much, as it were, written to order, to fill up the gap, and do not extend beyond Britain. It were a noble and a worthy effort, were each country to do in the person of some gifted son or daughter, what, on a small scale, and with varied success, has been achieved for a century of Scottish History by the authoress of the "*Lays of the Kirk and Covenant*." Will Mrs Browning not add another to her claims on her contemporaries, and, we hope, on posterity, by giving us some pieces inspired by the sacred Past?

if not a profound critic of Church art, he must be one who can enter into the spirit with which a William of Wykeham or an Erwin von Steinbach wrought. To him, however decidedly Protestant, Monachism must not present an unrelieved mass of blackness; the Benedictines of St Maur, in their unique and unrivalled contributions to ecclesiastical lore, will afford a proof that, in certain circumstances, the cloister is a partial good. In a word, the Church historian will be one ever on his guard against having pet churches, pet eras, or pet men. Large-hearted without laxity, catholic without indifferentism, such is the man who may, with a due regard to the time to be spent, and a due respect to the pains to be taken, sit down to the composition of that saddest, yet noblest of stories, that stretches between the Ascension and To-day!

We cannot say that the ideal which we have endeavoured to trace of a Church historian is fully, or nearly fully, come up to by any of those recent German writers, whose works are now under review. But all of them afford valuable contributions towards paving the way for the future realising of that ideal.

As one era in the treatment of ecclesiastical history was marked by Mosheim, the first German writer who succeeded in reaching a more than German reputation, so another period is traced by Neander. We do not purpose here to enter into the character of that great writer, further than to remark that his chief work is marred by a total want of proportion. He was carried away by the habit of monography (acquired in his previous historical works), where it was only mischievous. The fault did not mend as he went on; witness the undue length with which, in his last volume, he portrayed Matthias of Janow. What was favourite with Neander was elaborated; what was not favourite was, if not neglected, at least comparatively cast into the shade.

Two greater contrasts than Neander and Gieseler could scarcely be conceived. The former, a hermit-like recluse, nothing beyond his study and his chair; the latter, an active, sensible, wide-awake man of the world. They both reached the same age, dying when little more than sixty. Nearly contemporaries, they in youth saw Rationalism in its vigour, and in middle life beheld the tide effectually turned in favour of a better system. Both have stamped their impress widely on their own land. Each has won for himself a large measure of appreciation in Britain and the United States.

Gieseler has not attracted much attention by any other publication than his great work on Church History. In this he presents a striking contrast to Neander, whose works on Bernard,

Tertullian, and Chrysostom, would of themselves have built up a substantial reputation. The three concluding volumes of Gieseler's work have the disadvantage of being posthumous. The General History, from the Peace of Westphalia to the present time, and the History of Doctrine to the Reformation, have been edited from his manuscript by his friend, Dr Redepenning, well known as the editor of Origen "de Principiis."

Of Gieseler's work, as well as of German Church historians generally, the remark is true, that Germany is elaborated on a scale disproportioned to its true value. The land of John Tauler and Martin Luther played an important part in the middle ages, and in Reformation times; the country of Neander and Schleiermacher, has, within the last sixty years, exercised a wide influence on religious thought in English-speaking countries, and though less so, on at least Protestant France. But German writers seem to forget that, for two centuries, between Luther and Schleiermacher, the influence of Germany beyond the Rhine was almost null. Gieseler, as a Church historian, is free from Neander's fault of unduly dwelling on favourite individuals. Where he has thoroughly gone into his subject, as in the mediæval portion of his book, which we consider the best of it, he has, in the main, well proportioned its different parts. Even here, however, there are deficiencies. Thus, he never mentions (nor does any of the other writers on our table), the very remarkable case of Patrick Graham, the first Archbishop of St Andrews, whose reforming zeal brought on him the accusation of heresy, and led to his deposition and imprisonment until his death in 1478. A case as memorable as either that of Savonarola or Carranza should not have been passed over.¹

When we come down to the Reformation, we find that, while the German part of the history is fully elaborated, both in the Lutheran and Calvinist portion, to the British part justice is by no means done. The causes which, in Scotland, paved the way for the change, such as the gross profligacy and enormous wealth of the clergy, are not brought before the reader's attention. The various writings of the Reformers and their opponents are not noticed; and the merely political aspect of the work is unduly dwelt upon. With the works of the great men of the second Reformation, Gieseler appears to have been utterly unacquainted. Even the names of Rutherford, Dickson, and Henderson are ignored. The persecutions in Charles the Second's time are left out of view; the distinctive differences of the north and the south of the Tweed at that period are lost sight of. It would appear that the "dark and mistrustful Presbyterians," as

¹ Hardwick is very deficient in his account of Scottish matters; thus he seems quite unaware that Lollardism ever crossed the Tweed.

he terms them, with especial reference to the time of James the Sixth, were so little to his taste, that he would not bestow the requisite pains to elaborate their story.

Passing to England, we find that Gieseler confounds the Patristic Arminianism of Laud and his school with the Remonstrant Arminianism of Hales and others. He appears to suppose that the statesman and the philosopher, Lord Shaftesbury, were the same person. Not acquainted with such works as Pearson on the "Creed," he speaks of England during the era of his fourth volume (1648-1814), as having produced no work of systematic theology. While the worthless name of Sterne has prominence given to it, as remarkable for pulpit eloquence (!) we have no mention of Barrow, Taylor, or South, among the Churchmen, or of Howe, Bates, and Doddridge, among the Nonconformists and Dissenters. Far inferior men among the apologetic writers of England are mentioned, but of Butler not a word. Indeed, from the silence observed upon him by others, both Romanist and Protestant, it would appear that the "Analogy" and the "Sermons" are quite unknown to our Teutonic friends.

In this part of his History also, Gieseler leaves out of view the missionary efforts both of Churchmen and of Dissenters, both in England and Scotland. In the subsequent volume (1814-1850), we have indeed mention of the London Missionary Society; but the Church, the Baptist, the Wesleyan, the Free Church Missions are utterly ignored, while nearly half a dozen pages are assigned to the as yet very unproductive "Bishopric of Jerusalem." Again, while some space is given to English Methodism, the almost national church of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists is utterly left out of view.

Nor has Gieseler made up for his imperfectness in the treatment of English Church History by any better acquaintance with the annals of our brethren in the United States. He says of American Christianity in general (v. 372), "In business their dishonesty is so frequent as to be made the matter of universal reproach among other nations; the citizens of the north-east provinces, New York, Pennsylvania, who are most distinguished by an external piety, are also most notorious for their cheating propensities. Their religiousness shows itself in no way by benevolent actions; and, therefore, cannot be as hearty as it is loud in profession." These sentences are of themselves enough to show that Gieseler knew little about the Home and Foreign Missionary enterprises of our transatlantic brethren. What has been done by them in India, Burmah, the South Sea Islands, is never mentioned. In respect of theological instruction, he says (p. 376), "the measure given is very scanty." The names of Andover and

Princeton are of themselves sufficient to refute the statement. The *American Theological Reviews* also, had they been known to Gieseler, would have furnished indisputable proof of the inaccuracy of his assertion. He speaks of the Unitarians as the most numerous party among the cultivated classes, which is true only of Boston and its vicinity. Of Edwards, Dwight, Woods, as theologians; of Moses Stuart as an exegete; of Payson, Nettleton, and Spencer, as preachers and pastors; of the Abbotts and other popular religious authors, we have not a word.

On the other hand, the student, wishing to learn the history of the Romish, the Lutheran, or the Calvinistic Church on the Continent, will find Gieseler both an able and an accurate guide. It might indeed have been wished, that while he properly gives a detailed account of the efforts for reform in the Romish Church, made especially in Southern Germany by Sailer and others, he had adverted more to the theological and philosophical labours of members of that communion. The names of Mai, Passaglia, and Perrone in Italy; of Klee, Hefele, Denzinger, and Baader in Germany; of Guettée, Rohrbacher, and Pitra in France; and of Wiseman in England, were quite as worthy of mention as those of Döllinger, Bonald, and Lacordaire, which he has introduced.

The sixth volume of Gieseler comprises a History of Doctrine from the time of the Apostles to that of the Reformation. Here, in three periods, is traced carefully and distinctly the development of Christian doctrine on Apologetics, the Canon, the Trinity, the Person and Work of Christ, the Application of Redemption to Man, and other important theological questions. It is written from a thoroughly non-Calvinistic stand-point. Thus we read (p. 516) of "the inhuman sternness of Augustinianism." Ample and well-selected quotations are given from the theological writers of the different eras. The want of the author's revision is seen in a few instances, as in the stating the objections of Porphyry to Christianity, both under the first and the second periods. We extract the following sentences upon the use of the Scriptures in the ante-Nicene Church:—"Tertullian exhorts the heathen to read the Holy Scriptures themselves, with the remark, that, through various circumstances, these come into the hands of persons not belonging to the Christian community. Irenæus observes that the Christians could read the Bible at the dwellings of the presbyters, who took care of the Church copies; but that, among the people themselves, private copies were not wanting, is plain from Tertullian, who expressly states Bible-reading among the occupations of a Christian woman. Especially in the writings of Origen do we find abundant proof, that in this period the general use of the Bible was considered not only allowable, but

essential. . . . It is, however, another question, how far all laymen made, or could make, use of their right to read the Holy Scriptures. Books were of course very dear at a time when they were multiplied only by the pen; and hence few Christians could themselves possess a copy of the Word of God. This was the reason why Irenæus urges the people to make use of the Church copies. Besides, the ability to read was by no means a very ordinary accomplishment among the common people. Hence we may well believe that most would content themselves with hearing the Bible read and explained in the public meetings for worship.”—(P. 105–7.)

The coldness of Gieseler is felt as a grievous disadvantage by the student. That reproach cannot be brought against the devout and earnest Guericke, who everywhere writes as one to whom religion is something far deeper than a mere mass of theological speculation. They who differ most from his high Lutheran stand-point, must yet admire and love the warm Christian sentiment which appears in every page. A pupil of Neander, Guericke is, however, totally different in the treatment of his subject. He has, as he states in his title-page, bestowed especial attention on the tracing of the doctrine, as well as on the recounting the story, of the Church. You see that you have to deal with a far more thoroughly theological mind than that of Neander—a mind possessing and cherishing a thoroughly definite creed on the whole compass of Christian doctrine. About Guericke’s views there is no vagueness, no misty speculation. As Luther, Melancthon, Chemnitz, and the older Lutheran divines, have shaped their Church’s views, so he holds. A work which has passed into an eighth edition, has proved itself suited to the views of a large proportion of the German students of the history of the Church.

We do not find in Guericke, nor in any other of the works before us, the scope and bearing of Jewish and Christian antiquity, in relation to Christianity, educed as they have been by Pressensé in his recent work, “*Le Premier Siècle*.” Nor do we find the relation of the Roman imperial power to the new faith brought out with the vividness and vigour of touch which De Broglie has displayed in his remarkable book, “*L’Eglise et l’Empire Romaine*.” The Frenchman’s power of depicting a period or a system seems wanting to the Teutonic mind, though Hase is undoubtedly an exception. But conscientious and many-sided research characterise this, the opening portion of Guericke’s book, as well as the subsequent parts. He, as well as his rivals in the field, have studiously endeavoured to improve each successive edition, though the remark of Hase must still prove true: “He who writes a Monography, understands the

matter better than any other; he who undertakes a General History must learn from all, and may be corrected by all." (Preface to seventh edition of C. H.)

Guericke divides Church History into seven periods—the first extending to Constantine, A.D. 311; the second to Gregory the Great, 590; the third to the death of Charlemagne, 814; the fourth to Gregory VII., 1073; the fifth to Boniface VIII., 1294; the sixth to the Reformation, 1517; the last to the present time. To the end of each period is attached an *Excursus* on the History of Doctrine, full in the first and the last periods, more condensed in the intervening ones.

The style of Dr Guericke is a very faulty one. When compared with that of Kurtz, or Hase, or Ritter, it is vexing and wearisome to the reader. The form of thought is as little attended to by him as it was by Neander. There is an absence of French-like vividness or English masculine vigour. It is a half-pamphlet half-sermon style, in which amplification and popularising of the thought seem to be the chief things aimed at. When this is not the case, the fault is generally exchanged for an involution, copied from the worst specimens of his country's philosophists. We wish that he and others guilty of such offences against their readers' comfort, would take a lesson from the prose works of Goethe and Schiller! In such parts of his work as the *Excursus* above mentioned, where he is compelled to be brief and definite, these faults of style nearly disappear. Another most unartistic evil of Guericke's book is, the series of unmerciful notes with which his volumes—and, to the worst extent, his last—abound. In the plan of Gieseler, an extended annotation of extracts from authors was unavoidable; and, unsightly as it makes his pages, the student bears with it, as an essential part of the system on which the work is written. But Guericke has no such excuse; it is sheer blundering on his part. Nine-tenths of the notes might, by a better arrangement, have been incorporated with the text. A writer whose work has been so well received by the public, and who has so creditably in other ways sought to improve the successive editions, ought to take the not very great additional pains to promote the interest and the instruction of his readers in this matter also.

We cannot bring against Guericke the charge to which we have shown Gieseler liable, of superficialness in the treatment of British and American history. He has obviously taken a large amount of pains with both. The authors whom he has consulted upon Scottish Church History are more numerous than those Gieseler has availed himself of, though he has failed duly to consider the Episcopal literature. The minority here, as everywhere, ought to be fully heard. The names, though not the

chief works, of the great men of the Covenant period, are duly given. We see the partisan in the estimate of Knox, that "he wanted the apostolic moderation of Luther." If Luther had had in Saxony to contend with hostile and crafty princes, would he not have displayed the masculine energy of the Scottish Reformer, in making head against them? We find no mention made of the various sections into which the Scottish Church has been divided since the Revolution, until we come down to the Disruption of 1843, which receives due notice. With the Scottish popular theology of Boston and the Erskines, Guericke seems quite unacquainted.

In his history of English Church matters, several inaccuracies occur. Thus, Bishop Bull is classed with the latitudinarians. The Puritans are said to have refused subscription to the Articles, as if they partook the aversion of some of their professed representatives to human confessions of faith. Serious omissions also occur. Thus, the great Church and Puritan preachers of the seventeenth century are passed over. Bunyan receives a notice not remarkable for its accuracy. Our sacred poets, both of the Herbert and Crashaw school, and of the Wesleyan and Dissenter class, are not named. Of Robert Hall, or Andrew Fuller, or John Foster, or Richard Cecil, we have not a word. The practical evangelical workers, as Howard and Elizabeth Fry, are, however, recorded with due praise; and, with a few pardonable slight inaccuracies, Guericke has given a good account of the various British and American evangelistic efforts of the last generation and the present. Our Home Mission exertions might have received more full notice. In more than one place, Guericke has spoken out with becoming warmth against the brutal conduct of the "Grande Nation," in trampling down the liberties of Tahiti in the interest of the Papacy. Passing to Continental matters, Guericke has bestowed much pains on the post-Reformation history of Romanism. Here and there slight errors occur, and he scarcely does justice to the preachers of the time of Louis XIV. The Baian, Jansenist, Quietist, Quesnelian, Febronian, and Sailerian controversies are well described. The Hermesian disputes are also noticed; but the more recent pamphlet warfare, and investigation by Rome about the philosophy of Gunther and Veith of Vienna, are passed over. While the fierce bitterness of a portion of the Romanist writers of Germany, especially perverts from Protestantism, is properly adverted to, it would have been more candid to have given some account of the marked revival of theological learning, especially in its dogmatic and historical branches, which the last forty years have witnessed as characterising the Teutonic Romanists.

Of Lutheranism, Guericke ever writes with the ardent affection of a devoted son. "The Evangelical Lutheran Church," writes he (vol. iii., p. 349), "founded truly and entirely upon the Bible, in living holding fast of Christ, the salvation-bringing corner-stone of the Word, she is, in relation to the two other Western Churches (the Romanist and the Calvinist), the Church of the pure word, and, at the same time, of true mediation.¹ The Lutheran Church manifests herself as the truly Catholic, as the living continuation of the one holy, universal Church, which has received, unimpaired, into herself the rich treasures of the foregoing centuries, defended as thoroughly against heresy as opened to further learned development. In her appears the Western Church system reaching the most pure and the most vigorous unfolding,—the Christian, generous spirit originated by Boniface and Charlemagne, attaining to self-direction, and to emancipation from her Romish instructor, which had become her tyrant, and therefore now appearing in full religious maturity and beauty. In her symbolic books, a purity of doctrine unfolds itself, such as never before had been witnessed in the Church since the Apostles' time; and this characteristic, springing as it does from her innermost principles, manifests itself in an equal degree in her whole organisation throughout." Elsewhere he says: "While the old Catholic Eastern Church ignored all reformation, the Roman Catholic Church formed itself, in connection with the Reform, into a counter-Reformation, holding fast the characteristic marks of her existing system. Thus was the Western Church necessarily separated into a new Roman Catholic and an Evangelical Protestant. But Protestantism also, while asserting the principles of the Reformation in a very diversified manner, more or less adequately representing the essential principles of the Divine Word, either as objective and realist, or subjective and spiritualist, divided itself again into two Churches—the Lutheran and the Reformed; and while these two Protestant, as well as those two Catholic Churches, collectively maintained the platform of the catholicity of the first ages, a multitude of Western sects emancipated themselves from this catholicity, and formed themselves into an Aatholic development." (Vol. iii., p. 251–2.)

With such views of the essential superiority of Lutheranism over all its rivals, and of the excellence of the two original forms of Protestantism over all other divergencies of later origin, Guericke has in this third volume, which is much larger than either of the two preceding, and forms in this a striking contrast to the brevity of the corresponding portion of Gieseler's work, carried through with thorough assiduity and research the History of

¹ Holding the due medium between extremes.

Continental Protestantism. He adopts for periods, Reformation, Particular Development, Decay, and Revival—roughly answering to the sixteenth and three following centuries. The story of the Reformation itself occupies considerably more than a third of the volume. One important subject has not, in this part of his work, received from Dr Guericke adequate attention—the desire for reform felt by a considerable number of persons in all ranks of life, and both laymen and clergymen, who, yet, from timidity, Church views, or other reasons, did not join the Protestant ranks. In a note, he gives various instances of different Protestant doctrines maintained by a larger or smaller minority among the Fathers of Trent (iii. p. 254). But this only very partially, and, in one aspect, brings out what we mean. Again, what he states about Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, is true, so far as it goes (iii., p. 248). But to the full understanding of the case—and Carranza was not only remarkable from his character and exalted rank, but was the representative of a class—it ought to have been added, that he had contributed greatly, along with Pole, to the restoration of Romanism in England, under Mary; and that the book, on account of which charges of heresy were brought against him, was examined by a committee, appointed by the Council of Trent, and declared free from all “uncatholic taint.”

The History of Sacred Song has been elaborated with great care by Guericke. The hymns of the ancient, the mediæval, and the modern German Church, have been studied by him with great care; and the various poetical forms, which the religious sentiment has assumed from age to age, are feelingly and skilfully enumerated. Various quotations are given in the earlier periods; the vast number of the modern contributions to Christian Song which Germany has furnished, is, we presume, the reason why quotation is not practised in the post-Reformation era. It is with a stanza of a Lutheran hymn, contemplative of the glorious future of the Church, that Guericke closes his last volume.¹ Christian Art receives attention, but not to the same degree. It would have been desirable had the history of preaching, from age to age, been investigated and developed with equal care. Assuredly the sermon has not played, in instruction or impression, an inferior part to the hymn.

From Guericke we quote his character of Tertullian (i., pp. 228–231). “Q. S. F. Tertullian, born at Carthage, about A.D. 150, died about 220, the first Latin writer among the Christians; and that ancient Church Teacher, who represents to us the Catholic, and, in addition also, the un- and anti-Catholic element

¹ Guericke has not availed himself of the labours of Mone on the Mediæval, or of Ozanam on the Franciscan Poetry. Both were worth considering.

of the Ancient Church, a hero of the old theology, great also in one-sidedness of principles, but who, if any, may be considered as the first prophetic director to a future reformation; a man, distinguished by glowing piety, burning zeal for Christian truth and the spread of the Gospel, by extensive acquirements, penetration and wit, fire, energy and depth of mind and speech, but also characterized by unbridled fancy and stormy vehemence, and by a propensity to gloomy earnestness. Before his conversion, he was probably a rhetorician and lawyer (compare Euseb. H. E. ii. 2, and the fragments of one Tertullian in the Pandects.) His becoming a convert to Christianity took place in his early manhood, probably under Commodus. In his inner life has developed itself the history of the existing Christianity. Of especial importance to his development was a visit to Rome, which he mentions (Apolog. c. 17, and de cult. fem. i. 7), and which, according to Eusebius, H. E. ii. 2, and Jerome catal. c. 63, was something more than a brief stay. He became afterwards a presbyter at Carthage; and in the time of his subsequent literary activity, three periods are to be distinguished: an apologetic anti-pagan, a montanist anti-catholic, and a polemical anti-gnostic, not, however, as if these exactly succeeded one another. Becoming a Montanist, probably about 200 or 201, because the Catholic Church had in his view departed from its original simplicity in a sensuous direction, and had ceased to be a Church of the Spirit, he threw himself with his whole soul into his new views, and manifested an increasingly anti-Catholic temper. His later writings, however, do not give us accurate information as to the time in which they were composed. His latter days are involved in obscurity. . . . He was too thoroughly a Father of the Church to be comfortable as the leader of a sect. It was a true *Church* of the Spirit, not a *sect* of the Spirit, that he desired to see; and this desire attended him through the closing years of his life, until he disappeared, quiet and unnoticed. The wish of his life remained after his death, and, indeed, propagated itself until it found vent in the contests and the victories of the Reformation. His writings are the most important source of our knowledge of Christian antiquity. They are a rich storehouse of archæological and doctrino-historical information. They exercised an important influence on the formation of the Church terminology in the West. On the other hand, they are full of African provincialism and juridical expressions; and everywhere show the effort of the profound and fiery man to express his thoughts in a memorable and distinctive form of speech."

We may smile at the statement of Guericke, in his Preface, that he, in all the impressions of his work, has ever been "the earnest and steadfast, the *ecumenical* and *irenical* Lutheran, and

will ever be so, as long as he breathes." But, if the polemic intrudes where the historic only should sway, we must remember the harsh treatment which strict confessional Lutheranism has received in Prussia and elsewhere, in the present century; and, in consideration of his research, his devoutness, his firm grasp of evangelical truth, his careful exhibition of the practical as well as the intellectual manifestations of Christianity in each successive era, we may well overlook the partisan confessionalism of the Halle Professor. The history has, besides a full table of contents and index, a valuable chronological table, appended to each volume.

Has the reader ever perused Dean Milman's work, the *History of Ante-Nicene and Latin Christianity*? If not, the nine volumes, except to those who, with Dr Chalmers, shrink from "a big book," are well worth reading. The non-German scholar who has made himself acquainted with the Dean's history has a good idea, not indeed of the style, but of the spirit of Hase. What Milman is on a large scale for a part of Church History, that the Jena Professor is, in a condensed form, for the whole of it. The same all-sided cultivation, the same literary power, the same pictorial treatment, and the same lowness and vagueness of theological view.

Introductory to his Church History, may be considered Hase's *Life of Jesus*. This book is most valuable, as giving the student references to the vast amount of literature connected with each step of the Gospel history. But it is semi-rationalist in tone. The instances of demoniac possession are resolved into animal magnetism, and other modes of non-supernatural influence. The appearances of angels in the New Testament, and the rising of many of the saints who slept (Matt. xxvii. 52), have no objective reality. The rending of the vail of the temple is equally devoid of historical basis. Particular verses and passages, as Mark xvi. 9, are pruned away, as Hase's subjectiveness considers them destitute of harmony with the rest of the Gospel narrative. All this will prepare an orthodox reader to come to Hase's Church History with a feeling that, though the pleasantest of companions, he is not the safest of guides.

Yet, of all Church Histories, this is the one most suited to the general reader. No one will ever weary over Hase's pages. In the least interesting periods, the felicity of his style, and the vigour of his painting, carry him triumphantly over the ground. No German writer is more difficult to translate, from the very excellencies of a literary character, which he uniformly displays. Though his book is only a single octavo volume of about eight hundred pages, it contains full, though condensed, information on many points which historians of much greater amplitude of nar-

native have passed over or treated but by the way.¹ The work of Guericke, for example, is more than twice as large as that of Hase, but the latter will inform on not a few points, for which the former will be appealed to in vain. The Jena Professor, however, is sadly deficient in the devout spirit of Guericke. The Godward aspect is ever seen in Guericke, but the manward has never been more brilliantly presented than in Hase.

Of the Lutheran worship Hase thus writes:—"While the Reformed Church went back to the simplicity of apostolic times, the Lutheran worship developed itself from the Romish Mass-ritual according to the reforming view, that the language of each nation is to it a holy tongue. When Luther (1526) put forth an ordering of Divine Service, he guarded himself from the supposition that therein a general law limiting Christian freedom was contained. Secret Confession was retained, but as a matter left to individual freedom, and for the common people. The holy seasons were confined to those for which scriptural events could be pleaded, only Marian and Apostolic commemorations remained in some national churches. An annual celebration of the Reformation Festival took place first (1688) in Saxony. Luther was not of the opinion that the Gospel was the enemy of the arts, but would willingly see all the arts, especially music, employed in the service of Him from whom they are derived. Albert Durer was imbued with Luther's spirit. The faithful Lucas Cranach was the painter of the Reformation. Church Song was first, through Luther, raised to the character of a Sacred People's-Song, while (through translation) the newly-born hymns of the old Church formed, along with the poems he himself composed, a stream of holy song in the German Church. The individual hymns appear as the words of a great lyric-epic poem, which the spirit of Christian song composed, as the centuries rolled on."—(Pp. 475-6.)

Dr Kurtz is professor of theology at Dorpat. His Church History is the most recent in respect of date. With his large work on the same subject we do not, at present, occupy ourselves, as it has, as yet, only been issued as far as the time of Charlemagne. The compendium before us is that book on Church History which the student of German should first read. Were it translated, it ought every way to supersede Mosheim in our divinity halls. It is admirably adapted to the student's purposes, giving, in a portable form, and with great clearness of expression and vigour of touch, all that one commencing the study, cares about knowing, or need, at that period of his studies, know. A comparatively slight expansion and correction of the British and American portions would thoroughly fit it for use to the candidate

¹ Thus, he alone, of those before us, refers to the Wodrow Society Publication of Calderwood's History.

for the ministry in this country and the United States. Kurtz, however, is deficient in acquaintance with non-German sources of information. Thus, in his history of French Protestantism, he derives no aid from the recent works of Haag, Drion, and Weiss. He somewhat, we think, overrates the effect of the religious, and underrates the effect of the political part of the Romanist reaction of the seventeenth century. We suspect that comparatively few perverts were made, even by the most amiable and accomplished of Romanists, either in France or Southern Germany. It was court favour that drew over the noble, and military force that terrified into external proselytism the poor.

Kurtz, after the apostolic age, divides his subject as follows :— I. The Ancient Classic Form. II. The Middle German. III. The Modern German Form. The last is subdivided into four eras : First, to the peace of Westphalia ; second, to the rise of Rationalism, 1750 ; third, to the end of the War of Freedom, 1814 ; last, to the present time (period of revival of Christian and Ecclesiastical sentiment, and likewise of Communistic and Pantheistic attacks on religion and society).

He thus describes the Romanism of the seventeenth century :—

“ This age was a period of glory for the Catholic theology, such as has never been seen from the twelfth or thirteenth century to the present day. In the free-minded Gallican Church, above all other parts of the Roman obedience, there manifested itself a rich, lively, and liberal life of scholarship. The Parisian Sarbonne, and still more the orders of the Jesuits, the Benedictines of St Maur, and the Oratorians, contended with one another in theological, and especially in patristical and ecclesiastic-historical erudition, and the contemporary vigour of the Reformed theology in France was a powerful spur to emulation. The arts of design, and especially painting, had outlived their period of bloom. On the other hand, church music developed itself largely, but in an effeminate and secularised form. In Spain and Germany only church song found votaries, worthy of our notice.”—P. 522.

Kurtz has not grown careless in his task as he drew near its close. If his last period, from 1814 onward, shows some deficiencies in its account of British philosophy and theology,¹ the view he gives of German authorship in both is most admirable. Both Protestants and Romanists are treated with great fulness and impartiality. The whole twenty pages which go over and (for a compendium) exhaust this subject, would be worthy of extract, had we space. To many of our readers much that these pages contain would be new.

¹ It is very singular that such writers as Archdeacon Hare and Dean Trench, who have done so much to recommend the study of German theology, should be ignored by German historians of the Church.

Foremost among Romanist theologians in Germany stood Möhler, professor, first at Tübingen and latterly at Munich. His "Symbolik" called forth a host of answers both from the supernaturalist and the rationalistic sections of the Protestant Church. His Monograph on Athanasius, and other smaller works, were but to pave the way for an extended History of the Church, which would have, from a Romanist stand-point, been the rival of Neander's book. But his death, when little more than forty years of age, prevented the accomplishment of this great design. We possess from his pen, on Church history only several able reviews, contributed to the Tübingen Quartal Schrift, and an introductory lecture, printed in the posthumous collection of his smaller writings. In this he divides the subject into three parts—the Greek-Roman, the German, and the combined Greek, Roman, and German eras—answering roughly to the ancient, the mediæval, and the modern Church.

Since Möhler's death, no German Romanist has attempted to give in lengthened detail the history of the Church, and thus to rival, beyond the Rhine, the voluminous work of the Abbé Rohrbacher. But various histories, on a smaller scale, have been issued, of which among the most popular has been that which we now review. In earlier life, Dr J. J. Ritter was a Hermesian, but, like Berlage and others of the Rhenish school, he gave up those views, when condemned by Rome. During the period of the Ronge controversy, he came forward as the strenuous opponent of that reformer, whom he mentions with peculiar bitterness in his history. He translated into German Lingard's Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and appeared in the polemical field with a series of rather fierce letters to Eichler, on the charges brought by him against the Romish Church. He is a professor at Breslau, and dean of the cathedral there.

The Church History of Ritter is superior to the others we notice in the list of previous works on the subject. The Italian labourers in the field, overlooked by Protestants, receive due notice from him. Strange to say, he gives the most extended catalogue of British books on this subject, though somewhat incorrectly, as he calls Haweis a Presbyterian, and Priestley an Independent !

Ritter divides his subject into five periods—the first to Constantine ; the second to Boniface, 719 ; the third to Gregory VII., 1073 ; the fourth to the Reformation ; and the last to the present time. His book is written in a clear and pleasing style, never wearying the reader by lengthened or involved sentences. Of course, there is a strong Romish bias, and, on contested points, assertion not unfrequently takes the place of proof. We have, however, gone over a number of his quotations from the ancient

writers in his first and second periods, and have, in general, found them to be depended on. These two periods are the most satisfactory part of Ritter's work. Neither with the mediæval nor the modern part of his subject has he taken the pains which he has evinced in the ancient. On inaccuracies in his representation of British events and characters we shall not dwell, having trodden that ground already, in our reviews of Gieseler and Guericke. He represents Moore's *Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion*, as a much more influential work than it ever was. What wonder it excited (and it, in this country, soon passed away), sprung from the singularity of an amatory poet showing proof of having, at his leisure hours, amused himself with dipping into the fathers! Whatever of Moore goes down to posterity, and it may, perhaps, not be more than Jeffrey anticipated—three per cent. of Southey—it will not be the *Travels*.¹

Ritter shows himself somewhat deficient in knowledge of Protestant monographies on the writers of the ancient Church. He sometimes traces Church customs too high. Thus there is no evidence of the use of Baptisteries, in the first period, as he implies. With the recent Oxford editions of part of Eusebius and Theodoret he seems unacquainted. To Augustine he does scanty justice; nor is it correct to say, that the charge of semi-Pelagianism is brought only by Lutheran writers against the modern Church of Rome. The independence of the ancient British Church on Rome is not to be refuted by mere assertion on his part, or sophistical twisting of minor points of the argument. It is not perfectly certain (though probability is in its favour) that Pelagius was a native of this Island. Hase adopts the view, which many Frenchmen hold, that he was born in Bretagne. Even while we are writing, we see that Saint Rene Taillandier claims him as a Breton, precursor of Abelard and Des Cartes, in freedom of thinking.—(*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Sept. 1858.)

Of the English Protestant writers, from Inett to Soames, who have given attention to the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church, Dr Ritter seems quite unaware. Nor has he paid more special attention to those who have written upon the mediæval British Church. To Anselm, the greatest of our mediæval prelates, he does but limited justice, never so much as mentioning his era-marking book, "*Cur Deus Homo?*" Altogether, indeed, his view of the scholastic and mystic writers of the middle ages is disappointing and superficial. A subject, which we would have expected a learned Romanist to have especially elaborated, is

¹ Yet, on the Continent, the book seems still to be read, as we may gather from the very laudatory article on Moore (by Kerker) in the "*Kirchen. Lexicon*, Erg. B., p. 807, 810.

treated incomparably better both by Guericke and Kurtz. The work has a distinctive feature of importance in its chronological list of the Councils, general and provincial.

The following extract is from Ritter's prefatory remarks to the history of learning in his second period :—

“To the right estimate of the Christian literature, in its relation to the classical, we must remember that the classical writers knew no higher qualities than beauty and masterly expression. The matter was considered subordinate. On the contrary, the Christian authors considered style a secondary thing to subject. The Christian religion, which was the subject of their writings, presented them with hitherto unknown truths, new and exalted ideas, which could only with difficulty be adapted to the existing forms of speech. A large proportion of the writings of these men was called forth by special occasions, and the ‘*nonum prematur in annum*’ was a precept thus impossible to be complied with. Cicero has, with scanty exceptions, stamped his impress on the whole of Roman literature. What he was for the classical literature, that Tertullian became for the Christian literature of the West. As an African, he was addicted to the Oriental style of pompous and rhetorical writings. The most influential authors of the Latin Church, in its earlier stages—Minutius Felix, Cyprian, Arnobius, Augustine, Optatus—were his countrymen. Besides, the writers of that age could not escape the influence of the debased taste of their contemporaries.—Vol. i., p. 244.

Here, apparently, Ritter takes for granted the Italian birth of Lactantius, now generally accepted in Germany, in place of the older belief, that he was an African. Assuredly the author of the “*Institutiones*” shows no trace of Tertullianite influence in his style. A little farther on, he speaks of the writings of Cicero as corrupting the pulpit eloquence of the great Eastern fathers of the Basilian age. But what evidence is there that the Roman orator was especially studied by Basil, the Gregories, or Chrysostom? The more florid of the Greek orators were much more likely to have affected their style for the worse.

The next work before us is not a general Church History, but though only the narrative of a special period, we have taken it here as the representative of views, more or less prevalent in Romanist Germany, during the last century. Febronius has sown seed on that soil, which three generations have seen produce harvest after harvest. Von Wessenberg was a man of very varied accomplishments—a poet, and a connoisseur in the fine arts. For some time he held the position of coadjutor Bishop of Constance, but his liberal views excited suspicion at Rome, and the government of Baden sacrificed him to Papal ill-will. He spent his latter years in privacy, and gave to the world as his last literary effort the work we now notice, “*The History of the*

Councils of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." In this his object, like that of Dr Hirscher of Freiburg in his book on the "Union of the Confessions," which the Tractarian Coxe of America translated, is to contribute to the removal of the divisions of the Western Church. Hirscher, however, recanted on the application of pressure from Rome. But Wessenberg did not. His work, on its appearance, received severe criticism from Hefele and other high Romanists.

The first volume of Wessenberg's History is introductory. In it we find, with no very marked plan, a number of statements and remarks upon the history of the centuries preceding the Fifteenth. The want of system greatly detracts from the effectiveness of the volume, and we cannot wonder that this fault, in addition to the dislike with which a liberal Romanist was regarded by the stricter members of his church, has injured the circulation of the book. Besides, the work is very deficient in the warm religious feeling of Sailer, the "German Fenelon," and his school. Wessenberg did not object to the doctrine of his church at all. For the sake of peace, he would have given up some questions, but even in regard to such matters as Image Veneration, and the Mariolatry of the Basle Council in affirming the Immaculate Conception, he expresses no dissent. His book has thus failed to commend itself largely either to Protestants or to Romanists. Neander, when he treats of the Constance and Basle Councils, never mentions it; Bungener, in his popular History of the Trent Council, never alludes to it.

In his second and third volumes, Wessenberg goes over the history and the decrees of the Constance, Basle, and Trent Councils, and his fourth volume is mainly taken up with comments upon the proceedings of the latter in its bearing upon the subsequent history of the Papacy, the Episcopate, the relation of Church and State in Romish countries, the development of Jesuitism, and the prospects of reunion with the separated Protestants. His views are very much those of the minority at Trent, who (with some few exceptions, whose doctrinal views approached to Lutheranism) wished considerable disciplinary reforms, and considered these sufficient to restore the broken unity of the Latin Church. It is the error of non-doctrinal writers, like Wessenberg, to under-rate the influence of dogma, forgetting the great fact, of which all Church History bears witness, that morals never can long survive indifference to doctrinal truth.

On the other hand, Wessenberg exhibits a thorough hatred of Jesuitism, a warm desire for Bible circulation (in the translation of Leander Van Ess), and an anxiety for the reforms, which at Trent were urged in vain by Austria and Bavaria, and

partially by France, such as the marriage of the clergy, and the concession of the cup to the laity. He views the yielding the latter point to the urgent entreaties of the Bohemians by the Basle Council as a model of ecclesiastical wisdom (Vol. ii. 346-7). His theory is, that had the above-mentioned Council, in the continuance and development of the views of the Fathers of Constance, been adequately supported in its opposition to Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V. by Germany and the other Western Powers, the Reformation of the next century would never have been called for; and if separation from the Latin Church had taken place at all, it would have been on a scale as small as that of the Waldenses or the United Brethren. Again, had the States still remaining "Catholic" been agreed in their reforming demands, and rigorously insisted upon the Tridentine Fathers carrying these into decree and execution, the great mass of the Protestants would have been brought back. This Conciliar theory is, however, at variance with a right view of facts. The supremacy of the Bible was fully brought out by Wickliffe, implied, though not thoroughly developed in Huss, and made a permanent stand-point by the Sixteenth century Reformers. Neither the Constance, Basle, nor Tridentine Council would have conceded this. Besides what claim had these Councils to be considered ecumenical? Northern and Eastern Europe were scarcely at all represented in them; and had Southern and Western Europe any right to decide for the other half of the Continent? No Latin Council has ever had even the amount of claim to the name "General," which the Oriental Synods from the Nicene to the second Constantinopolitan had to that title, so far as the Greek Church, at least, was concerned.

The work of Wessenberg is valuable, as presenting in a portable form, a vast mass of evidence relating to the gross corruptions in life and practice prevalent among the Romish clergy, especially in the centuries when these great Councils were held. The testimony, both of Romish princes, and of honest Romanist authors, affords ample justification of the Protestant revolt from a communion, where such abuses, though lamented by some, have never been effectually grappled with. The Roman Curia has ever been the decided enemy, even of disciplinary reform, and the Curialists have here, at least, practically conquered throughout the Roman obedience.

"The Pope," says he, "sought to curb the efforts of the Council of Trent for reform, and confine them within narrow bounds. Rome declared the Inquisition and the employment of physical force the best means to suppress heresy. Her defenders maintained, that without her interference the whole of Europe would declare itself on the side of the Reformers, and give these the superiority everywhere.

The time when Church authority itself was struck at, was not one in which reforms could be properly considered. The most important question at such a period, was to preserve the authority of the Church, and this was practicable only through opposition to all reform. If all reform could not be hindered, then the next course was to make it as much as possible dependent upon Rome. . . . It is true that Rome could not take part in a thorough satisfactory Church Reform, without purifying her own power from all abuses and exorbitant claims. But it was then thought, that the whole strength of the Church lay in the authority of the Roman See. If this is only preserved unimpaired, sooner or later she will be able to regain the countries which have by their own efforts shaken themselves loose from her. It was, further, a topic of consolation for the loss of so many nations in Europe, that in other parts of the world, especially in the West Indies, many were becoming converts to the Catholic faith. . . . The boldest claims were again publicly made, and a notable evidence of the extension of Papal energy since the Council of Trent, is furnished by the *Bullarium*, for since this period the number of Roman Bulls has greatly increased, in comparison with earlier times; and these have much more venturously than formerly, claimed jurisdiction over the details of Church life, forms and practices. The Pope possessed the power of interpreting all decrees of Council, even those which limited (in words) his authority. While the Protestants declared the Pope to be Anti-Christ, many Catholic theologians elevated him to be in place of God (Vice-Gott). No wonder, then, that Pius V., in 1568, dared to order in all churches the annual publication of the Bull *in coena Domini*, which had hitherto been proclaimed only in Rome on Maundy Thursday. This Bull, the quintessence of all the extravagances of the Papal claims, excommunicates all who appeal from the Pope to a general council, who teaches the superiority of such a council to the Pope, who reads, possesses, and prints heretical books without Papal sanction; who appeals from the commands of the Pope or the ordinances of his legates, commissaries, and judges, to secular courts of law; all princes who attempt to limit ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or to interfere with the rights of the clergy, who pass laws against the freedom of the Church, or suffer heretics to exist in their dominions. Urban VIII., reckoning upon the weakness and the want of union of the Catholic powers, gave forth this Bull, in 1627, in still stronger terms."—Vol. iv. p. 253–7.

Wessenberg does not add, that for Pius there was the excuse (sorry though it be) of sincere fanaticism; but Urban, on whose table, as Ranke tells us, were found not books of theology or practical religion, but "the last new poems, and plans of fortifications," had no such extenuation of his conduct to plead.

Before passing from these works of Romish authors, we may remark, that a number of elaborate articles on Church History, especially in its earlier periods, have appeared from the pens of

Hefele, Drey, Aberle, Herbst, and others in the "Tubingen Quartal-Schrift," during its now forty years course of activity and influence. In the pages of the "Kirchen-Lexicon," also (which, with its Protestant rival the "Real-Encyclopædia of Herzog, is indispensable to every German-reading clergyman's library), from the same and equally qualified pens, a number of learned and instructive papers will be found. With German Romanists, Church History is as decidedly a strong point as Exegesis is a weak one. The last work on our table differs essentially from all the preceding, in being, not a continuous history, but a series of ecclesiastical biographies, representing the various periods of the Church. It has been not far from twenty years in progress, and its learned author has now completed the Ancient and Mediæval Periods. Exception may be taken, doubtless, both as to the individuals admitted, and those excluded. That list, assuredly, does not err on the side of excessive strictness, which includes both Abelard and Heloise in full detail. We have a volume on the Mystics, Tauler, Suso, and others; why have we not one of equal extent on the Scholastics? Why are not such writers as Hugh of St Victor, Aquinas, and Bonaventura, treated of?

Apart, however, from such objections, the now voluminous work of Böhringer is eminently worthy of study. He is deficient in cognisance of modern writers on his subjects, perhaps deeming it more conducive, alike to simplicity and vigour of treatment, to confine himself to the works of the authors he treats of, and the biographies, by those, who were, if not contemporaries, at least, persons, not far removed in time from those heroes. Thus, we have no mention of "Montalembert's Life of St Elizabeth," of "Chavin de Malan's Biography of St Francis of Assisi," or of the work of his fellow-Swiss, Hurter on Innocent III. That the last-mentioned became a pervert to Romanism through his one-sided study of the Innocentine Age, is no reason for ignoring his book. A German writer would find, from the very difference of the national characters, benefit in paying attention to the mode of treatment pursued by French authors. Böhringer, however, makes an exception in favour of this country. He has carefully paid attention to the works on Wickliffe, by Lewis and Vaughan; that by Le Bas he probably considered too merely popular for consideration. Dr Vaughan's elaborate book is viewed by Böhringer as too limited in aim, and too nearly anti-Papal in the presentation of its subject. Böhringer has taken great pains in sifting his materials, and in separating, as in the case of St Elizabeth of Thuringia (or of Hungary, as she is sometimes called), the historical from the legendary. This life gives us a vivid picture of the thirteenth century, when the Mendicant Orders were

just beginning to exert their wide and long-lasting influence in Europe. Early in life taken from her father's court in Hungary, and betrothed to the heir-apparent of the Thuringian crown, exposed to many slights and injuries from unfriendly female connections, yet bearing them all with the meekness and patience becoming a Christian, she proves herself fit for the possession of royal honours, when her father-in-law dies. Through all her married life, it is as "Brother" that she speaks of, or to, her husband, with whom, from childhood, she had been brought up. Only to please him does she ever put on princely attire; plain, even to an extreme, in her dress, when she can uncontrolled carry out her own will. Her husband leaves her to join the Crusaders, and dies on Italian ground, before he can take part in his Eastern enterprise. Relieved, at length, from the sufferings (which one is disposed to think over coloured), to which her husband's death exposes her from his brother Henry, she denuded herself of all her possessions, and retired into the Tertiary order of the Franciscans. She took a warm interest in the training of the young, and in all other works of beneficence, according to the views of that period. In that long past Ante-Chadwickian era, we are not surprised to find her so insensible to sanitary views, as to be averse to the use of the bath! About her personal appearance, our lady readers will be disappointed to learn, that we possess no contemporary statements! Even the Roman Breviary does not assert that any miracles were wrought by her during her life, though it affirms, "immediately after her death, numerous wonders were accomplished, which, being duly substantiated, Gregory IX. inscribed her in the number of the saints." (Office for 19th November.)

It is a somewhat fanciful remark of Böhringer, in his volume on Wickliffe, that Northern England was German-Saxon, and Southern England Romanic, in the character of its population. It would have been more correct to say, that in the former there was a strong Danish element, which was wanting in the latter. On the influence of Wickliffe's writings and followers in Scotland, he says nothing. The very existence of the Lollards of Kyle seems unknown to him.

"Wickliffe," says he, "was confined in view to England; he is thoroughly and limitedly a Briton. Yet he was connected with the Continent by a chain of powerful influences, as we shall see in Huss and Jerome (of Prague). In the Reformation of the sixteenth century, of which he was the boldest and most thorough forerunner, he was not, at least, by the German Reformers, duly honoured . . . Luther ought, at least, to have shown to Wickliffe the same justice as to Huss, who, in his doctrine, followed the English Reformer as his master. But Luther was better acquainted with the Bohemian than with the

English Reformer. Melancthon brings against him two charges, that he neither fully understood, nor urged upon others, the doctrine of Justification by Faith, and that he insidiously mingled together the Gospel and politics. There is, however, a specific connection between Wickliffe and the Reformers of the Swiss type. There is the same direction of the understanding, ruling over feeling and imagination, without mystic, contemplative, romantic elements; also the same strong, austere character, as in Calvin; the same energetic protest against ecclesiastical abuses, and less disposition to spare the existing, marking, in Reformation times, the difference between the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches; the same looking back to the original apostolic Christianity, even in forms, with less value attached to historical continuity; the same especially *moral* religious apprehension of Christianity. Even in particular dogmas, we find the same resemblance; as in the doctrines of Determinism, Predestination, Creationism, (as opposed to Traducianism), the view of the Sacraments in general, and of the Lord's Supper in particular. In worship also, there is the same spiritualising, simple view, conforming itself to the example of the original apostolic age; the same Puritanism; the same rejection of saints' days, and other post-apostolic observances" (*Johannes v. Wykliffe*, p. 604-7).

It is, after all, scarcely fair to Böhringer to treat of his work at the close of an article. It is of sufficient value and distinctiveness to be entitled to a long paper by itself. In it the author well upholds the literary honour of German-speaking Switzerland. We part from him, convinced that this century, fertile as it has been in valuable German contributions to Church History, has produced few books more worthy of present consideration, and more likely to meet with future study. It is not a book which will die before its author, or speedily follow him to the grave.

In conclusion, we rise from the perusal of these German works, from Protestant or Romanist writers, with somewhat of a feeling of shame for our country's deficiencies. The first Church History, produced on British ground, so far as we know, was that of Patrick Sympson, one of our old Presbyterian worthies. Of him, we read, "he was well versed in reading of the Fathers, both Greek and Latin; . . . a man well versed in the Fathers and Church History, yea, in all learning" (*Wodrow Society; Select Biographies*, vol. i., p. 74.-303). Nearly two centuries and a half have passed away, since Sympson's book was published, and how little has Scotland kept the promise she then, amid all the throes and struggles of an imperfectly settled Church Government, gave! Peace has long since come. But where are its fruits? In this department of learning, few or none. One volume from Principal Campbell; another from Dr Welsh! True, England has little more to boast of, than Scotland. Con-

sidering the ample leisure, which her great academical foundations give, it is the more to her discredit that she has used these so little. And when we find in her chief seats of learning,

“ Isis and Cam, to patient Science dear,”

as Wordsworth sings of them, such men as Blunt and Hussey, looked up to as models of professorial erudition and vigour, giving faith in their recently issued *Prelections*,¹ matter well studied, indeed, from the old High Church seventeenth century standpoint; but, in the case of the former, with an entire, and, in the case of the latter with an almost total ignoring of all that Germany has done in the field, we cannot help feeling, that tradition and conventionalism must be rooted out from our Southern seats of learning, before Germany will ever be, we shall not say equalled, but approached to. It is the same in editions of ancient writers. The *Oxford Theodoret*² is beautifully got up; but, here also, Germany is forgotten. Let us hope, that the long-promised *Sozomen* will be issued, by and by, by some Oxonian, who will not disdain to make use of the ample materials which Teutonic industry has placed within his reach. Let us hope also, that the time is not far remote, when the healthful emulation, which we have in this paper shown exists between the Protestant and the Romanist sections of German theology, will be exhibited between the Scottish and English divisions of our island. Edinburgh and Oxford, Cambridge and Glasgow, might then meet in profitable and honourable rivalry on the Church History field.

¹ “Blunt’s *Lectures on the Early Fathers*.” “*History of the Church in the first three Centuries*.” “Hussey’s *Rise of the Papal Power*.”

² *Theodoret’s Eccles. Hist.* Oxon. 1854.

ART. IV.—*The Ethics of Aristotle illustrated with Essays and Notes.* By Sir ALEXANDER GRANT, Bart., M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Vol. I., containing Essays on the Ethics of Aristotle. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1857.

THE influence of Aristotle upon Oxford is one of those strange psychological phenomena which ancient philosophers would have resolved into an indeterminable chance, and which we moderns must be content to accept as the result of an unknown law. There are things beneath as well as beyond reason, the discovery of which "passeth man's understanding." On the one side lies the mystery of fellowship, and on the other is the mystery of fascination. "*Corruptio optimi pessima*;" and if on the one side human sympathy culminates in unapproachable light, it culminates on the other in impenetrable darkness. And in Oxford Aristotelianism there is the fusion and synthesis of these; it is too rational to be wholly bigotry, too conservative to be wholly conviction. It has all the sacredness of a traditional doctrine. It is, in short, a kind of intellectual religion, a creed rather than a philosophy, the "*Quicunque vult*" of Oxford—involving the lesser excommunication for those who doubt, and the fulness of anathema for those who deny.

So far as it can be reduced to reason, it has two chief causes,—the one is external and objective, the other internal and subjective: the former depends on the character of the Aristotelian philosophy, the latter upon that of Oxford thought. With regard to the former, there is in Aristotle a perfect adaptation to the Oxford theory of education: he is the end and fulfilment, as well as the law and cause of it. He is the type of the philosophy of compromise. There are no "extreme views" in him. His meaning lies on the surface, without seeming to be superficial. He has the calm gentlemanliness of a man of the world, and yet takes rank as a philosopher. He has a fulness of matter and a perfection of method: he strives to make a man *περὶ πάντων πεπαιδευμένον*, but never for a moment loses sight of the *ὥς δεῖ*. He rises sufficiently high above popular notions to be able to guide and interpret them; but not so high as to have absorbed perspicuity in depth, or to have forgotten that those who cannot fathom a man's thought, content themselves with criticisms of his apparel. And the nature of Aristotle's method, even more than his attention to it, must be looked at in the light of a cause. For it is a method at once all-crushing and all-embracing, which seems to

encircle with its coils the whole sphere of possible knowledge. Things sacred and things profane come alike within its grasp. No thought is too high for it, no subtlety can escape it. Its simple forms seem to afford a most certain detection of fallacy without any great elaborateness of effort. Its clear deduction from axioms about which few are sceptical, give it a dominion over both sides of every controversy. It wraps the minds of those who submit to it in the folds of inextricable argument, and yet offers no show of violence. It is "*totus teres atque rotundus*;" and herein, perhaps, is the true secret of its strength: for the Oxford mind is too often content to be like the Oxford dress—neat, loose-fitting, and symmetrical. And, again, it must be remembered that Aristotle was the successor and heir of the Sophists. The sophistical method of instruction and theory of education is thoroughly developed in him. They made a man fit for all kinds of work, and ready with an instrument for all fields of thought. Their aim was not philosophical, but practical: they looked not to growth in truth, but to cleverness of political action. All these things, in combination with Aristotle's own perfection of "finish," elevate the Aristotelian writings into the first rank of school-books: their value has been thoroughly seen by Oxford legislators; and hence Oxford has become the great Aristotelian school of England; and its great result has been to shape its disciples to the Aristotelian method, as Cambridge has shaped them to mathematical method.

And, again, the matter, as well as the form of Aristotelianism, coincides exactly with the purpose of Oxford training: especially the Ethics—the Aristotelian philosophy of human nature—the analysis of morals—the classification of duties. They are the resumé of all popular notions on the subject. They are deep without mysticism, worldly-wise without vulgarity. They are one of the simplest of all possible manuals of the crowning point of education—the science of right living and just dealing. Their fault lies not in their error, but in their imperfectness. They are suited for the youth of thought, not for its manhood. And this is what we find for the most part in Oxford—not manhood, but infancy or youth. The first generalisations claim to themselves the name of an universal philosophy: the first glimpse at the causes of things, so wonderful in itself, so high even in its littleness when contrasted with the utter unthinkingness of the multitude, fixes the attention for ever. "It is philosophy," they say, "and for young men it is enough; perhaps depth, after all, will only be dangerous." In one point this is doubtless right: it is true practically, although false theoretically. For the purposes of education, the deep things of philosophy are not required—only the first insight into the reasons of things, the first habit

of generalisation. The true difficulty of philosophy lies in the first step—the first awakening to the sense of darkness, and the first search for light. And herein again Aristotle is the best guide: his philosophy is the safest for learners. The fault lies not in reading him, but in reading him as the all in all—as the *summa totius philosophiæ*, beyond which there is no hope of truth, no salvation for thinkers.

But again, Aristotle is not only the fulfilment of what Oxford wants, he is the representative of what Oxford is. The philosophy to which individuals or communities attach themselves is universally the reflex of their own tendencies, and conversely. The idealist attaches himself to Plato, the ultra-nominalist to Hobbes; and so the normal type of an Oxford man reads Aristotle because he finds in him the exact expression of his own “views” on reasoning and human nature. If Aristotle were merely used as a propædæutic—as a valuable introduction to the sphere of philosophy, the attention which is bestowed upon him would deserve the highest commendation, as an instance of practical wisdom and knowledge of the science of education. But the Oxford man does more than this; he *believes* in Aristotle: it is his creed, and more—it is his rule of life and standard of judgment. To him the Aristotelian philosophy is a living reality: all reasoning is reduced to syllogistic forms; all thought is a rounded whole, with no consciousness of the existence of anything beyond, no longing whatever for a glimpse into the mystery of things. And, above all, until lately the whole tendency of Oxfordism was conservative: it was a perpetual retracing of the old paths; speculation was perilous, originality was heretical. There was little freshness of thought, and with this there was little breadth of thought. It was a well, and not a sea: deep enough, but narrow. And for the majority, perhaps, there was not even depth: there was a mere attempt at systematising a few plain facts of ethics and metaphysics—a sophistry, in short, which was only the first remove from the popular view, and whose very glory lay in its mere practical good sense. There was a jealousy of extra-Aristotelian thinking as being unnecessary, if not suspicious, and as likely to end in latitudinarianism, if not in actual heresy. And so the Oxford coach jogged on—opposing Platonism, as it opposed railways, as being contrary to the traditions of the elders and the received notions of things. It was not so much the theoretical disapproval of progress: it was rather the love of ease and repose—the willing acquiescence in opinions which were felt to be entitled to respect—the dislike of the partiality of which every reaction necessarily partakes—the sense of dignity, premature or natural, which keeps old age lashed to its moorings in spite of the temptation of new discovery. And yet, with all

this, there was a presumed independence of thought : there was a vague and half-unconscious belief that Oxford held a position entirely *hors de combat*—that it was utterly unswayed in all these things by precedent, or prejudice, or passion—that it could see the whole sphere of philosophy moving without being carried along itself. In many cases this was actually true : philosophy was looked at as a completely objective thing, whose facts were to be accepted and taught with as little questioning as the Thirty-nine Articles. There was a dogmatic philosophy as well as a dogmatic theology, which, in the one case as in the other, was “*fides quærens intellectum*”—appealing to the understanding rather than to the judgment, claiming to be interpreted as to its meaning rather than examined as to its evidence. This is exactly what we find in Aristotle. No doubt, he looked upon things, as one of his recent editors maintains, “with the calmness of a superior mind ;” no doubt, to him the juggleries of his formulæ seemed really to embrace all possible knowledge ; no doubt, to him even his great master was a dreamer and a theorist. For his policy is one of conciliation ; it is worldly wisdom and the moral *μεσότης* carried into the sphere of pure thought : it is practically right if men wish only for goodwill in society, it is absolutely wrong if they prefer to seek for truth. But perhaps the most singular feature of the whole is the *traditional* nature of Oxford Aristotelianism. The Aristotle to whom men have looked has been the Aristotle of the Arabians and the schoolmen—the author *plus* his interpreters,—not so much his actual words, as the body of systems wrought out of them which has been handed down from one generation to another. Taken quite out of relation to his times—the influence even of Plato upon him being hardly and occasionally conceded—he has become the mere synthesis of the moral wisdom of whole cycles. He has been read by the light of every age but his own, and every succeeding century has added its mite to the traditional interpretation of him. The Alexandrians found Neo-Platonism, the Arabians found Mahometanism, the schoolmen found scholasticism, the men of modern times find Butler, and Mackintosh, and orthodoxy generally ; and that which is taught is in truth the accretion of all of these round a few remarks on volition and a rude analysis of virtue.

But if there be any truth in this theory that Aristotle and his disciples are the reflex of one another, this is not only a fact, but a law. Every system of philosophy, like every other system whatever, admits of more than one interpretation. It changes with the point of view and the mental bias of the beholder. And thus the changes in the interpretation of Aristotle are the key to the inner workings of the Oxford mind : the stages of the one

are the stages of the other. We have given a sketch of what until lately was the dominant view of Aristotle, inferring from thence, as an effect no less than a cause, the intellectual state of Oxford. We now proceed to the estimation of the great change which is passing over it, and which finds its full reflex in the new interpretation.

It is seldom that we can do so with the certainty which Sir Alexander Grant's book renders possible. Oxford is very slow in embodying its thoughts in print: the junior men are too timid, the seniors too dignified. Especially on this great subject of Oxford study. There is so singular a scrupulousness among Aristotelians as to perfection of style, that neither the one party nor the other venture to risk their reputation by an immature work. And there is a kind of *esprit de corps* among tutors—a kind of reverence for Aristotelian doctrine as for a mystery—which makes men reluctant to divulge to the outer world the arcana of his philosophy. There is a sort of tacit acknowledgment of the traditional nature of the teaching, and consequently there is the usual indisposition to transfer to encyclic treatises that which for ages has been esoteric. But the ice is at last fairly broken; and we have in Sir Alexander Grant's "Essays" a thorough expression of the new school of Oxfordism, written by one of great authority in the University, a member of a distinguished coterie, and lately one of the public examiners.

In a merely literary point of view, this book is at least a remarkable one. It is obviously the result of deep thought and much reading. It is one of those books which are so rare in modern literature, in which the treasure lies mostly below the surface. It is an utterly unrhctorical book. There is no fine writing. There is a studied absence of display. The most striking thoughts are put forth unobtrusively, without any "setting:" the most beautiful passages seem almost purposely broken up to avoid even the appearance of rhetoric. It is simple and scholarlike: there is no art apparent in its composition. And thus, in form as well as in matter, it is the thorough reflex at once of Aristotle and of Oxford. None but an Oxford man could have written it: none but an Oxford man can thoroughly appreciate it. Its fault lies in its very simplicity. It is hard sometimes to find out the drift of a passage: we are tantalised with premises minus the conclusion, or with inferences which are only half drawn. Its style is rather like that of an Oxford lecturer's note-book than that of a regular essay: it has an antithetical sense sometimes, which is quite unintelligible out of Oxford.

But the book, even apart from its connection with Oxford, deserves more than this general kind of criticism: it is well worth

all the examination in detail which our limits can give it, and on both grounds we at once proceed to this. And this examination will be useless unless it is complete; and before it is complete, it must search to the innermost corners of the Aristotelian labyrinth. For the traditional Aristotelianism which has been so long prevalent in Oxford, is still prevalent in the world. The name of Aristotle is one of those which is on every one's lips, but of which hardly anything is really known. And whether it be worth while or no to establish a true view of him *pro bono publico*, it is at least necessary for the appreciation of the subject before us. We must find out what Aristotle really was before we can venture to criticise Sir Alexander Grant's conception of him.

Every true study of Aristotle must begin with that of his historical causes: he cannot possibly be appreciated until he is viewed in relation to his age. More than any other Greek philosopher, he requires to be read in an antithetical and relative sense; and yet with him more than with any other have these elements and antecedents been neglected. The father of the historical method has himself suffered most from the non-application of it. And in this historical method is implied the study not only of the philosophers from whom he borrowed, but of the whole life of his age. We must see how far the political atmosphere in which he lived was reflected in him. We must try to discover the currents and under-currents of thought which came in upon him; the lights which guided him, and the false lights which led him astray; the controversies which were waging and those which were rising; the points on which great questions were supposed to hang; the minor topics which nearness of view prevented him from seeing in their true relation; the social phenomena which wrought their impress upon his character; the authorities who were revered, and the growth or declension of their influence. We must make an analysis, in short, of the whole intellectual and moral atmosphere which Aristotle breathed, before we can ascertain the true nature of the life which is in him.

And, first of all, we must bear in mind the state of politics: we must remember the precipitous descent which Athens and Greece had made in political greatness within the half-century after the death of Pericles. For nothing affects the literature of a country so much as its position in the political cycle. Freedom and noble-heartedness in politics are the reflex of the life of the people; and this, too, is the birth-place of literature. So that political and literary greatness are co-existent effects of the same cause; or, rather, they play into each other as reciprocal causes and effects. And in this fourth century B.C., there was a mar-

vellous political retrogression. In those few years after Athens fell, there seemed to come upon the whole Hellenic world a veil of thick darkness. There were no more great statesmen, and, correspondingly, there were no more great writers. Intrigue and selfishness and insincerity were the law of national life: mediocrity and sentimentalism and artificialness were the universal tendency of literature. It was a political phase of the law of reaction: it was the same kind of torpor which seizes individuals after intense and absorbing periods of activity: the great questions had been settled—the great struggle was over; there remained but little to work for, and little to think of, except the bare outside of existence. The politics of Greece were no longer like a sea-swell, with the morning freshness brightening it, and the gusty winds sweeping over it, and the white foam-crests alternating in everlasting rise and fall: they were like one of the great Atlantic algæ-fields, with its inextricable entanglements of complicated foliage, wreathed one into the other as it were a matted network of serpents, until the tide beneath it seems to be dying for languishment, and the sultry miasma which arises from it deadens even the faint life of the calms around it.

Let us look, in the first place, at the state of the drama; for it will not be forgotten that no nation has ever given us so clear a record of the variations of its moral condition as the Athenians in their drama. The comedy was the very mirror of their life: it grew with their growth, and fell with their fall; and with that fall the life of Aristotle was contemporaneous. Between the plays which Socrates saw and those which Aristotle saw, there is a difference, not of months and years, but of a whole cycle. The glory seems quite departed—the spell seems quite broken. Aristophanes lived long enough to see what was growing up around him, for his three sons were the types of it, and his own latest comedies give evidence of it; and with him died the last obstacle to a complete decadence. It is undoubtedly true that the elements of the change were existing even in the best period of Athens: facts can be adduced to prove the degeneracy of the times of Pericles, which are almost as strong as those of any subsequent epoch. But we must regard each period as a whole: we must compare them not so much in their parallelism of corruption, as in the existence or non-existence of better elements. The fact that Sophocles was

¹ Euripides, for example, was a complete expression of sophistical morality. Serenus (ap. Orelli: *Opusc. Græc. vet. sent. et mor.* ii. 192) relates that Euripides once published a line—

τί δ' αἰσχρὸν ἂν μὴ τοῖσι χρωμένοις δοκῇ;

And that Plato, meeting him afterwards, answered—

αἰσχρὸν τό γ' αἰσχρὸν καὶ δοκῇ, καὶ μὴ δοκῇ.

living and appreciated, must outweigh any comparison between Agathon and Anaxandrides.

In tragedy the decline had been going on for more than half a century: the rhetorical element was gradually permeating the whole fabric of literature. It can be traced, as Mr Grote well observes (vol. viii., p. 442), with great distinctness through Sophocles and Euripides; and in the youth of Aristotle the transition to sentimentalism and bombast was complete. The innovations of Agathon had done their work. The two pupils of Isocrates—Astydamas, the nephew of Æschylus, and Aphareus, the son of Hippias—were the most popular writers; and this fact is by itself enough to show what Athens had become.

In comedy there is a still wider basis for induction; for this had taken the place of tragedy as the leading fashionable amusement, and therefore as the reflex of Athenian life. The "middle comedy" was at its height during Aristotle's first residence at Athens, and its passage into the "new comedy" marks the further bent of popular taste during his later years. The consciousness of weakness is shown in parody; and the progress of artificial "composition," in laborious remarks on the difficulty of finding "subjects." From Antiphanes, with his sempstresses and bath-women, and Anaxandrides, with his Nereids and love intrigues, the path of the Athenian drama winds downwards through Eubulus, Amphis, Timocles, and Alexis—all of them of considerable note in their time, and the latter especially famous through his Roman translators—until at last we come to the Epicureanism of Menander, and the *φλυακογραφία* of Sopater.¹ If we turn to the lyrical element of Greek poetry, all that we are trying to show receives additional corroboration. Philoxenus of Cythera, the pupil of Melanippides, had carried the last relic of his master's glory with him into his grave. His survivor, Timotheus of Miletus, who did not die until B.C. 357, left a strong impress upon Greek poetry and music, which

¹ Their spirit may be fairly estimated by their relation to Plato; and we give a few of their references to him, because they tend to show the kind of impression which the Platonic theories had made upon the age, and herein to confirm the view which we have taken of Aristotle as summing up in himself floating popular notions. For example, Amphis says, "I am as much in the dark about the good which you will receive hereby as about the *ταῖγαθόν* of Plato." And Alexis repeatedly refers to him: for instance, alluding probably to dialectic, "I have been going up and down like Plato, and found nothing philosophical, but only tired my legs;" and again, when some one speaks of his immortal part going up into the sky at death, some one asks, "Isn't this Plato's lecture-room?" Ophelio talks of "one of Plato's stupid books" (*βιβλίον ἐμβροντητόν*): and Epicrates has a long humorous passage describing a crowd of Plato's disciples in the academy coming to the solemn conclusion, after a long interval of silent and intense thought, that a cabbage is round, but unable to settle the other part of the definition, whether it was an herb or a shrub; whereupon Plato very calmly tells them to begin again.

thenceforth, so far as it existed at all, was a mere synthesis of intricate and artificial expressions, with no life beneath to make it beautiful.

In the orators, the indications of the same change assume even greater prominence: whether we look at the character of the speeches themselves, or at the glimpses of Athenian life which they contain, the decline is only too apparent. There is no longer, as in Thucydides, a fulness of meaning which bursts asunder the fetters of ordinary sentences, and converts their fragments into grand Herculean torsos: precision of syntax is the all in all, and the sentences stand, as in Isocrates, like an unending monotony of triglyphs, painful in their very faultlessness. And beneath them peeps the darkness of Athenian society, which grew with the fast growth of time in blankness of unreality. It was a change from substance to shadow, from matter to form, from being to seeming. It was an age of sentiment and verbiage, of talking rather than working, of money-making rather than courage. There was a looking merely at the outside of things, a love of display for the bare sake of display, a concentration of thought upon the trivialities of life, a growing preponderance of the minor social phenomena, a subsiding of the grand old Athenian spirit into mere fine-gentlemanliness.

And of all this Aristotle bears the impress; so that the knowledge of this is a necessary prerequisite to the understanding of him. He was a thorough man of the world, thoroughly in harmony with his age. He was respected in the highest circles—he mingled with the best society. To the outward view he was an eminent *savant* of considerable political influence, presiding over a collegiate establishment which was the fruit of his own reputation—a sort of cross, in fact, between Dr Whewell and Jeremy Bentham, whom every one knew as a clever man of science, and whom some suspected of dabbling in politics. And if we take the inner phase of him—especially in relation to the ethical portion of his philosophy—we see in him one who was neither Platonist nor Sophist, but both; who was thoroughly versed in the controversies of his day, and, with a sort of placid sense of superiority, tried universal conciliation; who had the same indifferent goodwill to everybody, the same calm effort to smooth down other people's disputes, which characterises the dilettante philosopher of modern times. His age wrought upon him in two ways especially: it calmed down the vehement independence in the assertion of thought which we find in earlier thinkers: it made his system one of compromise; or rather, it effected a union between eclecticism and dogmatism which ruined him as an original thinker. And, on the other

hand, the very artificialness of his times inclined him to the study of the method and expression of thought in which his chief value lies. It gave him precision of thought by turning him to the outward shape and form of thought. And at the same time it gave him a superficial way of looking at things, which spoils some of the most important parts of his philosophy. It made him care more for symmetry than for depth, for logical coherence than for obvious truth. And again, as a politician and a courtier, he was led into that peculiar phase of worldly wisdom—that shrewd eye for the political bearings of things—which is considered to be the very essence of clever statesmanship. In short, all this turned him from the inner to the outward aspect of things: it made him argue for right because of its political utility, rather than its moral necessity.

It is true that, for the most part, this was the age of Plato as well as the age of Aristotle; but Plato had what Aristotle had not—the memory of better days. He had known Athens in its greatness: he had talked with the friends of Pericles: he had seen and heard Alcibiades. Herodotus was still alive in his boyhood: he had grown to manhood before Sophocles died: he may have conversed with Thucydides. The setting out of the great Sicilian armada was doubtless among the bright recollections of his youth: the vigorous patriotism which succeeded its failure had given him the last glimpse which was possible in Greece of the spirit which had fought at Marathon. And the fall of his country, with all that entailed, was an ever-present woe to him. It gave a sad aspiration to his whole life: it took him from the arena of the politics of his time, to work out for the world a dream and a prophecy of Christianity: it made him lift up his eyes from the decaying ruins of the Hellenic world to something like the city of God, and incited him to rear the fabric of his great Commonwealth, where there is no variation nor change; “for in heaven at least,” as he says, “its pattern is laid up for him who wishes to see it, and seeing, himself to inhabit it.” But besides this, Plato had known Socrates; and the memory of his youth became the everlasting companion of his age. To him the grand old man of Athens lived for ever. No evil could touch him, no sophistry could harm him; while the thought of that true “saint and martyr” floated continually about his soul, and kept up an eternal harmony between truth and goodness and beauty.

It was not so with Aristotle: like a ship on a restless sea, he floated, it may be, in the forefront, but at least on the current of popular belief. He ends, as he begins, with *πανσι δοξεῖ* or *τισι δοξεῖ*.

But we pass from the social and moral atmosphere in which

Aristotle moved, to the precise historical causes of which his ethical philosophy was the result. And here we can fall partly into the track of the Essays before us. Sir Alexander Grant has admirably sketched the history of Grecian ethics,¹ although with some remarkable omissions, and, above all, a non-recognition of facts as causes, which seems strange in a follower of Hegel. And in searching for these philosophical elements of Aristotle's system, we must guard against the common error—which Sir Alexander Grant seems only partially to have escaped—of confounding the system with the spirit of a philosophy. We must try to grasp the “idea”—the informing thought, which took up for its outward expression a cluster of theories and metaphors, partly original, partly inherited, in no way essential to the idea itself. And again, we must avoid the other error, of connecting great discoveries exclusively with individual great names: we may take these as the highest developments of phases of thought, but not as their entire concentrations. For instance, the *νοῦς* of Anaxagoras was only the complete expression of the tendencies of the thought of his time—the progressive result of Eleaticism, which seems to have been enunciated already in as many words by Hermotimus. In other words, we must endeavour to ascertain, not individual systems, but the great currents of thought of which they are at once the elements and the effects: and, in doing so, we must not only gather the idea rather than the expression of a philosophy, but also resolve that idea further into its general and particular elements.

For the influence which one philosopher has upon another consists in the silent working of mind upon mind, rather than in the outward adoption of theories. And thus, in order to see Aristotle as a result of historical causes, we must look for these causes, not in the surface and outward shape of previous systems, but in the calm deeps of thought which were flowing on in silent under-current, beneath the commotion of political change, and the controversies of rival schools. And, on the other hand,

¹ With regard to the rationale of the first part of Plato's *Republic*, which is given as a corroboration of the division of ethical eras, while we gladly accept any recognition whatever of the fact, that the Platonic dialogues have an artistic form—that they are not “imaginary conversations,” but dramas, we should yet like to have seen a rather fuller enunciation of it. The *Republic* is built upon the common consciousness of mankind, that happiness is incompatible with injustice, at least on the verge of death. It has strictly an ethical purpose—to show what it is which will really give a man “peace at the last.” All admit this to be justice, or, as we should call it, “virtue.” The question is, therefore, “What is virtue?” And Plato asks, first, Is it what the men of the old school thought it to be? This is shaped into a warm discussion on a definition of it by Simonides. Then the question is, Is it what the ultra-Sophists think it to be? This is shaped into a sharp dispute with Thrasymachus. Then follows a statement of the doubts which men of sense were beginning to feel about it; and finally, the true theory of it is put into the mouth of Socrates.

we must remember the other portion of the elements of Aristotle:—there was more than an unconscious relation to the past: there was eclecticism as well as relativity. And thus we must subject previous philosophers to a double process of elimination: the one, to discover the spirit which they felt; and the other, to evolve the notions which they consciously borrowed.

The most important point of view is that which measures these schools by their growth in subjectivity, by their elimination of the “ideas of pure reason”—God, and freedom, and immortality. The first great characteristic of Greek thought had been a tendency to the objective—circumspection rather than introspection—a looking upon the universal cosmos rather than upon the individual man. It was a tendency, in other words, to physics, in the widest Grecian meaning of the word, rather than to pure metaphysics or moral philosophy. The sense of the mystery of things which had made the Greeks almost pantheistic, had made them also natural philosophers. But through this philosophy of the objective, a tendency to subjectivity was developing itself with a strong and steady growth, in the form chiefly of Pythagorism and Eleaticism. It was the most important reaction which philosophy has seen; and an investigation of its origin would open up psychological questions of the utmost value. But we must take the current lower down, as we find it in the middle of the fifth century. It was then branching out into three great streams, which can be traced in distinct channels at least as far as the time of Aristotle. The great historical landmarks which point to them, are Anaxagoras, Empedocles, and Democritus.

Anaxagoras is the earliest, and in many points the most interesting of these; for with him the philosophy of *mind* properly begins. But with him mind and matter are as yet in synthesis; and the induction proceeds from the latter to the former, without any apparent recognition of individual anatomy. From him was derived, in all likelihood, Aristotle's grand conception both of humanity and of Deity. For, independently of the marked respect with which Anaxagoras is quoted, his theories seem to have fought their way to the forefront of the popular philosophy of the fourth century. Though himself banished from Athens, the friendship of Pericles and the versified Anaxagorism of Euripides show the hold which his thoughts were taking. Archelaus, his philosophical representative during his exile, adds another link to the chain: with him sophistry fairly commenced; οὐ φύσει ἀλλὰ νόμῳ is the summary which remains to us of his ethics, and herein lies the essence of all that Protagoras preached.

In Empedocles we find the reaction against the old Ionian

schools shaping itself into a spirit of superficial dogmatism. Chiefly famous in his times as a politician and physician, distinguished in literature as the last of the great epic poets of Greece, his importance in the history of philosophy consists in his having been the immediate cause and type of sophistry. From henceforth there is a new element in Greek philosophy, which passed under the name of *Rhetoric*, and which was, in fact, the dereliction of all true thought whatever. Co-ordinate with it was another element, which was introduced by Zeno of Elea, and which, under the name of *Dialectic*, gave all that was wanting to ruin honest thinking. These two elements—the art of talking and the art of disputing—the one affecting chiefly the matter of thought, and the other its form—must be regarded entirely apart from any connection with Plato: they came upon Aristotle in an entirely distinct channel: they constituted, in fact, the great mass of the non-Platonic ingredients of Aristotle's moral philosophy.

And this brings us to that remarkable phase of philosophy which, from the time of Plato, has passed under the name of Sophistry. Its historical efficient causes were rhetoric and dialectic: its historical material causes were the state of Greek politics, and the existing phenomena of the Greek character. The controversy which was started by Mr Grote as to its nature, has led Sir Alexander Grant to a very valuable discussion, in the results of which we almost entirely coincide. The question has hitherto been connected with much extraneous matter; and, in speaking of it, we speak of the admitted subject-matter of the sophistical teaching, not of the moral character of the teachers. And, again, we use the name "Sophist," not as denoting a worthless and wilful quibbler, but simply with reference to these admitted doctrines. It has been a favourite mode of argument in all ages, to prove or confute a given doctrine by lauding or vilifying the moral character of those who have promulgated it.

We regret that our limits entirely prevent us from following Sir Alexander Grant into the details of the controversy. The subject has wider bearings than almost any other in the history of philosophy; for the case against the Sophists of Greece is also one against those of our own times. But the immediate point which concerns us now, is their influence upon Aristotle: and this brings us at once to the inner spirit of the whole movement. Gathering together the chief results of both sides of the argument, it is clear, that whether they were effects or causes, beneath or above the standard of their age, they were at least a profession, with common elements of teaching, and a common spirit of dogmatism. It is enough to know that they were *professional* thinkers—that to them philosophy was a body of dogmatic truth, which they made it the business of their lives to teach. For from

this it followed, that they were *shallow* thinkers—that to them philosophy was no deep and solemn mystery for the few, but a collection of trite sayings and useful maxims which might be grasped by the commonest understanding. They were in the first transition from ignorance; and to them this was all knowledge. They gathered up the shreds of popular beliefs into a system; and to them this was the universal philosophy of mankind. They were infant thinkers when they should have been growing into men; they were dogmatists when they should have been learners. The outer life of the outer world was all in all to them: information took the place of education, talking was the substitute for thinking. Neither better nor worse than their age, their object was to make their pupils men of the age; and, consequently, they endeavoured not to form the characters, but to impart that versatile cleverness and studied display which were the elements of Greek popularity. To them the world, as we Christians call it, was not evil, but good: its dark side was ignored, its needs were unknown. “*Vox populi, vox Dei*; or, as they phrased it, πάντων μέτρον ὁ ἄνθρωπος: meaning in philosophy common opinion, and in morals common experience. And thus they preached practical morality, because the universal voice of mankind told them that justice is at least more profitable in the end.

And although in Aristotle's days they had so degenerated even from the type of Protagoras and Prodicus that he strongly opposes them as a class, yet the current of thought upon which they floated influenced the whole of his ethics. The most prominent proof of this is his terminology, which is at once the strength and weakness of his system: its strength, because it first gave ethics a scientific completeness; its weakness, because it induced that excessive devotion to his own formulæ—that attempt to grasp all moral philosophy within one or two magic word circles, which makes his system meagre in its very definiteness. And then it occasioned that subordination of ethics to politics—or rather that political aspect of ethics, which is at once so characteristic of a Greek and so repulsive to a Christian. And it doubtless is the cause of those continual lapses into utilitarianism, that continual ignoring of the higher motives, which distinguishes the popular morals of all ages. To this, again, we owe his casuistry, — the discussion of theoretical dilemmas, which was the chief, and subsequently the only occupation of the sophistical schools. There is, undoubtedly, a higher element, to which we shall presently turn: but there is hardly a single page which does not bear the impress of the popular shallowness and practical “worldliness” which had become the cause, as they had been the symptom, of the low state of Greek society.

Another ingredient in the thought of Aristotle's age must be noticed before we pass to Platonism: and there is the more necessity for alluding to it, because of its singular omission by Sir Alexander Grant. We refer to the strong tendency to eudæmonism which was developing itself, apart from either Socratic or Sophistic influences, in such men as Democritus and Archytas, who may be taken as the types of it. The few relics which are left to us of these philosophers, only serve to heighten the probability of their great influence upon Aristotle.

In Democritus especially we can clearly trace the existence of a current of thought which is at least parallel with many parts of Aristotle's theory. Although now but little known, Democritus was one of the truest, as well as one of the most influential, of the whole body of Greek philosophers. His lifetime extended over upwards of a century, closing during Aristotle's stay with Plato in Athens: and, perhaps, the most singular fact of it was his utter independence of all contemporary thinkers. He was completely un-Platonic,—the complement of that Greek spirit, the other side of which may be represented by Socraticism and Sophistry. His school long survived him; and its historical traces are considerable. The chief of his disciples was Diagoras of Melos—famous at Athens, in the days of Socrates, as the determined opponent of the popular mythology: and the names of Metrodorus, Nausiphanes, and Anaxarchus, in the fourth century, show the influence which he had in preparing Greek thought, on the one hand, for scepticism, and on the other for Epicurism. The latter tendency presents us with all the main features of the Aristotelian eudæmonism. The end of life was, in the words of Democritus, εὐθυμία, ἁρμονία, συμμετρία, ἀταραξία, εὖεστώ: it was peace, and contentment, and calm: it was freedom from care and weariness, rather than the presence of bodily delight: it was self-satisfaction and self-contemplation: it was the full sense of life, and the unruffled flow of all the faculties. This is exactly one phase of the εὐδαιμονία of Aristotle. Again, it was a harmony; and in this lies the other part of Aristotle's theory—that the virtue of every faculty is the relative development of it, and that happiness is the synthesis of these. The “Golding Sayings” of Democritus, which Mullach, his best editor, has little hesitation in pronouncing genuine, are in perfect accordance with this: in them true pleasure is that which has no shame—happiness is placed in the mind above all bodily delight—fate and chance are imaginary phantoms, moral wisdom may be certain of its result. And, again, contentment is made a necessary ingredient of happiness—the transgression of τὸ μετρίον involves the certain loss of pleasure: obedience to the law, and deference to the wiser, is at least more becoming:

and delight may flow, not only from doing what is right, but from seeing it done. All these are points which the reader of the *Nicomachean Ethics* will readily remember in their Aristotelian form: and we cannot but infer a closer relation than that of accidental coincidence.

Such were the most prominent of the great floating masses of thought among which Aristotle moved when he left the school of Plato. They had partly caused the Socratic philosophy, they were partly the antithesis of it. They were all transitional and reactionary. They represent, for the most part, the dogmatism of youth, as Aristotle represents the dogmatism of manhood. They may be summed up as containing several distinct tendencies. The first may be called a tendency to objective philosophy, which appears in the first stage of its disentanglement from the relics of the old world, from the blind wonderment at nature out of which all philosophy had sprung. The second was a tendency to subjective philosophy—a nascent idealism forming the first rude fabric which was reared from the chaos of mental intuitions,—a shapeless structure of unhewn stones which subsequent philosophy has polished and carved and rearranged, but not greatly increased. And then there was the first birth of ethics—the first dawn of belief in the separability of man from nature, which was working itself out into a theory of happiness and a scientific proof of the utility of virtue. To this we must add a tendency to a philosophy of language—to the formation of definite scientific terms, which was the necessary result of violent controversy.

And now we pass to the other half of the elements of Aristotle; for they may be fairly divided into the non-Socratic and the Socratic, the latter of which may be classed again as the Platonic and the non-Platonic.

The portrait of Socrates himself has been sketched by two hands: both were his pupils, and both drew from the life; but the portraits which they severally drew differ in almost every feature. The truth, of course, lies between them; but we are sorry to observe a strong tendency even in Sir Alexander Grant to consider that of Xenophon as the more historically correct. No doubt, the Platonic Socrates is, to some extent, a mere "*dramatis persona*," by whom his own best thoughts are spoken; but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that Xenophon only saw his master with the eye of a man of the world—a *litterateur* and dilettante philosopher, to whom the deep parts of his philosophy were almost meaningless. The points which struck him were on the surface: his quaint sayings and noble deeds, day after day, were the chief things that arrested his attention; and there was enough in these to fill up all the portrait which he has

drawn, without any appreciation of the inner and truer life—the higher and holier talk, which perhaps none but Plato could understand. To take a somewhat analogous case : it is not necessary to suppose that St John's account of our Saviour is in any sense idealised because St Luke dwells more on His outer life—His parables, and miracles, and journeyings.

The influence of Socrates upon ethics amounted to a complete revolution, and Aristotle bears the full result of it. But its influence upon him was only mediate ; and we must therefore look away from Socrates himself to gather a notion of its nature. In the words of the second essay—the arrangement of which we cannot now do better than follow—

“ The many-sided life of Socrates gave an impulse, as is well known, to a variety of schools of philosophy. It is usual to divide these into the imperfect and the perfect Socraticists : the Megarians, who represented only the dialectic element in Socrates, and the Cynics and Cyrenaics, who represented each a different phase of his ethical tradition, being considered as the imperfect Socraticists ; and Plato being esteemed the full representative and natural development of all sides of his master's thought. Plato is so near to Aristotle, and is such a world in himself, that we may well leave his ethical system in its relation to Aristotle for special consideration. An account of the Megarian school belongs rather to the history of Metaphysics ; the Cynics and Cyrenaics then alone remain to be treated of in the present part of our sketch of the pre-Aristotelian morals.”—(*Essay ii.*, p. 127.)

The Cynics were a reproduction of the bare outside of Socrates—the stern roughness which laughed at luxury, the carelessness of all things but the highest human good. They saw the morbidness of a corrupted age, and the misery of the universal lust for enjoyment : they looked to the shallowness of popular pretensions, and the hollowness of outward appearances : they felt the mockery of social life, and the insincerity of worldly professions ; and when they learned from Socrates the reality of virtuous peace and the true nobleness of independent will, they devoted their lives to following him. “ If we abstract all the Platonic picture of the urbanity, the happy humour, and at the same time the sublime thought of Socrates, and think only of the barefooted old man, indefatigably disputing in the open streets, and setting himself against society, we recognise in him the first of the Cynics.”—(*Essays*, p. 128.) In relation to Aristotle they are important, as indicating the presence of this element in the Socratic philosophy, and also of its external condition in Greek society. They show that at least there was not an utter insensibility to the stern virtue of ancient Athens—that the spirit of Marathon lingered still here and there, even under the rude cloak of a Diogenes, and the obstinate antagonism of an

Antisthenes. Their fault lay in their being an exaggeration, which almost amounted to a caricature, of a right principle : their value lay in the strong light in which they placed the law of duty and the power of will.

But Socrates had tended to give shape to a far more marked feature of his age and country. Athens, in its period of decline, developed rapidly the latent features of its period of greatness. It became, little by little, a mere city of southern Europe. Political indifference was at once the cause and the result of political failure. Men began to find the beginning and end of life in the outward enjoyment of life. They were not so much sensual as selfish ; for every one concentrated his thought on his own individual pleasure. The good which Socrates wrought upon this state of feeling consisted in the union of the idea of pleasure to that of virtue ; so that through the whole of the fourth century the worst results of the Hedonistic principles hardly once appear. Phædrus, with his delicate diet and effeminate dress, is the type of the rising generation in the old age of Socrates ; and Plato draws curious pictures, in the “*Republic*,” of the valetudinarianism, and careful extraction of the last dregs of pleasure, which was growing up around him. But it is almost an anachronism to connect this with the Cyrenaics : Aristippus had but few disciples : he confided most of his system to his daughter Arêtè, who, in her turn, taught Aristippus the younger ; and it was only in the time of the latter that the Cyrenaics could be called a school. An incidental proof of this lies in the fact, that Aristotle criticises the Hedonistic doctrines, not as taught by any professed sect, but as a distinguished literary man of the time—Eudoxus the astronomer—was known to hold them. The tendency of the Athenian mind to which we have alluded, was doubtless the cause of considerable speculation. That which had become a fact in society, was resolved into a theory in philosophy. The whole bent of the controversies of the fourth century was in this direction. And especially those who had known Socrates were brought to justify pleasure-seeking by his example. They saw his happy contentment and everlasting humour ; and they felt, too, that this was the realisation of perfect virtue. And thus men like Aristippus, whose own nature was prone to the brighter side of things, easily drew the inference that this was the highest state of human life—the only thing, in fact, worth living for. With him on philosophical grounds, as with others from sensuous impulse, life was to be used and loved—the pleasure of life was to be sought and found.

It would be almost needless to point out how far this tone of feeling influenced the Aristotelian ethics ; and we therefore hasten to the only other element that remains, which Sir Alex-

ander Grant has treated with remarkable power in one of the most interesting of his essays. This element of Platonism occupies so large a portion of Aristotle's system, that we fully endorse his words—that “to explain the relation of any one of Aristotle's treatises to Plato, is almost a sufficient account of all that it contains.”

Aristotle, as we have seen, moves wholly in the sphere of popular conceptions, but he never once allows us to forget that he was a student in the school of Plato. He is the type of a large class: the thoughts of Plato had worked themselves into his whole being: he had been educated by them until they seemed parts of his own mind: they were intuitional ideas whose origin he had forgotten, and which rose up continually within him with the aspect of new flashes of truth. But when he came to look on the outside form of Plato's thoughts, on the theories in which they had shaped themselves, and the language which they had taken for their covering, he utterly failed to grasp their meaning, or to see the life beneath them. As a philosophical critic, he has few inferiors and many equals. For the sophistical rhetoric had taught him to deal only with language, and not with the thought beneath the language. And thus he quibbles and cavils at terms when the terms were merely accidental; he disproves theories by the contradictions of their logical sequences, when those sequences flow altogether from the unessential part of them; and he states the philosophy of others in his own language—language which was utterly inadequate for the expression thereof, and which would have been entirely repudiated by those whom he attempted to criticise. And thus, on this ground of popular beliefs and sophistical terminology, he stands, not as the disciple, but as the antagonist of Plato. He looks at him, as he looked at all others, with the calm complacency of mingled pity and respect.

The *Ethics* contain one of the most characteristic of these criticisms, and the essay before us enters into it with admirable fulness:—

“Plato, who had expressed himself utterly dissatisfied with the empirical and prudential morality of his countrymen, and who wished to raise morality and politics (which with him was but morality on an extended scale) into something wise, philosophical, and absolute, made certain requisitions for this. He demanded that a full philosophic consciousness should govern everything. He required that a knowledge of the good-in-itself should be present to the mind. He acknowledges, it is true, that the philosopher, after dealing with sublime speculations, may seem dazzled and confused, when he is suddenly confronted with the petty details of life, the quibbles of law-courts, etc. But, on the other hand, he seems to have considered, not

only that philosophy was indispensable to morality, but also that the mind, by contemplating the idea of good, would become conformed to it. This idea, then, was not merely an object for the abstract reason; it was an object for the imagination also, and an attraction for the highest kind of desires. It was not only an idea, but also an ideal." —(*Essay iii.*, pp. 153, 154.)

But what was Plato's *idea*? Taking it entirely out of the physical world—in which it was the first way of expressing the "Law of Nature" of the modern inductive sciences—it is the truth which manifests itself in divers forms in divers relations. Apparent differences of manifestation conceal sometimes a most certain unity; and this is as true of actions as of thoughts. For example, just actions are as diverse in outward seeming as actions can be, but the presence of some one quality in each, or in the doer of each, makes them just: this quality—or whatever else it may be termed—Plato called the *ιδέα*, or formal cause, of justice. But justice is in itself only what Bacon would term a "middle axiom:" it is one of the co-ordinate members of a class which are outwardly still more diverse than the former, but beneath which lies a still higher unity. The *ιδέαι* of justice, and courage, and truth, for example, are all the differentiations of the *ιδέα* of good, which is the highest possible abstraction. The knowledge of this idea of good, therefore, Plato said (and with him true knowledge implied performance), will lead a man to know what is right to be done in every conceivable circumstance of life: the object of ethical education is, therefore, the acquisition of it. This may be more intelligible if we translate the theory into other language: a certain number of actions—the condemnation of a thief, the restoration of a deposit, the avenging of an injury—are characterised by the common mark of "justice," i. e., a just man, under certain conditions, would invariably perform them; another cluster of actions have the common mark of "truth;" another, of "benevolence:" justice, truth, benevolence, and an indeterminate number of other qualities, are all manifestations of one principle, quality, law, or whatever else it may be termed, which is summed up in the word "love;" and thus a knowledge of the true nature of "love" is a knowledge of what is right to be done in every relation of life. "Love" is, in short, the Christian expression for the ethical phase of Plato's *τἀγαθόν*. The unessential part of Plato's theory, is the deduction which his peculiarly Greek mind caused him to draw from it. It is comprehended in the word *ιδέα*: for he inferred that the conception which existed in his mind as "the Good," must have an external existence in the actions which were its manifestation—that what was real in his own self must be real also in the universal self of the great Cosmos, which, perhaps, to him was God.

And now we turn to Aristotle's criticism of this: Sir Alexander Grant states his arguments as follows:—

“After an expression of good feeling and respect towards the Platonic school, he proceeds directly to bring a series of arguments against the tenability of their doctrine,—and these arguments are briefly as follows:—(1.) The Platonists themselves allowed that, where there is an essential succession (*τὸ πρότερον καὶ τὸ ὕστερον*) between any two conceptions, these could not be brought under a common idea. But this succession occurs in different kinds of good. Good in relation—*i. e.*, the useful,—is essentially better than good in substance, and therefore cannot fall under the same idea. (2.) If all good were one, it ought to be predicated under only one category, whereas it can be predicated under all. (3.) If it were one, it would be treated of by only one science. (4.) The idea is only a repetition of phenomena, for with these it is really identical. (5.) Even the most essential and undoubted goods seem incapable of being reduced to one idea.”—(*Essay iii.*, p. 156.)

With regard to the first argument, there are several ways of meeting it, by the denial of either the major or the minor of the syllogism involved in it. Sir Alexander Grant does not appear to us to have given the most satisfactory refutation: in our own judgment, the major as well as the minor premiss should be disputed. It must be remembered that nearly all our knowledge of the Platonic theory of numbers comes from Aristotle himself. We at least, therefore, do not know it in its Platonic form; and the misstatements with regard to the ideas lead us to infer a similar perversion with regard to numbers. The true meaning of Plato, in saying that there is no idea of things which admit of temporal or local succession, was probably this: The ideas or formal causes of things are so utterly distinct from the accidents under which they manifest themselves, that they are immutable, and therefore eternal; they are out of space and time; they live with God in the world of changelessness; relativity and succession are only parts of their accidental manifestation, and things *quâ* their relativity have no idea. And with regard to the Platonic theory of numbers, it is clear that, to him as to the Pythagoreans, numbers were symbolical: they represented especially mathematical figures, or rather, the term “number” had the invariable connotation of “dimension;” and this not only of extension in space, but of succession in time; so that a theory of numbers was in reality a theory of time and space. This, we may observe in passing, seems to be the meaning of the Pythagorean doctrine, that numbers were the ultimate elements of the world.

The second of these arguments of Aristotle is an equal misapprehension of Plato's theory—a simple perversion of its

meaning. Aristotle had borrowed from Archytas a set of formulæ called "categories." He affirmed that every predicate of a proposition, formally considered, falls under one, and only one, of these categories. If, therefore, the "good" is one thing, i.e., an *ιδέα*, it must be predicated under one, and only one, category; for example, under that of substance. But, in reality, the "good" is predicated in every category; therefore it cannot be one thing, but many. It will be observed here, that, in the first place, he postulates the truth of his own formula; and that, in the second place, he assumes that a unity can only be viewed in one aspect—that a thing which he calls "one," cannot be at once substantial and relative. But this plurality and pregnancy of meaning is exactly what Plato implied when he used the term. He affixed to it a sufficiently definite connotation; whereas Aristotle argues upon its popular connotation—a sufficiently clear proof of either wilful perversion or absolute incapacity of comprehension.

But this may seem a digression; and we must not say more even about Plato.

We have thus sketched out the main features of the Aristotelian elements; and when these have been subtracted, one by one, we shall find but a scanty residuum. The two aspects under which Aristotle may be regarded—as a man of the world and a man of letters—show us how naturally he lapsed into the current of popular opinion and popular controversy. As a Greek, he viewed ethics from a political stand-point; as a courtier, his method was one of compromise; as a man of his age, the eudæmonistic tendencies of his age could not fail to impress him. And when, through the long turbulence of the past century, he saw the growth of system after system—each having some portion of truth hidden within it, and carrying in its fore-front the weight of individual authority—he became the father of eclecticism, by publishing a hand-book of moral science, or by delivering a course of lectures on moral philosophy, which has come down to modern times under the name of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. He very much resembles his friend Xenocrates, who, like Aristotle, had heard Plato without understanding more than the outside of him, and who to Platonism added a like element of sophistry. The result is very similar; and if all other evidence of Aristotle's relation to his times were wanting, it would be enough to produce the fragments of Xenocrates. For instance, Aristotle's *εὐδαιμονία*, even in the points which seem most peculiarly his own, is evidently borrowed from the same sources as that which Xenocrates defines as *κατῆσιν τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ὑπηρετικῆς αὐτῇ δυνάμεως* . . . "the seat of which is the soul; its efficient causes, the virtues; its material

causes, right actions, and good habits, dispositions, feelings, and relations, since, without the latter, bodily and external advantages cannot be enjoyed."

And thus it is that Aristotle stands, the synthesis and result of all that had gone before, the mirror in which the opinions and feelings of his age shine forth with a marvellous distinctness. Those who read him are like unto him; and those who are like unto him are many in number—perhaps the majority of the educated men of every age. As long as we confine our attention to the *matter* of his philosophy, we are amazed that so threadbare a patchwork could possibly have entranced, through whole centuries of thought, the whole body of thinking men. But if we turn from that which he borrowed to that which was his own—from his matter, in short, to his *form* and *method*—there is no longer room for surprise. It was his one contribution to thought—the one thing original in him, as it is necessarily in every one who thinks for himself. That is to say, the points of view under which he regarded the subject-matter of philosophy, are the most valuable parts of him. For it is clear that no part of the mental or moral world can be known in its real nature: their facts are like statues which we are forbidden to touch, but which we can look at from every side and from every distance—the value of a description of them depending entirely on the point of view. And so it is with philosophy: object is never entirely objective; and the science of the formal part of philosophy (*i.e.*, logic) is nothing more than an account of the value and use of the points of view which various thinkers have taken. For instance, it is possible to regard inference as a relation of major and minor, *i.e.*, from a syllogistic point of view: one part of the science of form, therefore, will discuss the nature and value of the syllogism. And, again, these points of view are, in relation to the mental sciences, what experiments are to the physical sciences. They are the only tests which are possible out of the domain of natural phenomena, and may rightly be called the experimental method of philosophy. Their number is only limited by the number of thinkers. The individuality of each thinker gives some *differentia*, however slight, to his way of regarding a subject, *i.e.*, to the formal part of his thought. The fault of the Aristotelian schools has consisted, in the first place, in considering Aristotle as a typical man—that is to say, in taking his points of view as the summary of all possible ones; and, in the second place, in considering the body of his philosophy apart from its relation to Aristotle himself—that is to say, in not eliminating the element of form from the synthesis of form and matter. In other words, his methods have been regarded as exhaustive in their operation and absolute in their results, when

they should have been regarded as partial and relative. The most singular, and at the same time the most lamentable, consequence of this, has arisen from the fact, that his points of view are methods of analysis rather than of synthesis, whereas they have been applied to both indiscriminately. The syllogism, for instance, is an analysis of either the major premiss or the conclusion; whereas it has been distorted into a criterion of all inference. The tendency of Aristotle, which we see also in the great majority of Greek thinkers, was rather to make distinctions, to be exact and subtle, than to add to the matter of mental science. This tendency reaches its height in his logic, which may be described as a process of demonstration, as that of Plato is a process of discovery. The difference between dialectic and the syllogism underlies the whole difference between Plato and Aristotle. But, again, these points of view may be conscious or unconscious, explicit or implicit: in the former case, they may be called "*formulae*;" in the latter, "*a priori* conceptions." Both of these are found in Aristotle. He was the first—omitting the doubtful case of Zeno—to investigate any of his methods, and so to form a science of method. And one of these—that of the syllogism—was so thoroughly worked out in all its bearings, that the greater portion of mankind ever since has been deluded into the belief of its universality. Of the others, some were consciously used without a full research into their value; and others have still to be evolved from his philosophy. The fate of the latter, compared with the former, presents one of the most singular anomalies in the history of thought. The *formulae* which Aristotle himself discussed have given rise to a mass of literature, the study of which would of itself be enough to occupy a lifetime. Those which he left for future investigation, or which he unconsciously implied, have lain until now, covered with the dust of ages, utterly forgotten or ignored.

Especially in relation to Aristotle's Ethics, the knowledge at least of some of these *formulae* is indispensable; and there is nothing which gives a greater value to Sir Alexander Grant's work than his discussion of them. It constitutes the really great and promising part of the Essays; and if it be true that herein he has profited least by the labours of others, we must congratulate him on the most important addition to Aristotelian literature since the first application of the historical method. Its great defect is its want of comprehensiveness: there is an ignoring, or an unconsciousness, of the connection of the *formulae* which we find in the Ethics, with the whole theory which we have just stated. They are apparently viewed in isolation, as we shall have to notice again in the chapter on the physical ideas in the Ethics; but still we are glad enough to accept them as they are.

Those which Sir Alexander Grant has selected for discussion, are the doctrine of the four causes, that of the opposition of *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια*, that of the "mean," and that of the practical syllogism.

These four forms almost exhaust Aristotle's explicit methods of regarding virtue. Unable, as he himself felt, to describe virtue in its absolute and real essence, he looked at it from various stand-points. Taking the first of these forms, he regarded human life as a means to an end—the means being normal action of the faculties, the end being individual and universal happiness. From the second, he regarded virtue as coming under the law of expression and development—as the realisation of the latent faculties of human nature. From the third point of view, he regarded the various virtues as coming under the law of moderation—all perfect things being neither in excess nor in defect. From the last, he regarded a virtuous action as the result of a right principle correctly applied to a particular instance, and followed up by action; so that the principle might be termed the major, the particular instance the minor, and the action the conclusion of a moral syllogism.

Examining these points more closely, we see from the first that Aristotle looked upon a right action as the realisation of the end of a right motive—*γένησις τελεσθεῖσα*: but the true motive cause of every action is the desire for good;—therefore right actions universally are those which produce this good. Regarded in this light, the moral world has a similar constitution to the physical world. An action is like a fact of nature, and, when rightly performed, is like the normal development of a flower. The moral world, if all men realised the end of action, would be like the physical world, if all things came to perfect growth. The result, in the one case, would be universal happiness; in the other, universal harmony. This present life, then, and the theatre of action which it affords, is one in which the right exercise of every faculty, within its proper sphere, is sufficient to produce happiness. "Virtue is its own reward," because the very doing of virtuous acts is in itself the highest pleasure. But the addition which Aristotle made to this spoils the whole theory. A century before his time, happiness had been considered to be wholly objective—the presence or absence of "worldly goods." Socrates and Democritus had preached that it was wholly subjective—the presence or absence of peace of mind. The ethical controversies of Aristotle's time turned chiefly on these points; and his own philosophy of compromise induced him to unite them, by making happiness only possible *ἐν βίῳ τελείῳ*—"in an adequate, complete sphere of external circumstances."

But in the latter part of the *Ethics* this whole theory of earthly

happiness seems to be discarded. It is true, Aristotle would have said, only of this present practical life; but beyond it is the higher life—the life of man's higher nature—the life of pure thought. For, starting from the lowest point of the creation, he found that the "pure reason" is that which chiefly individualises man; and this was to him the highest degree of human existence.¹ It must have, therefore, an action of its own; and this action constituted the "contemplative life,"—a life which, even on his own hypothesis, was unattainable on earth, and which, from his own theory of final causes, might have led him to the best proof of immortality.

The second form which is discussed in this essay, is the doctrine of *ἐνέργεια*, or "actuality."

"*Ἐνέργεια* is not more accurately defined by Aristotle than as the correlative and opposite of *δύναμις*."—(*Essay* iv., p. 182.) But *δύναμις* has a double meaning: firstly, it is the possibility of *being* something which does not yet exist; secondly, it is the possibility of *doing* something which is not yet done. *Ἐνέργεια* is applied to both of these, although with but little constancy of usage. In relation to the former—which may be called its subjective aspect—it is the process of becoming; the complete existence which is the result of it being properly, though not uniformly, designated *ἐντελέχεια*. In relation to the latter—which may be called its objective aspect—it is the act of doing that of which *δύναμις* is the condition or the capacity. And thus all things which have any kind of developed or developing existence, may be viewed as *ἐνεργείαι*. In ethics, the most important use which is made of the formula, is in the definition of happiness as an *ἐνέργεια*. That is to say, he regarded it as the fulness of the soul's life—the realisation of every faculty. So long as the powers of the mind are passive, they are merely *δυνάμεις*—capacities which may be used for good or evil: if they are used imperfectly or wrongly, the result is misery; if they are used fully and normally, the result is happiness. "Life itself is the end of life;" and this complete exercise of human faculties, each in its due relation, is objectively considered the end of human nature, and subjectively considered the attainment of human happiness. But Sir Alexander Grant goes further than this, and, with the very necessary proviso that he is rather making a deduction from Aristotle's theory than stating it as it is found, he goes on to show that *ἐνέργεια* must imply "consciousness." It may be well sometimes to view old theories by the light of later discoveries,

¹ According to the formula which may be gathered from, e.g., *Metaph.* XI. (XII.), c. 5, *ἅπαντα γὰρ ὕλη ἐστί, καὶ τῆς μαλίστ' οὐσίας ἡ τελευταία*—and which it would be well to trace out through the numerous phases which it assumes in Aristotle's writings.

to show what a thinker would have thought if this and that key to a mystery had been known to him; but we must carefully separate between explicit and implicit teaching. It would be quite as true to evolve free-will from *προαίρεσις*, as to evolve consciousness from *ἐνέργεια*. And in the passage which Sir Alexander Grant himself quotes from *Eth.* ix. 9, § 9, there is a clear severance between the two ideas, which we cannot reconcile with his interpretation.

But this is a part of the subject which we regret that we cannot discuss fully now; nor yet the ensuing section upon the doctrine of the Mean—the “*Aurea Mediocritas*”—which has long been the most striking portion of Aristotle's moral philosophy. In spite of the distinct warning (in *Eth.*, ii. 6, 17), that the consideration of the virtues as mean-states arises only from a particular point of view, the theory has been misinterpreted, alike by his friends and his opponents, as though it were an absolute description. It is a form, and nothing more: it is a way of regarding the subject which is convenient both for classification and preceptive teaching; but it has no positive value whatever, and in modern ethics is more of an encumbrance than a help.

But we must pass to the last of the essays of which we can at present say anything—that “On the Physical and Theological Ideas in the Ethics of Aristotle.” Properly speaking, these ideas constitute part of Aristotle's point of view, and should have been brought into closer connection with the previous essay. Aristotle viewed ethics from a physical as well as from a metaphysical stand-point, and both are parts of his method. The one we may call the method of formulæ, the other the encyclopædic method. He was the last of the early encyclopædic philosophers: he tried, like Democritus, Archytas, and the majority of his predecessors, to know and write about everything. He inherited the old feeling of the unity of the world; although, on the other hand, he caused that which has been the curse of philosophy ever since, the notion of the entire isolation of individual sciences. And in reading his Ethics, it is very essential to remember his theory of physical analogies, and his view of ethics as part of the great philosophy of nature. It was a grand and noble idea—that of the perfect cosmos, with its perfect motion and perfect existence, never failing of its purpose, never capable of an abortion; in which man was the only source of confusion, and in which the human will, from its very freedom, was not the most divine of things. For to him the variable was the child of Time, and the immutable was the synonym of the Eternal. The Greeks began their philosophy in wonderment at nature: the first great thought which amazed them was that of its everlasting changelessness—birth and growth, day and night, continually; and the

first generalisation was that of law, or the personification of law in fate. Upon this the notion of human freedom came as an abnormal thing; and the science of ethics only very gradually disentangled itself from mathematics and physics. And although Aristotle, more than any one who had gone before him, separated the spheres of the several sciences, yet the sense of the oneness of the world continually underlies his reasoning. He passes from morals to physics, and from both to mathematics, as though there were little more than a formal difference between them. The modern notion of "comparative sciences" is a return to the truer part of the old theory: it is an immense advance on the previous narrowness of view, and helps us to understand much that seems fanciful in Aristotelian analogies. But our limits forbid us from entering into details: we can only say, that herein Aristotle has never found an abler exponent than Sir Alexander Grant, with whose results, in this case, we almost entirely coincide, especially his sketch of Aristotle's psychology.

And now we are better able to see the position which Sir Alexander Grant, and the school of which he is the reflex, occupy in relation at once to Aristotle and to Oxford.

In relation to Aristotle, they stand half-way between the past and the future, gathering up into themselves the fruits of the one and the seeds of the other. The traditional faith has not quite lost its power: the old Adam, as theologians would call it, keeps continually cropping up; but there are, at the same time, all the elements of a true and rational appreciation. They still move within the sphere of scholastic ideas: it is still "subjectivity obtaining emancipation for itself." For instance, the historical method is very imperfectly applied: there is a relic of the old belief in Aristotle's entire originality, which prevents his being resolved into his elements. And hence there is a want of width of view. Aristotle himself is magnified in relation to other philosophers; and his minor theories are distorted by controversy into important moral or psychological questions, while some of the greater ones are left untouched. For instance, there is the barest mention in the "Essays" of one of the finest sections of the Ethics—the theory of Friendship—which Fritzsche's excellent edition, if nothing else, ought to have brought into considerable prominence. But even in their omissions the "Essays" bear the impress of their origin. And again, we feel the want of a comprehensive view of the formal part of the Ethics; although on this head much has been done, for which we are under deep obligations.

And, lastly, in relation to Oxford itself, this new phase is one of the most hopeful signs of English thought. It is imperfect,

but it is an awakening : it is only twilight, but it is the twilight of dawn. And "there is thunder on the horizon, as well as dawn:" there are controversies within the University and without it—battles to be sternly fought, and victories to be hardly won. The easy opprobrium of heresy already awaits all who leave the beaten track. There are some who will not, and some who cannot, understand : on the one side lies the dogmatism of wilful ignorance ; on the other, the dogmatism of narrow sight : but enough has already been accomplished to give reality to hope. In the present stage of the movement, there is, no doubt, a marked imperfection : it is at once a reaction and a transition—having all the scepticism of the one, and all the partiality of the other. And the development which time will give it, will doubtless tend to modify as well as to complete it. The first promulgation of a new system has a double disadvantage : its leading points are distorted out of their true position, and these accidental exaggerations are confounded with the main theory. And thus this "new-fangled philosophy" is liable to be greatly mistaken. Perhaps the very faults which we have laid to the account of Sir Alexander Grant, are in some cases only the fruits of practical wisdom. It may be that he is lingering still in the old paths that the new one may be better appreciated : perhaps he is still an Aristotelian that men may the sooner pass through Aristotle to Plato. But whether this be so or not, his book is a most welcome one ; and there are doubtless many, both in Oxford and elsewhere, who will owe to it their first awakening from the long slumber of scholasticism.

ART. V.—*The Powers of the Creator Displayed in the Creation: or, Observations on Life, amidst the Various Forms of the Humbler Tribes of Animated Nature. With Practical Comments and Illustrations.* By Sir JOHN GRAHAM DALYELL, Knight and Baronet. Three Vols. 4to, with numerous coloured Plates. Price L.10, 10s. London: John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row.

M. AGASSIZ, in his recent magnificent work on the “*Natural History of the United States*,”¹ puts a series of questions to students of Natural Science, well fitted to keep profitably before them the only true basis for a satisfactory philosophy of Zoology. “When,” he asks, “in our pride of philosophy, we thought that we were inventing systems of science and classifying creation by the force of our own reason, have we followed only and reproduced, in our imperfect expressions, the Plan whose foundations were laid in the dawn of creation, and the development of which we were laboriously studying—thinking, as we put together and arrange our fragmentary knowledge, that we are anew introducing order out of chaos?” “Is this order,” he continues, “the result of the exertions of the human mind, of human skill and ingenuity? or is it inherent in the objects themselves, so that the intelligent student of Natural History is led unconsciously, by the study of the animal kingdom itself, to those conclusions,—the great divisions under which he arranges animals being, indeed, but headings to the chapters of the great Book which he is reading?” “To me,” he adds, “it appears indisputable that this order and arrangement of our studies are based upon the natural primitive relations of animal life,—those systems to which we have given the names of the great leaders of our science, being, in truth, but translations into human language of the thoughts of the Creator.” The words of M. Agassiz form a fit introduction to the works of one of the most able, industrious, painstaking, and successful of recent Scottish naturalists. Sir John Graham Dalyell laboured from his youth, in the wide and favourable field of study which lay around him, as one who believed that the Perfect Plan of the Creator had been realised, and as one who felt that the true way to make the glory of the Plan manifest to

¹ *Contributions to the Natural History of the United States.* By Louis Agassiz. Boston and London, 1857. In this work, M. Agassiz has given great attention to the difficult subject of *Classification*. His discussions are carried on in the spirit of a true philosophy. So much of this great work as is taken up with Embryology-proper is full of interest. American art has successfully illustrated the text. We have not seen anything in Britain, on the same subjects, which surpasses the style and execution of the twenty-seven plates, devoted to the embryology of the turtle, from drawings from nature by Messrs Clark and Sonral.

others, was, that each student of nature, as he had opportunity and ability, should carefully describe as much of it as he had seen. In this spirit he worked, and the volumes quoted above bear testimony to his success. It augurs well for the healthful influences of scientific study, that so many British naturalists are, in their favourite departments, enthusiastically at work in a kindred spirit. Scotland has, within a comparatively brief period, sent forth a noteworthy band of these. To *Geology* she sent Murchison, Lyell, Fleming, Jameson, Miller, and M'Laren; to *Ornithology*, Jardine, Macgillivray, and James Wilson; to *Aquatic Zoology*, Dalyell and Johnstone; to *Comparative Anatomy*, Goodsir; to *Natural Philosophy*, Brewster and J. Forbes. Each name is well known in other lands—most of them, wherever modern civilisation has obtained a footing; and all have less or more advanced, by their discoveries and their writings, the great branches of science with which their names are associated. Some of them—as Brewster, Dalyell, Fleming, and Goodsir—have excelled in more departments of scientific pursuit than that in which they are most distinguished. And, were we to look at others than those who stand foremost, we would find that, pyramid-like, the list widens as we descend, until we reach at the base a greater number of men, than could have been found at any former period of our history, well informed in the literature of Natural Science, able to appreciate its generalisations, and to recognise its place of prime importance both in the elementary and in the advanced educational arrangements of the age. It was something for a country like Scotland to be able, at a very recent period, to point to such a list of living Naturalists. But time has been thinning the ranks lately. Jameson, Johnstone, Macgillivray, Wilson, Dalyell, Miller, and Fleming, have, within a few years, been gathered to their fathers, and those who stood foremost are now few. Three of the six referred to have been fully noticed in our pages.¹ We propose to add the name of the author of “The Rare and Remarkable Animals of Scotland” to the list.

As many of our readers as have travelled by the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway may have noticed, about midway between the Linlithgow and Winchburgh stations, a softly rounded green hill to the north of the line of railway. It is capped by a prominent circular tower; and the side which looks towards the “wavy Ochills,” and down on the “winding Forth,” is covered with forest trees, among which stands Binns House, the family seat of the Dalyells. The hill is one of those verdant trap heights which rise in the carboniferous valley through which the line of railway has been carried, and which, while full of interest

¹ Macgillivray's *British Birds*, May 1853. Hugh Miller, of Cromarty, August 1854. *Scottish Natural Science*—Dr Fleming, February 1858.

to the geologist in connection with the position of surrounding strata, add much to the natural beauty of the district. Sir John Graham Dalyell was born at Binns in August 1775. He was the second son of Sir Robert, fifth Baronet of Binns, and of Elizabeth Graham of Gartmore, Stirlingshire. His elder brother having died unmarried, Sir John succeeded to the title and estates as sixth Baronet. He was not the representative of one of the oldest families of Scotland only, but of one, also, which had not grown unmarked in Scottish annals. The Dalyells love to trace their "long illustrious line" to the very dawn of their nation's history. The greatness of the dead is, of course, held to make their living representatives great.

Δεινὸς χαρακτήρ κα' πίσημος ἐν βροτοῖς
'Εσθλῶν γενέσθαι.

They speak of the founder of their family as a follower of one of those old Scottish hero-kings, whose pastime was war, and who stand grandly out to the imagination, amidst the mists of a half historic, half mythic period. A favourite—so runs the family legend—of the reigning king having been taken by his enemy and hanged in full view of the camp, a great reward was offered to any one who would be brave enough to cut down the body and bring it into the camp. The dangerous proposal seems to have created as great consternation among these valiant warriors as did Goliath's challenge among the hosts of Saul. But, while the leaders hesitated, a soldier stepped from the ranks exclaiming, *dalyell* (I dare). The exclamation was chosen as the patronymic of the race, and the "war armorial" of the Dalyells has ever since been a *hanged man*, with the motto *I dare!* But, leaving the period so distinctly mythic, and halting, as we briefly trace the family pedigree, on that side of it at which it meets the true historic, much of whose truthfulness it can lay claim to, we reach 1388, the date of a rough encounter between the "dowghtye Dowglasse" and the "prowde syr Harry Percy," in which a bold "syr James Dalyell" lost not his life but an eye,—

"Thys fraye bygan at Otterborne
Bytwene the nyghte and the day:
Ther the Dowglasse lost hys lyfe,
And the Percy was lede awaye."

The next most noteworthy ancestor of Sir John was the famous, or, in the estimate of the Scottish Covenanters, the infamous, Tom Dalyell,—the faithful adherent in his youth of Charles I., and afterwards the favourite of Charles II.,¹ under

¹ "TOM DALYELL,—Though I need say nothing to you by this honest bearer, Captain Mewes, who can well tell you all I would have said, yett I am willing

whom he rose to high military rank. During the misfortunes of the Stuarts, he entered the service of the Czar, and won a name in waging war against Turk and Tartar. After his return home, he was appointed to the command of the King's forces in Scotland. The author of the interesting and well written memoir of Sir John, which is given as an introduction to the third volume of "The Powers of the Creator," published in August last, evidently looks with some complacency on the deeds of General Dalyell, in his attempts to crush the noble contendings of the Covenanters during the middle of the seventeenth century. The inscription on the memorial stone at Rullion Green is quoted with pride.¹ Our sympathy and admiration run in a different channel. They go out towards that little gallant band, who, headed by the brave and chivalrous Colonel Wallace, resisted unto blood, and fought a good fight, at a time when

"—— swords were gleaming bright,
And Scotia's bluid was warm and free,"

for the vindication of deep, spiritual convictions touching the religious and civil liberty of their country. Looking at Tom Dalyell in the light of the true history of the times,² we cannot come to any other estimate of his character, than that he was crafty, cruel, and vindictive, the perpetrator of deeds which, however worthy of one who had served faithfully "The Great Sovereign and Czarian Majesty," certainly did not become a Scottish soldier. There were, however, gleams of the presence with him of a nobler, better, and more genial nature—features of character which told that the rough work and rude warfare in which he had spent the best years of his life had not put out all the sunshine of a higher humanity. This lingered about him, ready to burst forth when old age left the disposition to the control of affection, and when the delights of first and second childhood were to meet, as if no period of terrible decision and of unsoftened intellectual strength and energy had intervened.

to give it you, under my owne hand, that I am very much pleased to heare how constant you are in your affection to me, and in your endeavours to advance my service. We have all a harde worke to do; yett I doubt not God will carry us through it; and you can never doubt that I will forgett the good part you have acted; which, trust me, shall be rewarded, whenever it shall be in the power of your affectionat frind,

"Colen, 30th Dec. 1654."

"CHARLES R.

¹ "Here and near to this place lyes the Reverend Mr John Crookshanks, and Mr Andrew M'Cormook, Ministers of the Gospel, and about fifty other true Covenanted Presbyterians, who were killed in this place in their own innocent self-defence, and defence of the covenanted work of reformation, by Thomas Dalysel of Binns, upon the 28th of November 1666. Rev. 12, 11. Erected September 28, 1738."

² *M'Crie's Lives of Veitch and Bryson, Wallace's Narrative, Wourrow, Naphtali.*

“On the accession of James the Seventh, he fixed his old age at Binns, his paternal inheritance, adorned by his excellence with avenues, large parks, and fine gardens, and pleased himself with the culture of curious flowers and plants.”¹ But though a genial love of nature lent its rays to wait on the declining years of the persecutor of the Covenanters, we gladly resume our sketch of Sir John’s pedigree. General Dalyell died in 1685, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, a captain in the King’s service, who, for his own merits, but especially for those of his father, was created first Baronet of Binns. The next baronet of note was the author of the “Rare and Remarkable Animals of Scotland,”—“The Powers of the Creator,” etc. The family had, from its first appearance in history, been associated with the army. For generations the eldest son had been devoted to the military service of the country; and the same profession would, in all likelihood, have fallen to the lot of Sir John, had not an accident in early childhood made him lame for life. “Perhaps it was owing to this physical deficiency that the mind of the youth was early led to seek amusement in mental recreation. Certain it is, that from his boyhood upwards he studied arduously—the dawn of morning seldom finding him in his bed.”

At a very early age, Sir John gave promise of fitness for those pursuits in which he afterwards became distinguished. Though in this article we wish mainly to look at him as a naturalist, it is not beside our purpose to indicate other pursuits which he followed with great eagerness, skill, and success. He was fond of music, and not unskilful in the practice of it. An excellent mathematician, he had gained at college the medal in the class of mechanics, and mechanical arts had great attractions for him. In 1796, he became a member of the Scottish Bar, and in the following year was chosen a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and their first Vice-President. Pursuits of an historical and antiquarian character occupied, at this period, much of Sir John’s

¹ In the midst of his most active work for Charles, General Dalyell was not without his “redeeming traits.” Having met Captain Paton, who had served with him at Worcester, but had afterwards joined the Covenanters and been present at the battles of Pentlands, Drumclog, and Bothwell Bridge, he took the prisoner aside, and said to him,—“John, I am both glad and sorry to see you. If I had met you on the way, before you came hither, I should have set you at liberty; but now it is too late. But be not afraid; I will write to His Majesty for your life.” The captain replied, ‘You will not be heard.’ Dalyell said, ‘Will I not! if he does not grant me the life of one man, I shall never draw a sword for him again.’ And it is said, that, having spoken some time together, a man came up and said to the captain, ‘You are a rebel to the King.’ To whom he replied, ‘Friend, I have done more for the King than perhaps thou hast done.’ Dalyell said, ‘Yes, John, that is true’ (perhaps alluding to Worcester); and struck the man on the head with his cane, till he staggered, saying, he would learn him other manners than to use a prisoner so. After this the captain thanked him for his courtesy, and they parted.”—*Scottish Worthies*.

attention. He has left works which the student of history may consult with profit, even now when by the labours of Macaulay, Tytler, Robert Chambers, and others, so much light has been let in upon old paths.¹ Though we have little sympathy with the point of view from which Sir John looked at Scottish history, we may refer to his "*Desultory Reflections*," as bearing testimony to his patience in research, his discrimination, and his skill in using the abundant material which had been little touched when he began to deal with it.

Apart altogether, however, from the well-marked bias which our author carried into his historical studies, we are interested in meeting with another illustration, in his case, of the frequent union of a love of antiquarian pursuits with strong devotion to Natural History. All who are familiar with the literature of Natural Science will acknowledge, that this union lends a charm to the study. The names of John Ray of Black Notley, and Gilbert White of Selborne, will at once occur to them among the naturalists of the past who loved to wander into the out-of-the-way fields of historical research. There seems to be a tie of kindred between the two pursuits. The faculty by which the naturalist traces the history of any one object, the time and the author of its discovery, the sources whence have come the various bits of information grouped around it, the habits of beast or bird, the wonders of generation and of metamorphosis of insect or of polype life, is precisely the same as that by which the student of antiquities traces the history of prevailing customs, and learns to associate these with the genius of the time; by which, in the application of historic criticism to ancient coins, chartularies, architecture, and sculpture, he makes the past live before us, or brings us into relation with the great ones of bygone ages. Then both pursuits lead to the same delightful gossip—such gossip as is to be met with equally in the fresh word-painting of Audubon and Edward Forbes, and in the racy pages of Pepys and of Walpole. Both antiquary and naturalist have an anecdotal turn. Necessarily removed in their studies, for protracted periods, from

¹ "*Fragments of Scottish History*," Edinburgh, 1798. In 1801 he edited "*Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century*," and in 1806, "*Richard Bannatyne's Journal of Transactions in Scotland, 1570 to 1573*." In 1809 he published his "*Tract on Monastic Antiquities*;" in 1814, "*Marioreybanks' Annals of Scotland, from the Yeir 1514 to the Yeir 1591*,"—a work in which Sir John first drew attention to certain alleged facts, of which Miss Strickland has made so much use, in her recent attempts to blacken the character of "the good regent," and to make Mary stand out in the new character of a virtuous queen! "*Remarks on the Antiquities Illustrative of the Cartularies of the Episcopal See of Aberdeen*," 1820; "*A Brief Analysis of the Ancient Records of the Bishopric of Moray*," 1826; and of "*The Abbey of Cambuskenneth—Chapel Royal of Stirling—Preceptory of St Anthony at Leith*," 1828. In 1835 was published the best known of his historical works, "*The Darker Superstitions of Scotland*."

their fellow-men, they carry into society with them whatever has lightened their labours—risen in sparkling bubbles to the surface of the dark depths down into which they have been peering, and which, connecting itself with the “weak side” of humanity, has excited their appreciation of the ludicrous. Thus the genial sunshine which rests on the pages of the true naturalist. He ever associates his own feelings, peculiarities, and tastes, with the living things in the midst of which he moves. Every form of life in earth or air—in belt of ocean boundless and life-teeming—in majestic river, in babbling brook, or lake loving to become mirror to the trees by its margin, and to the clouds as they sail over the deep blue sky, comes to have human feelings for the time attributed to it, to look around with human eyes, and to talk with the lord of creation as with a fellow. The tie between man and the earth stands out in new lights. The familiarity of Eden might seem to have come back again, did not the gun over the shoulder, the insect-net in the hand, the dip-net and dredge in the boat, speak with not very pleasant suggestions of the intimacy between advanced Zoology and Comparative Anatomy! Yet the strolls of the naturalist must ever be pleasant, and, when told, convey pleasure to others, were it for nothing more than this faculty of becoming one with his irrational friends! There, the blue-capped tit (*Parus cæruleus*), as it hangs in the morning light by one foot on the drooping twig of thorn, and catches with wide open bill and roguish look that pure dew-drop, one of the countless millions each of which reflects the full image of the sun, for its morning drink, is held to be slyly saying, “Take a lesson from me!” There is nothing, after all, in man’s mode of living like this: nothing like early to bed and early to rise; fresh breezes and this true water of life. Here, that weasel (*Mustela vulgaris*), looking knowingly out from his hole in old moss-covered “dyke,” with an eye to the young rabbit which has crossed his path, plainly says, with the twinkle in his bright black eye and turn of his cunning nose, “Appetite, however keen, does not so absorb me as to blind me to the approach of danger.” There, in the shore-pool, he meets the hermit crab (*Pagurus*), and makes him vindicate his title to the house of one of the Muricidæ (*Fusus Antiquus*), which he has appropriated, by telling for him the tale of the New Zealander, who gave as his title to certain lands which he occupied, “They are mine, because I ate the former owners.” And here the limpet (*Patella vulgata*), which he watches, as it plants its broad foot on the side of the glass into which he has dropped it, climbs to the brim, and looking over, with tentacles half protruded, and stupid-like gaze, seems to say, “A certain class of philosophers hold me to be an important step in the march of my sixth cousin, jelly fish,

up to man. Have I not, by anticipation, much of the look of some of these wise ones?" Agassiz, knowing the savage snap of one of the large, full-grown Testudinata, is sure that, under the microscope, he has seen the juvenal turtle snapping precociously in embryo! Lewes admires the house which *Buccinum* carries constantly on his back, and straightway assigns him an advantage over *Brown*, as a builder up of greater beauty with his useful works.¹ Kingsley notices one of the crabs feeding on a piece of stale thornback, and raises him to the rank of an inspector of nuisances, as "*Maia Squinado, Esq.*"² Illustrations might be multiplied. The habit is a common one, and, no doubt, has had a large share in popularising the current literature of science.³ The tendency assumed a different form in olden times. Thoughtful men acknowledge the tie between man and the forms of life around him; and, as he looked out on the great and but little known ocean, imagination found the forms of land-life repeated there. Any of our readers acquainted with Sylvester's Translation (1580) of the famous "Week" of Du Bartas, will remember his catalogue of the "Things living in the Seas;"—

"Seas have, as wel as skies, sun, moon, and stars :
As wel as aire, swallows, and rooks, and stares :

¹ "In vain does our pride rebel at the thought of consanguinity with a mollusc; the difference between *Brown*, with the house he built, and *Buccinum*, with the shell he secreted, lies in the number of steps or phenomena interposed between the fact of individual existence and the completion of the building. *Brown* is aghast at the suggestion, and says he hates metaphysics. This much he will perhaps admit, namely, that whatever other advantages our habitations may have over those of insects and molluscs, it is clear they have not the advantage in architectural beauty subservient to utility. Consider man from a distance—look at him as a shell-fish—and it must be confessed that his habitation is surprisingly ugly. Only after a great many intermediate 'steps or phenomena' does he contrive to secrete here and there a palace or a parthenon which enchants the eye."—*Seaside Studies*.

² "For all his good deeds had not as yet cost the state one penny. True, he lived by his business; so do other inspectors of nuisances; but nature, instead of paying *Maia Squinado, Esquire*, some five hundred pounds sterling per annum for his labour, had contrived, with a sublime simplicity of economy, which Mr Hume might have envied and admired afar off, to make him do his work gratis, by giving him the nuisances as his perquisites, and teaching him how to eat them. Certainly (without going the length of the Caribs, who uphold cannibalism because, they say, it makes war cheap, and precludes entirely the need of a commissariat), this cardinal virtue of cheapness ought to make *Squinado* an interesting object in the eyes of the present generation, especially as he was at that moment a true sanatory martyr, having, like many of his human fellow-workers, got into a fearful scrape by meddling with those existing interests, and 'vested rights which are but vested wrongs,' which have proved fatal already to more than one board of health"—*Glaucus*.

³ Perhaps it is nowhere so fully shown as in young Buckland's "*Curiosities of Natural History*," a book in which there is much acute observation and more true science than at first meets the eye, under the dashing style of The Life Guards' Assistant Surgeon.

As wel as earth, vines, roses, nettles, millions,
 Pinks, gilliflowrs, mushrooms, and many millions
 Of other plants, more rare and strange than these,
 As very fishes living in the seas :
 And also rams, calfs, horses, hares, hogs,
 Wolves, lions, urchins, elephants, and dogs,
 Yea men and mayds : and, which I more admire,
 The mytred bishop, and the cowed fryer."

Naturalists generally write in such a style now, as that, while the multitude can read their works with profit, the circle, "few but select," of their brethren of high scientific attainments turn not away from them. It is found that science can come down and walk in the crowd without dread of losing caste, and that her discoveries can be popularised without being degraded. All that is needed in order to this simply is, that her votaries should look at their work in the spirit indicated above, and should mix up accounts of the habitats and the habits of the lower animals with the exact descriptions of outward form, of internal structure, or of the adaptation of their forms to climate and to modes of life. Most important benefits are sure, sooner or later, to result from the growth of this kind of literature. Not only will the young be won in greater numbers than heretofore to the study of Natural History, and therein find substitutes for pursuits which lead directly to moral degradation, but benefit will result to the Church likewise. The literature of Natural Theology is increasingly withdrawing from the high platform of Metaphysics, and standing on ground much more within reach of the bulk of the Church's members. It is, too, dealing more with easily appreciable phenomenal aspects—the order of creation—the comparison of palæontological with existing fauna—the relations between different classes of lower life—their modes of propagation, and the like, than with those nice adaptations between organs and functions, in which the physico-theologians of the *Derham* and *Bridgewater* School found their favourite, and, no doubt, both then and now, instructive and profitable themes. Sir John Dalyell's magnificent work, "The Powers of the Creator," leads us, at one point and another, into questions touching the former class of physico-theological topics. But we resume our outline sketch.

Sir John was a great worker, and his habits of untiring application, in the study of his favourite branches of Natural Science, enabled him to keep his printers busy. It was also, no doubt, much in his favour, that his private means enabled him to gratify his taste, without let or hindrance, for publishing expensively illustrated works in Natural History.¹ In 1799 he

¹ Yet he had his trials in this. A misunderstanding with his engraver led to a delay of nearly five years in the publication of "The Rare and Remarkable

translated a volume of Spallanzani's "Tracts on the Nature of Animals and Vegetables;" and in 1803, other two volumes, accompanied by an Essay of his own, entitled "Physiological Reflections." In 1814 he published a thin octavo on "Planariæ." Baron Cuvier honoured him with a communication, in which he bears testimony to the value of this work.¹ It was, however, in 1847 that his first truly important work in Natural History was published, namely, "The Rare and Remarkable Animals of Scotland." The circumstance referred to in the note below, explains how Sir John did not reap the full honour, which would otherwise have been assigned to him, in connection with the discoveries brought out in this valuable contribution to Natural Science. The ground over which Sir John travels, has since the publication of his work become of deepest interest, and continues to attract to it and to engross the attention of ablest naturalists. Much has been done in it by men like Sars, Steenstrup, Siebold, Van Beneden, Kölliker, Quaterfages, Owen, Fleming, Johnstone, Allman, etc.; and it is a testimony of no ordinary kind to the able and accurate observations of our author, that their labours have all tended to verify his remarks. In 1851, the year of his death, Sir John published the first volume of "The Powers of the Creator Seen in Creation." In 1853 the second volume was given to the public, under the superintendence of Miss Dalyell and Dr Fleming, and the third volume in August of the current year. The tie between Sir John and his sister was peculiarly strong, tender and lovely. They had kindred tastes, and were constant companions. He never lost an opportunity of testifying how much he enjoyed her society in the midst of his favourite pursuits. She lived in the light of his countenance. Her care for him was unceasing :

"It seemed to lift her mind above
All care for other earthly things."

Animals of Scotland," in consequence of which he was deprived of the credit of having discovered the true propagation of *Hydra Tuba*, etc. This hindrance had so annoyed him, that, but for the entreaties of Dr Fleming and his sister, he would have stopped the work.

¹ "MONSIEUR,—Permettez moi de vous remercier, non seulement du beau présent que vous m'avez fait en m'envoyant votre livre, mais encore du service que vous avez rendu à l'histoire naturelle en y remplissant une lacune demeurée vuide malgré les efforts d'hommes aussi habils que Müller et autres. C'en par des travaux de ce genre, par des observations assidues sur des espèces particulières que l'on enrichit le plus sûrement cette belle science; je serais bien heureux de pouvoir vous exprimer plus divinement l'estime que votre ouvrage me inspire; si vous venez jamais dans notre pays, j'espère que vous me fournirez l'occasion de vous en donner des preuves; agréer je vous prie l'assurance de la haute considération avec laquelle, je suis, MONSIEUR, votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur,

"BN. CUVIER."

"Paris, le 28 Juin 1822."

Dr Fleming prettily marks this in his preface. "This zeal," he says, "to promote the author's fame, and advance at the same time the interest of science, was naturally to be looked for from the individual referred to in the second volume of '*Rare and Remarkable Animals of Scotland*,' p. 99, where, in reference to the *Cristatella*, he says, 'I am indebted to the sedulous care of an affectionate relative, the companion of all my excursions, the encourager of all my exertions, in so tedious, laborious, and difficult a work, for the finest of any—that exhibited to the British Association, taken by herself in the garden pond at Binns House.' Another passage, dictated by the same grateful considerations, occurs in the same volume, p. 124, under *Plumatella repens*. 'Of these an admirable example occurred near a ruinous mansion called Fenton Tower, in the county of Haddington, for which I was indebted to that same affectionate companion of my excursions already noted, who takes the liveliest interest in all my pursuits, and who values the beauties of nature as demonstrations of the Divine essence vouchsafed to the gaze of admiring mankind.'"

The point of view from which Sir John looked at the natural world, supplies a key to the numerous reverential remarks which occur throughout his works on Natural Science. Creation was nothing to him except as seen in the Creator. In the midst of his researches, a great thought of God as the Author of all things was ever present with him. He ever seems to his readers as walking in the great world-temple with bared head and calm look of reverence. He sees in the works of God the images of thoughts which lie in the depths of the Eternal Mind—things whose patterns are in the heavens. Thus the whole world of life led his thoughts up to a Living One,—One, no doubt, who, *as seen in nature only*, never draws so near—never puts Himself in such close relationship with the soul of man, as even to suggest the way of the lost soul's restoration to His favour which is life; but One, nevertheless, who reveals His eternal power and Godhead in His works. And fresh, healthful impressions are got in thus seeking after Him, and in observing how

"Harmony results

From disunited parts, and shapes minute,
At once distinct and blended, boldly form
One vast majestic whole."

But let us examine more closely Sir John's "Powers of the Creator." The well written Introduction is devoted to a review of the Wisdom of God seen in the Order of Nature, and in Means provided for the preservation of life on the earth. One or two topics here touched upon claim our attention, both because they suggest subjects to which Sir John's mind must

frequently have turned, but which are referred to merely as helpful in the elucidation of his favourite studies, and because they illustrate that habitually upward glance which we have noted. "We are compelled," he says, p. 4, "to reject the theory of successive creations as an unsound doctrine—resulting merely from imagination—unsupported by evidence." Now, we are not to hold this as indicative of our author's views of other epochs than the present one. This seems clear from such expressions, occurring elsewhere, as—"Monsters, the relics of a former world"—"Myriads seem to have been involved in one common ruin," etc. The point condescended on, though the reference is not put with his usual directness, touches the claim for the periodic introduction of new forms of life into the present system of nature. Some have sought shelter for their ignorance under the theory, that living things recently discovered must have recently been thrust by an Almighty hand into the sphere of present being. On one of two grounds only could this be entertained. We must either have been told of it by the Creator Himself, or we must have been taken into the glory of the awful presence, and been made witnesses of the creative act. The testimony of nature harmonises with that of revelation as to the origin of the existing orders of life. But the view indicated has, whether in the mind of the author or no, most important bearings on several controversies which are growing into greater power every day, and in connection with one of which a battle may yet have to be fought by Christianised science. We mean what may be called the *overlapping life-theory* of some geologists. This acknowledges no chaos, no general breaks in the chain of being, no halts in the grand march of creative power, from the time when Jehovah laid earth's foundations upon the floods, up to the time when the earth was fitted for man, and man formed to inhabit the earth. We cannot now dwell on this. It is, however, capable of being put in many new and interesting lights, and we may return to it. It is enough at present to remark, that, while a strong case can be made out from Geology for successive general breaks in the appearance of living beings on the earth, there is no proof, even strongly presumptive, for this overlapping theory. The first public statement of doubt on this theory was, we believe, made in this Journal; and we rejoice to notice the directions which such discussions are beginning to take in the works of many, who, on the ground of scientific qualification, are entitled to be listened to. Agassiz,¹ for example, has adopted the theory of Elie de Beaumont on The Age of Mountains, and has associ-

¹ "To form adequate ideas of the great physical changes the surface of the globe has undergone, and the frequency of these modifications of the character

ated with it, in his recent great work, views of the order of creation,—the recognition of breaks in the progress of God's self-manifestation in creation during that wonderful Past, to the last stage of which the time from Eden till now may have been but as an hour ago,—which we regard as the full inauguration of a strong reaction against the anti-chaos theory, recently associated with one or two great names.

The remarks which occur at pp. 5 and 6, on the mode of propagation which obtains among some of the humbler creatures, show how closely our author had observed the operations of nature. They are interesting, also, as indicating that his thoughts had been turned to certain physiological questions which have had much attention directed to them since the publication of the first volume of this work. These refer to the supposed identity between the seed and the bud in vegetables, the alleged analogy between the seed of the vegetable and the egg of the animal; and, as an inference, the alleged identity between germination and generation. Some of these topics are referred to by Mr. Lewes, in his "*Seaside Studies*," with characteristic ability; and in Dr Harvey's works,¹ they are handled in a peculiarly able and interesting way. The value of our author's labours is enhanced by the fact, that in all his zoological investigations he

of the earth's surface, and of the coincidence with the changes observed among the organised beings, it is necessary attentively to study the works of Elie de Beaumont. He for the first time attempted to determine the relative age of the different systems of mountains; and showed first, also, that the physical disturbances occasioned by their upheaval coincided with the successive disappearance of new ones. In his earlier papers he recognised *seven*, then twelve, afterwards fifteen, such great convulsions of the globe; and now he has traced, more or less fully and conclusively, the evidence that the number of these disturbances has been at least sixty, perhaps *one hundred*. But, while the genesis and geology of our mountain systems were thus illustrated, palæontologists, extending their comparisons between the fossils of different formations more carefully to all the successive beds of each great era, have observed more and more marked differences between them, and satisfied themselves that faunæ also have been more frequently renovated than was formerly supposed; so that the general results of Geology proper and of Palæontology concur in the main to prove, that, while the globe has been at repeated intervals, and indeed frequently, though after immensely long periods, altered and altered again, until it has assumed its present condition, so have also animals and plants, living upon its surface, been again and again extinguished and replaced by others, until those now living were called into existence, with man at their head." Again—"The simultaneous disappearance of entire faunæ, and the following simultaneous appearance of other faunæ show, further, that, as all these faunæ consist of the greatest variety of types, in all formations, combined everywhere into natural associations of plants and animals, between which there have been definite relations at all times, their origin can at no time be owing to the limited influence of monotonous physical causes, ever acting in the same way. Here, again, the intervention of a Creator is displayed in the most striking manner in every stage of the history of the world."—*Agassiz's Contributions to the Natural History of the United States*.

¹ "Trees and their Nature." London: Nisbet and Co., 1856. "The Identity between the Bud and the Seed." Nisbet and Co., 1857.

rigidly excludes information at second-hand. When the views of other naturalists are quoted, it is never in order to fill in a picture or to supplement his own information, but simply as corroborative of what he has observed, or to be set aside by his observations. Too much importance cannot be attached to this peculiarity. He speaks of what he has seen ; and the 145 magnificent plates introduced, in illustration of the text, have been taken from as good and healthy specimens as could be got, and are coloured from life. With a modesty which will ever be found characteristic of those who have made great attainments after much time, and painstaking self-denying labour, Sir John leaves his last work in the hands of his readers with the remark : " I wish very earnestly to guard the intelligent reader from expecting a complete history of the living subjects presented before him. This would be an undertaking far surpassing my capacity ; indeed, I believe, exceeding the capacity of any individual, for of many it is inconceivably obscure."

The first volume is mainly devoted to the *Echinodermata* and the *Crustacea*. In our notices of the subject-matter, we will not confine our remarks to the information gathered by Sir John, but will include our own, or that of others, as occasion may require. The opening monograph on *Holothuria* (the *beche de mer*, or sea-cucumbers) occupies nearly seventy pages, contains the fruits of thirty years' observation and patient research, and has fifteen plates in illustration of the external form and comparative anatomy of this interesting order of sea life. Naturalists who have sought an intimate knowledge of the *Holothuroidea* will sympathise with the earnest statement of the difficulties which our author found in his way. Loving, for the most part, deep water, they are more safe from the intrusion of the student than the creatures which linger in the pools when the tide has retired, or which find their enjoyment in the easily accessible sea shallows. And even though the modern all-grasping dredge may succeed in bringing one and another into the hands of the naturalist, yet the slightest injury done, in taking or handling them, is sure to mislead him in his description. Only, then, by having well-grown and healthy individuals lifted without injury into the aquarium, will he find himself in circumstances to put in action that patient and close observation needed in order to reach a generally correct estimate of their changes in form and their habits of life. "The exterior integument of the *Holothuria*," says Sir John, "with the tough coriaceous inner layers, constitutes a capacious bag, wherein are contained the respiratory, the intestinal organs, and the ovarium. The head is also retracted within it when at rest ; but in action it protrudes, unfolding a fine luxuriant flower or arborescence, constituting what

are supposed tentacula. The body of most specimens assumes the form of a horse-shoe, crescent, or cucumber; and a stream of water, playing like a fountain, is forcibly discharged from the posterior extremity." Our author's description is both graphic and to the life; but we cannot sympathise with the jealousy with which he regards the application of Comparative Anatomy to several questions touching this order of Echinoderms. Sir John loved so much to behold the beauty of the external form, and to associate that with the habits of the creature, that he was ever loath to permit the knife of the anatomist to deal with healthful subjects. But still it must be borne in mind that peculiarities of structure are ever safer guides to a true knowledge of the place which any one creature holds in creation—the great family under which it should be ranked—and, even, to the explanation of well-marked habits—than the general characteristics of outward form can be. Readers of his works will have frequent occasion to notice this peculiarity. It will explain to them also his distrust of the wisdom which has assigned to one creature and another a well-defined place in the order of creation, on the basis of structural peculiarities. This has led him to make the strong statement, that *Holothuria* seems to stand alone, and is not allied to any other genus. Whereas a complete knowledge of its structure in connection with that of other creatures, seeming at least to border on it, would have led him to associate it, on the one hand, with *Echinida*, and on the other, with *Sipunculi* and their allies,—connecting in this way the pure types of the *Radiata* with those of the *Articulata*. *Holothuria* would thus occupy a well-defined place in a system of classification, having for its foundation well-marked structural peculiarities.¹

Seven plates are given in illustration of *Holothuria Pentactes* (*five-ribbed sea-cucumber*). The text reads like a novel of engrossing interest. The remarks are the fruit of the examination of more than sixty individuals. Five-ribbed *Holothuria* is to be met with on most parts of the Scottish coasts, and at a depth of from one to eight fathoms. Sometimes it is found floating amidst

¹ At the meeting of the British Association in 1835, among other remarks, Agassiz made the following on the place assigned to *Organs*: "Groups of animals are impressed with such characters as are easily recognised, yet their order and succession have been determined by no general principle. In most systems, some organ or system of organs has been *arbitrarily* assumed as a basis. Each class in the animal kingdom exhibits, in an eminent degree, the development of some one of the animal functions. The Vertebrata exhibit the organs of the Senses; the Invertebrata—for example, worms—the system of Nutrition; Crustacea, Circulation; Insects, Respiration; and Mollusca, Generation. In fishes the predominant element is the bony skeleton; in reptiles, the muscular structure; in birds, sensibility of the nervous system; and in mammalia, the perfection of the senses. Each of the sub-classes of the higher group is represented among the mammalia, along with its own peculiar type."—*Reports*, p. 67.

beds of *Laminaria* (sea-tangle). The full-grown animal seems to be about two feet long and four inches thick. The form, when at ease, resembles that of a well-grown cucumber. The head, if we may so name the anterior arborescence, can be drawn at pleasure within the body. When fully expanded, it exhibits the form of a broad disc with a central orifice, and surrounded with beautiful branching tentacula. In colour it is shaded chocolate; and the body is traversed from tip to tip with five longitudinal rows of retractile suckers, brighter in colour than the main covering. When first taken, the arborescent tentacles and the suckers are not generally visible. The skin seems thick, hard, and barky, and the extremities are brought together, giving it, says Sir John, "the form of a bullock's heart." But it is at night that *Pentactes* shows all its beauty. Such a change passes over it as almost to persuade us that we have a wholly different creature before us. The body is distended, and assumes the graceful crescent shape; the skin looks thin and soft; the branching tentacles sweep the water with easy motion, and seem in succession to bring to the orifice in the centre of the disc, beautifully fringed by them, supplies of nourishment; and the posterior jet acts with vigour—with such vigour, "as sometimes to spout a distance of eight or ten inches." A singular feature of *Holothuria Pentactes* is its liability to rupture. The slightest abrasion of the skin will lead it to cast out its intestinal organs, or its ovarium; and even confinement, without direct injury, is sufficient to bring on this.

We can do little more than name the other individuals described with graphic power by Sir John.—We have the beautiful and timid *Holothuria Fusus*—the shy, horseshoe-like *H. Scotica*—the *H. Bodotriæ* (*Genus* of Forbes), with its power of spontaneous subdivision and renewal of the parts thus lost—and the lovely *H. Phantopus*, with its sack-like, *bistre* coloured body, its light-brown neck (shall we call it?) spotted with carmine, its shaded carmine disc and spotted arborescent tentacula, with the quiet blue connecting membrane at their uniting base, and with its suckers confined to a small space on the lower surface of the body, unlike other *Holothuriæ*, which have these instruments of adhesion and of motion dispersed along the whole surface of the body. All the individuals described may be met with on the Scottish coast. After a storm, during which a violent gale had been blowing from the north-east, we found, several years ago, a good many specimens of dead *Holothuria Pentactes*, on the shore between Portobello and Musselburgh,—all of them more or less injured.

Turning to Sir John's researches among the *Asteroidea*, we find, as might be expected after the classic monograph of Edward

Forbes on "British Star-Fishes," that our author's labours are not to be ranked, as to completeness, with those of the late brilliant and variedly accomplished Professor of Natural History. Forbes' opportunities of research were more frequent; and, moreover, he had all the recently increasing literature of this branch of Natural Science under his eye. When our author began his work, comparatively few had given themselves to the study of this department; and such as had done so, satisfied themselves with only a vague indication of differences in the few species described. It must be held a high testimony to Sir John's accuracy, to be able to affirm that his characterisation of the species given in this work, may stand with advantage side by side with the descriptions of Forbes. His notes may not have that attractiveness of style which added such interest to all that the Professor wrote; nevertheless, they do not fail to convey most distinct and accurate information on every individual to whose form and habits he had given his attention. Neither do Sir John's notes suggest that there existed any of that *brusquerie* of manner about him, as an investigator, which ever falls like a fascination especially on young students. In reading our author's descriptions, we ever picture to ourselves a not very robust student, quietly watching, amidst the luxury and ease of a home of refinement and taste, the objects of his study. But Forbes' books set us in the heart of the fields of research. With him, we seem to tread the slippery shore—to wade amidst rock-pools—to feel in our hands green ribboned *Zostera* and bunches of slimy *Laminaria*. As we read, we seem to push out with rapid stroke or spreading sail into "The sea, the open sea,"—to feel the swell of the billows—or to gaze into its depths, as the sun shines brightly, and to watch the living things innumerable which find a home in the mighty waters. And when net and dredge have done their work, drawn up buckets full, we hear the jovial laugh of the boatmen, the ringing shout of "the juniores," as sparkling wit and quiet humour fall from his lips, who was not only one of the greatest of modern naturalists, a king among princes, but a man most attractively companionable. It were, indeed, a pleasant task to analyse the magnificent monograph of Forbes, but we are warned by our increasing pages to return to our proper theme.

Sir John divides his remarks on the star-fishes into two sections, one of which is devoted to *Asterias*, the other to *Ophiura*. The name at once suggests the animal referred to under the first section. With the form of the more common species every visitor to the sea-shore is familiar. The mouth of *Asterias* is in its disc or proper body, generally, though not always, placed at the side. It moves by means of suckers, which fix their cup-like

ends on the rock ; while one set remains fixed, another is thrown out ; when set number two have fastened, set number one are unloosed, and the whole body is brought forward. Progress is thus secured. Its food consists of decayed animal matter and molluscs. One (*Asterias Rubens*), which we captured very recently in a pool not far from St Abb's Head, was in the act of casting out the empty shells of young *Mytilus edulis*, on which it had been feeding ; and we noticed that, while every bivalve was empty, very few of the single valves were injured, while those whose hinge had stood the rough handling in the stomach of *Asterias* were generally broken at the edges. As the owl, the hawk, etc., have the power of rejecting by the mouth, in oval pellets, the bones which resist the digestive organs, so, though not as pellets, the *Asterias* can get quit of the shells of molluscs, and with greater ease. They do not seem to experience the difficulty which the birds show they have in this work, by the painful twisting of the neck and crop before the pellet is ejected. But many of the star-fishes appear to possess a more wonderful power in relation to digestion than this—a power which beings higher in the rank of life might covet when they have feasted to surfeiting. They can extrude the whole stomach by the mouth, and make very clean work of everything which is not welcome in it. We were anxious to carry away the St Abb's *Asterias Rubens*, because the specimen was one of rare size and beauty : so much so, that an intelligent fisherman remarked, in pure Berwickshire *Doric*, that he' "hadna seen sich like a' his born days." But, on looking at it a few hours after it had been, as we thought, carefully boxed, we found, as we feared, that it had of its own free will and pleasure determined that, as it threw off the mortal coil, it would also throw it to pieces, for every ray was broken. "In confinement," says Sir John, "as well as in the sea, star-fish are subject to frightful mutilations. Not only are they subject to lose portions, or even entire rays, but the whole animal literally falls to pieces. Nay, after a day of correct and satisfactory observation, the following morning will sometimes present nothing but a quantity of white granulations in the vessel which had contained a perfect and beautiful specimen. This kind of decomposition is perhaps a casualty incidental to the whole. I know of none exempt from it. But, as if in compensation, nature has endowed these creatures with surprising reproductive energies. All the lost organs are replaced by others ! and although some authors have denied that a complete specimen may be formed from a single ray, this is a fact which certainly does ensue. But whether some insensible fragment of the disc must have necessarily remained, I cannot presume to specify." Be this as it may, the forms of life to which Sir John devoted

so many years of observation, reveal to us wonders far greater than the renewal of a star-fish from one ray, and are fitted to bring us into full sympathy with the remarks of *Reaumur* :—"Il faut porter la foi humaine plus loin qu'il n'est permis à des hommes éclairés, pour le croire sur le premier témoignage de celui qui raconte, et assure l'avoir vu. Peut-on se résoudre à croire qu'il y ait dans la nature des animaux qu'on multiplie en les *hachant*, pour ainsi dire, par morceaux." But whether or no the *Asteroidea* have recourse to this voluntary break-up which the Frenchman wondered over, as he found it employed by some insects in order to propagation, it nevertheless presents sore hindrance to the study of some of the star-fishes. Some of our readers will remember Edward Forbes' difficulties in his attempts to get the rare *Luidia fragilissima* into what to it is the deadly pail of fresh water. "A *Luidia* came up—a most gorgeous specimen. As it does not generally break up before it is raised above the surface of the sea, cautiously and anxiously I sank my bucket to a level with the dredge's mouth, and proceeded in the most gentle manner to introduce *Luidia* to the purer element. Whether the cold water was too much for him, or the sight of the bucket too terrific, I know not; but in a moment he proceeded to dissolve his corporation, and at every mesh of the dredge his fragments were seen escaping. In despair, I grasped the largest, and brought up the extremity of an arm with its terminating eye, the spinous eyelid of which opened and closed with something exceedingly like a wink of derision."

The modes of reproduction peculiar to the *Asteroidea* long baffled the watchful observation of naturalists. Much light has, however, been cast on this by the researches of recent years. In some, the ovaria occupy spaces along the rays; in others, they surround the disc; while in others they have a place at the root of the rays, either exposed, as if on the surface of the disc, or firmly placed between the rays at the points where they meet the proper body. A curious statement has been made touching the alleged ant-like attachment of the *Asterias* to her eggs. "The eggs," remarks Carpenter,¹ "are not extruded at once and left to their fate, but the parent retains them for a considerable time in a cavity, which is generally formed by drawing up the disc and the bases of the arms; and it is said that when the ova have been removed from this shelter, and placed at some distance from the parent, the latter has been seen to move directly towards them and take them up again,—an exertion of volition which we should hardly have expected to meet with in creatures so low in the scale of organisation as these!"

The individuals described by Sir John are *Asterias glacialis*,

¹ *Zoology*, vol. ii., p. 465 (Bohn's Library).

rubens, *oculata*, *aranciacia*, *indica*, and *papposa*. Let us linger for a little beside *Asterias papposa*—the Solaster, or Sun-star, of Forbes. It has attractions, both because it is well known as abounding on our coasts, because of its great beauty, and specially because its form gives plain indications that, if we might so put it, the thoughts of the Creator revealed in it suggest to us a transition from the true *Asterias* to other types of life. True, all creation stood distinctly out before the All-seeing, and no one part could be excluded from His perfect knowledge, while at His bidding peculiar forms rose into full being! But *we* see only the type which for the time occupies our attention; and we observe not other types, except in so far as they are suggested by that under review. Yet in every department of Zoology we meet with these types suggestive of transition—forms of life which, while their place may be well determined, have about them characteristics which carry our minds forward and upward to other forms higher, relatively, in the scale, as having more complex and better marked structural peculiarities. Thus, *Lepidosiren annectans* keeps our thoughts oscillating between fish and reptile; *Ornithorhynchus paradoxus* is constantly suggesting duck and otter; and *Lanius excubitor*, with true sparrow-like claws, and hawk-like hooked beak, sets before us the point at which the true Passeres seem hankering on the edge of the Accipitres. Were it not waste of power to send other arrows than those which have already been sent, from so many skilful hands, into the dead Development theory, we might find many sharp ones at the very points in Zoology at which its disciples hoped to find their strength. There are features associated with those very connecting links of life, in the wide range of being, which go directly in the face of Development dreams. But we again digress.

Mr Gosse,¹ in his usual happy way, has pointed out the common principle which can be recognised in the whole group of the Echinoderms, indicated the model according to which all seem to be formed, and marked the points of transition.

“The model,” he says, “is a star-fish with five radiating points or rays, such as we see in the most simple condition in the sand-star (*Ophiura*), a central body, round and flat, with five long taper rays set around the edge, like the tails of snakes, diverging in as many directions. Sometimes these rays consist each of two filaments springing from the same base, and then we have a *Comatula*; or the ray may divide, and subdivide, and subdivide again, to a high degree of ramification, until the terminations are immensely numerous, and of hair-like fineness—and thus we have a Medusa’s head (*Astrophyton*). The rays may become so broad at the base as to merge into one

¹ Marine Zoology, vol. i. p. 54.

another, and we have the common star-fish (*Uraster*); they may be more numerous than five, and we have the sun-stars (*Solaster*); the angles may be gradually filled up, the rays becoming shorter and shorter, as in the starlets (*Goniaster*); and at length they may be quite lost as rays, appearing only as the five angles of a disc, and then we have the bird's foot (*Palmipes*). The starry form has now quite disappeared, but changes still proceed in the same direction; the body, from being flexible, becomes invested with strong plates, clothed with moveable spines, and the five-angled outline is more and more lost. It is still discernible in the cake-urchin (*Echinarachnius*); but in the true Urchins, or sea-eggs (*Echinus*), the form is become almost globular, and the chief traces of the quinary arrangement are in the rows of minute holes, which radiate in *five pairs*, from one pole to the other of the globe."

We return to Sir John's second subsection—the Ophiuridæ, among which Mr Gosse, as we have seen, finds the full starting-point of the Echinoderms. Our author points out those features which distinguish this group from Asterias, and describes several species. It is clear, however, that he is not so thoroughly at home in describing the individuals of this subsection as we have found him in his treatment of the former one. He writes with a hesitancy which shows that he had not devoted to them as much attention as to the others. We miss, too, a statement of the remarkable metamorphosis displayed in the propagation of Ophiura. Let us refer to this. The eggs of Ophiura are found in spring lining the margin of the disc. They are of a bright red colour. In their case, however, unlike the eggs of most oviparous animals, they do not at once pass into a form like that of the parent—they do not launch into active life as young Ophiuræ. They assume a larval condition, in which they were long regarded as independent creatures—the *Pluteus*. Professor Müller first found this small acalephoid creature in the sea at Heligoland, and named it *Pluteus paradoxus*. When watched, it was found to pass into perfect Ophiura. This discovery was not only interesting in itself: it was so, likewise, as ultimately leading to another kind of chain by which the sand-star might be linked to the sea-urchin, as both rightly ranked under Echinodermata; for it was found that another kind of *Pluteus* changed into *Echinus*. The singular manner in which this change is produced cannot be better stated than in the words of Carpenter. "Around the stomach and œsophagus of the *Pluteus*," he says, "small sacs make their appearance, at first contained within its body, but gradually increasing in size, until they form the disc of the future star-fish, suspended, as it were, from the lower part of the bell of the larva. Indications of the arms then present themselves; calcareous matter begins to be deposited in

the skin; the larval mouth is displaced, and a new one is formed; the young star-fish continues increasing in size, until at last the larva is got rid of altogether,—the only part of it which remains in the perfect star-fish being the stomach.”

Our author gives us a brief notice of *Comatula Barbata*, one of the types bordering on *Echinus*. Before passing to *Echinus* we may remark, that this was long held to be the only living European representative of the Crinoidean genus, *Pentacrinus*, of the *Lias*. It used to be described under the name of *Pentacrinus Europæus*, as corresponding to the true fossil pedunculated *sea lilies*; but since it was discovered that the sessile character is peculiar to the young only, and that the full-grown species have both the general structural peculiarities and the same habits as the Asteroidea, it has been associated with them. This reference recalls a thought which must frequently present itself to the geological readers of this work. Our author's attention does not appear to have been much directed to Palæontology. The result has been, that he has missed many peculiarly favourable opportunities for not only throwing light upon the living forms under description, but for conveying to us novel views of the probable habits of those forms of old world life, which find their representatives among the creatures of the present epoch.

The pages in which Sir John describes the structure and habits of *Echinus*, and the accompanying illustrative plates, leave little more to be desired concerning the ground which he has traversed. The hints which were thrown out, for the first time, touching peculiarities of organisation, have been fully verified by succeeding observers. But, instead of following our author's descriptions, will our readers wander with us to the shore, and be introduced to living *Echinus Sphæra*. The approach to his favourite habitat is worthy a notice. This we give by filling up some jottings made lately on the coast to the east of North Berwick:—14th August 1858. Mid-day. Bright sunshine. Tide rising. In a deep fissure of the rough trap, widening seaward, and having nearest the sea an elevated, lip-like front, sufficiently high to retain a considerable quantity of water when the tide retires, and yet to be among the first pools refreshed by its flow, we found a little world of marine life. The action of the waves has scooped out deep recesses, which are fringed by luxuriant algæ. In one of these a little company of spotted gobies (*Gobius minutus*) find a hiding-place and abundant food. Our dip-net encloses three. Let us look at the largest. After lying more than ten minutes out of the water, it was still alive; and the vigorous spring of its tail told how much longer it might have survived on land, had not anatomical in-

tentions hastened its death. It must have been this power of *Gobius* to dwell so long in upper air that led Ovid to sing—"Hic summa piscem deprendit in ulmo." Count the shells of young molluscs which are still fresh, though empty, in his capacious stomach! This is not so easily done. We begin with the infant mussels (*Mytilus Edulis*), and find fifty-four! Next in size are four pigmy tops (*Trochi*), and next we have seven very young whelks (*Littorina littoralis*); while, floating amidst the chocolate-coloured juice, are many yellowish specks, which, when looked at through a pocket lens, turn out to be infant univalves also. *Gobius* must have made a sumptuous early dinner! On the west side of one of the shelving ledges we counted no fewer than ten *Actineas*, old and young, all expanding their graceful coronal of tentacles, as if enjoying the bright sunlight which was warming the waters around them. One of them was very large: evidently an aged one in the tribe. If Sir John Dalyell could show one which had lived beside him in comparatively unfavourable circumstances for twenty years, and if Dr Fleming could point to another, which was taken in this very neighbourhood in 1828, as but lately in health and vigour, may not this one have held on by his rocky resting-place all through the storm and calm, the darkness and sunshine of thrice thirty years? May not the days be but as yesterday to its life, when martyrs walked with God on the Bass, that "perilous rock," which now stands grandly out in sunlight—

"With yelling meawes, with sea-gulles, hoars, and bace,
And cormoyraunts, with birds of ravenous race,
Which still sit wayting on that wastful clift?"¹

Lying on a patch of sand in the bottom of the pool, is a full-grown Mail Mollusc (*Chiton fascicularis*), so very like the sand on which he rests that the most skilful eye could not detect him, were it not for the seven transverse shades at which plate meets plate in his coat of mail. His spinous margin, which might otherwise have indicated his presence, seems to be partially hid in the sand. Caught and bottled, how active he is for a little! But he soon takes to a small rounded pebble in the bottom of the glass, and having twisted himself around it, prettily revealing the margin of the shell-plates, remains in *statu quo* till death. The wide-mouthed phial had been recently used for insects, and, we suppose, the poison from the bruised bay leaves still lingered in it, and became the instrument of *Chiton*'s speedy death. Here are thousands of *Balanidæ*, with their cirri all in motion and gleaming in the sunlight; and there are *Patellæ* in such numbers as scarcely to find footing on a bit of rock which

¹ The Faerie Queene, B. ii., chap. xii.

seems favourite ground. One of the latter, taken suddenly off its guard and detached from the rock, showed around the margin of the shell, into the centre of which it had shrunk, bands of variously shaded blue, which we had not formerly noticed in those univalves, but which looked perfectly lovely as we held it towards the light. When the animal was taken out, and the shell exposed to the atmosphere, the blue lost its brightness. If you wish to get a full view of "head and horns," and mouth of the Patella, take the shell in one hand, a stone moistened with sea-water in the other, and bring them just near enough to let Patella "smell" the bit of rock. It soon moves towards it; and if you gently withdraw the stone, the mollusc will follow, and reveal its fully developed form as it seems about to leave its conical house behind it. We cannot do more than notice that segment of the beautiful *Flustra Truncata*, with its wedge-like leaflet, which has floated in from deep water, or those myriads of *Littorinæ* on the rocks around; for in striving to bring up from the bottom of the pool, into which the tide was now gently pouring its waters, a lump of porphyry, through which a *Pholas* had bored, and in whose tunnel we found that *Serpulæ* had begun to build, we discovered a well-grown *Echinus Sphæra* enjoying himself near the lip of the pool, over which the fresh tide was streaming. For a minute he seemed to have got afloat, and to be making an effort to get his mouth uppermost, as if ambitious to take a full look at the sun; for he turned on his side, and exposed the depression of the shell which surrounds the orifice. A strong sunlight struck for an instant on the rounded edge, and revealed to us markings of perfect beauty. Such a glimpse is worth watching for.

"Then may'st thou see how Nature's work is done,
How slowly true she lays her colours on."

We quietly dropped the body of the limpet near him, and the position of rest was suddenly resumed. *Echinus* seemed not so much disturbed, as brought for the moment under a new sensation. Food was near, and the opportunity of gratifying his voracious appetite set him on his guard. Suckers, spines, and pedicellariæ began to show signs of activity, when the limpet floated beyond his "smell."

The suckers of the *Echinus* are, like those of the star-fishes, the organs of progression, and the spines are believed to assist the animal in capturing its food. The pedicellariæ were long supposed to be independent creatures, living as parasites on the shell of the sea-urchins. Even Müller held this; but they are now proved to be organic appendages of the *Echinus*. Their true use, however, remains a mystery. Sir John Dalyell was, we believe, among the first, if not the first, to correct the supposi-

tion of Müller. The uncertainty which still obtains as to the proper use of *Pedicellariæ* indicates what wide fields remain open for research, even in connection with some of our best known animals. It would have added to the interest of our author's pages on *Echinus*, had he referred particularly to the remarkable discoveries of Professor Müller in connection with the propagation of *Echinida*.¹ At this point, too, we again miss the discussion of some powerful points of contrast or of comparison, which readily occur to the geologist acquainted with the fossils of the *Lias* and the *Chalk*. Some of these are before us as we write; and it is impossible to look at the fossils in the light of the admirable drawings in Sir John's work, without seeing how very many points of deep interest, both to the man of science and to the student of Natural Theology, are suggested by doing nothing more than setting these remains of past epochs side by side with the portraits even of kindred forms which still live around us. If, for example, we set the *Lias Uraster Gaveyi* (Forbes) alongside of *Asterias Rubens* (*Uraster* of Agassiz), or the varied *Galerites* and *Micrasters* of the *Chalk* beside *Echinida*, or *Solaster Grayi* (Forbes) of the *Silurian* beside *Asterias Papposa*, or *Protaster Sedgwickii* (Forbes) beside any of the *Ophiuræ* figured by our author, we will at once see, that not only do we bring the first steps in creation near to those most remote—the foundations of the world, as it were, near to the cope-stone of the grand building, over the riches of whose glory Jehovah sitteth enthroned—but also that, while these forms of ancient life differ from the present, those of the *Silurian* bear evidence of organisation as high and as complicated as those of our own time. The steps by which the sceptic theorist would trace an originating power in uncontrolled physical causes, are shown certainly not to have

¹ "Perhaps the most singular fact in the economy of the *Echinida*, although something of the same kind is presented by several other species of the class, is the mode of their development from the egg. The egg gives birth to a minute embryo clothed with cilia, by the agency of which it swims freely about in the water. This, which is at first globular, gradually acquires a pyramidal form, and its base presents an opening or mouth, which leads into a sac-like stomach. At the same time, four slender, calcareous rods are formed in the angles of the pyramid, beyond the lower angles of which they project considerably, accompanied by a prolongation of the gelatinous flesh, of which the whole body is composed. They all meet at the summit, and are also united above the middle by cross pieces, and the entire skeleton has been aptly compared to an artist's easel. The little animal still moves by the action of cilia, which occur in the greatest abundance along the course of the calcareous rods. In course of time the young *Echinus* begins to make its appearance, not, however, by the metamorphosis of the larva, but in the form of a small disc in the interior of the dome formed by the flesh of the latter. This increases in size, and gradually acquires a more complex organisation; whilst the curious larval structure, the direct product of the egg, is simultaneously wasted away until it entirely disappears, the only parts of it which enter into the construction of the future sea-urchin being the stomach and œsophagus."—*Carpenter*.

their foundation in the works of God—in the phenomena associated with His purposes of self-manifestation—but in the man's own imagination. The wish that it were so, becomes father to the persuasion that it is.

The true Crustaceans now claim our attention. More than a hundred pages are taken up with descriptions of them in "The Powers of the Creator;" and more than thirty plates, which exhibit great skill both in the drawing and colouring of the figures, are devoted to the elucidation of the text. Our author, as usual, eschews classification,¹ and gives his energies to the description and identification of individuals. Here, as when dealing with Holothuria, Sir John is felt to be thoroughly at home in his work. The subject was a favourite one. He goes minutely into the structure of the Crustaceans. The evidences of the wisdom of God which are seen in the arrangements for the renovation of the shell integument, are pointed out. In the crab, the shell does not grow with the growth of the animal, but is wholly renewed periodically. The references to the process of exuviation are among the most interesting parts of Sir John's work. He points out the rich colouring on many of the species, indicates the character of their favourite habitats, and refers to the disposition of many of them, which seems *crabbed* enough. "They are of a most contentious nature, terrible enemies to each other, and the deadly foes of animals weaker than themselves. Hunger renders them bold and ravenous." But Sir John is clearly at fault, when he tells us that most fatal ravages are committed on the Crustaceans by the Actinia. "Securely rivetted," he says, "to the same spot, while numerous stragglers are roused from their retreats by the flowing tide, its tentacula, treacherously spread abroad, are always ready to seize the unwary victims with irresistible power on simple contact. They crowd around their prey, while the wide expanding orifice of the mouth gradually receives it yet alive. Many of the victims seem completely paralysed, nor even by the slightest struggle attempting to free themselves, even where they seem capable of doing so." Our author has been misled here. We can corroborate, from experiments, the remarks of Lewes,² that live crabs have nothing to dread from the Actinia. The remains of dead individuals, often found among the tentacles, have been floated towards them by the tide, and held for a season, that their value might be tested. But we have seen, both in the aquarium and

¹ *Sub-classes and Orders of Crustacea*.—A. Podophthalma: α. Decapoda; β. Stomapoda. B. Edriophthalma: α. Amphipoda; β. Læmodipoda; γ. Isopoda. Γ. Xyphosura: α. Xyphosura. Δ. Entomostraca: α. Phyllopoda; β. Cladocera; γ. Ostracoda; δ. Copepoda; ε. Siphonostoma; ζ. Lerneida. E. Cirrhopoda: α. Cirrhopoda.

² *Seaside Studies*, pp. 131–4.

on the shore, even very small live ones creep across Actiniæ, at other times greedy enough, without the slightest effort being made to detain them. On the contrary, their presence seemed to be distasteful.

Many of the crabs are voracious cannibals. "If twelve or twenty specimens of *Cancer Menas* be committed to the same vessel, their numbers daily diminish; all are killed and devoured by their fellows, until one alone remains victor." But, as a compensation for the great waste of life to which crabs are liable from many quarters, and especially from man, their fecundity is remarkable. "Were the progeny of a single female common crab spared but for two seasons of maturity, their multitude would probably satisfy the demands of 10,000 people." Though they are voracious feeders, some of those which are most so feed in a dainty manner. The harbour crab (*Cancer menas*) will hold the valve of the mussel in one claw, while with the other it primly picks out the contents, and conveys them to its mouth.

We should have liked to have delayed longer among our author's observations on the Crustaceans. They make us acquainted with episodes of lower life peculiarly interesting. But, instead of more remarks on the characteristics of the class generally, let us glance at one individual—*Cancer veterum*, the *Pinnotheres* of Latreille. All are familiar with the story of the hermit crab. Old naturalists believed that, when it took up its abode in the shell of the mollusc—of *Fusus*, *Buccinum*, or lovely *Turritella*—it continued to live on the very best terms with the mollusc itself; but they have been winked at for their credulity, not so much because the fact of the empty shell might have proved the contrary, as that they had ever been so simple as to imagine that a *crab* could be found to tolerate such a companionship. Yet this is actually the case with *Pinnotheres*. He currys favour with the horse mussel (*Mytilus modiolus*); and, having found an entrance into his strong and snug bivalve, his lot forthwith becomes one with that of his noble entertainer. Might it not be *Pinnotheres* which Aristotle had in view, when he spoke of the crab dwelling in friendship with the mollusc? We must be careful not to press so keenly on the observations of old naturalists, as to hold that the creature, which we have called by the names used by them, must necessarily have been the identical species referred to by us. Be this as it may, what but a few years ago might have been set down as a fable, had the observation been found in old books, is now accepted as a fact. But here, again, we are reminded that the discovery may not be so recent after all. *Du Bartas*, to whom we have already alluded, seems to refer to this fact. He is no doubt wrong in his names, while the strong imagination of the poet carries him

beyond the simple observation, and tempts him to throw into his picture certain grotesque touches, which, though they add to its interest, take us further away from the truth :—

“ Waves-Mother *Thetis*, though thine arms embrace
The world about, within thine ample space,
A firmer league of friendship is not seen
Than is the *Pearl-fish* and the Prawn betweene.
Both have but one repast, both but one palace,
But one delight, one death, one sorrow, and one solace :
That lodgeth this, and this remunerates
His landlord’s kindness with all needfull Cates.
For while the Pearl-fish, gaping wide, doth glister,
Much fry (allur’d with the bright silver lustre
Of her rich casket) flocks into the *Nacre* ;
Then with a prick the *Prawn* a sign doth mak-her,
That instantly her shining shell she close
(Because the prey worthy the pain, he knowes) ;
Which gladly done, she ev’nly shareth out
The prey betwixt her and her faithful scout.”

This is clearly Pinnotheres to which the poet of 1544 refers. In a few happy, quaint touches, he hits off the *true* story of the hermit crab as a different creature :—

“ Finding on the shoar
Som handsom shell, whose native lord of late
Was dispossessed by the doom of Fate ;
Therein he enters, and he takes possession
Of th’ empty harbour, by the free concession
Of Nature’s law—*Who Goods that Owner want,*
Alcaies allots to the first occupant.”

The lines are not without interest, as indicating how much more closely the quaint author of “The Week” had observed Nature, than we might have expected to find from men in the days in which he lived. If his Political Economy views run somewhat in the Prudhon line, they are nevertheless graphically true of the habits of the creatures which he calls “Neptune’s busie burgers.”

Leaving with our author his researches on the sea-shore, and accompanying him to fresh water, he introduces us to the Hydrachnæ, or fresh-water spiders, well-known acquaintances of the field naturalist. We have taken a dip-net of extremely close, thin, white gauze, which for several reasons answers the purpose better than the white saucer recommended by Sir John ; and having dipped it in the waters of a small lake, at a place through which a sluggish stream makes its way among pond-weed, reeds, and equiseta, in a few minutes have netted a number of those tiny sailors. It is, however, extremely difficult to distinguish species, and requires more than the usual amount of

that enthusiastic patience of observation which every student of nature must have as a kind of *vis insita*, in order to make out a tithe of reliable information as to the habits of Hydrachnæ. We recently found a pair of them in a pool so near the Beaumont Water, about six miles above Yetholm, that it must form part of the bed of the river when the Cheviots flood it with their winter and spring rains. We set them down as *Hydrachna ferox* (Dalyell). The wide-mouthed phial in which we put them bulged towards the bottom, and, acting as a not indifferent lens, we had good opportunity of watching the tiny creatures. For a day they seemed to hunt in couple. On the second day, a separation appeared to have taken place by mutual agreement, on the ground, we suppose, of discovered "incompatibility of temper;" for, when they met, one of them turned aside, as if suspicious of his fellow. We were kept from looking at them for two days after this, and then we found number one dead and number two amissing. If we were right in our belief that the species was *Hydrachna ferox*, the conclusion is, that *ferox* number two had been devoured by his neighbour number one. Sir John Dalyell states that the prey of *H. ferox* is *H. spinifer*. He tells us also, that he had put away for a night, in a phial, sixty water-fleas (*Daphnia pulex*) with six *Hyd. fer.*, and that in the morning he found each *Hydrachna* had seized a *Daphnia*, and was hurrying it along, as if seeking for a secluded place in which to enjoy a feast. On the second morning, scarcely a trace of the *Daphniæ* was to be found. A keen, voracious, ready appetite those tiny spiders have. Ten of them were shut up with a hundred *Daphniæ*, and every flea perished in a night. "As it was impossible," says Sir John, "that the assailants required such a quantity of food, it became evident that the victims were the objects of a mere wanton thirst for destruction—a most mischievous feature in the history of these minute carnivorous animals."

In localities similar to those in which the water spiders are to be met with, the student will find another pretty numerous class of animals—the *Hirudines* or leeches—which are not less interesting and not less fierce. Our stagnant pools and sluggish ditches abound in feeders, so utterly undistinguishing in their diet that not only do they rejoice in *all* foreign matter which can claim the slightest flavour of blood, but their own kind is relished as the daintiest dish of all. Look at that *Hirudo stagnalis* which has just been put into the same jar with his first cousin *Hirudo octo-oculata*! The tempting opportunity for a feast has not been missed. He has seized greedily on cousin *Octo-oculata*, but, in the effort to swallow his more diminutive friend, he has nearly been suffocated. He is writhing as if *Octo-oculata* had awakened

in time to the consciousness of his danger, and had, in self-defence, fastened on the gullet of his unscrupulous companion, which now seems more than anxious to get quit of his half-swallowed prey. Some of the Hirudines have peculiar tastes. One taken in a marsh at Abercorn, in the neighbourhood of Sir John's seat, had a great affection for white fish. Flesh, juicy with blood, was esteemed as nothing when presented with the fish. But the queen of voracious leeches is *Hirudo sanguisuga*—the horse-leech. She has still the character for greed, ferocity, and discontent assigned to her nearly 3000 years ago, when it was written—"The horse-leech hath two daughters, crying, Give, give." (Prov. xxx. 15.) Feed her and her daughters lavishly as you may—cast to them fish, flesh, fowl, living or dead, fresh or putrid—they eat on and "ask for more." But passing from sluggish waters, by whose side *carex* and *equisetum* and water *ranunculus* grow luxuriantly, and on whose surface the pond-weed floats in sunshine and in shadow, and straying by those which are brighter and purer and more in motion, we meet with the well-known hair worm—*Gordius aquaticus*—associated with the development and physical influence theories of childhood! As might be expected, such theories shoot far a-head of those kindred imaginations of mature years, which have led many to make sad havoc of the ways and works of the great Creator. Many a thoughtful country school-boy will, even after a lesson from Chambers' well-written "Scientific Course," or from Paterson's able "Zoology for Schools," stand boldly up among his companions for the twofold metamorphosis of the *hair worm*—its change, 1st, from a black horse-hair into the "hair eel;" and 2d, from the hair eel to those true eels which lie farther down the stream, or more deeply down in the mud of the mill-pond. We have seen the horse-hair measured, and in early winter committed to the mill-dam, to be carried to the point at which it again meets the main stream, that it might there find a matrix in which to pass the winter, under the strong influences of transforming physical causes, that when sought for in spring the hair eel might be ready to corroborate the profound theories of the juvenile experimentalist. And when the buds began to break on the hedges, the willow to hang out its gracefully drooping catkins in the sunlight, and the yellow primroses to look out from the green grass "by the river's brim," we have seen *Gordius aquaticus* sought for, and, of course, caught! Measured once more, it was found that the rounding of the body accounted for the difference of length between the long horse-hair and the shorter *Gordius*. What had been gained in span had been lost in line! Now we hold that not one link is wanting here which development men demand. Others might, no doubt, press for

the testimony of two witnesses to the *mode* of the metamorphosis, or at least to the observation of the *fact* of it; but these are unreasonable sceptics! Development philosophers ask no such questions. We were reminded of *Gordius aquaticus* some years ago, when listening to the attempts of a Romish priest to make out a case for the existence of miraculous gifts still in the bosom of Mother Church. He told his not very intelligent-looking Celtic audience, that the power to work miracles had not passed away, and gave an illustrative case. A certain saint, wandering in a neglected district in Italy, came to a place where two populous villages were separated by a hill. One church, it seemed to him, might do for both, if only the hill were taken out of the way. No sooner thought than done. "And," said the reverend logician, "Protestants may doubt this; but what will they say when I tell them, that the church stands there at this moment to testify to the fact?" The *fact* seemed at first irresistible to the credulous audience, but its force was marred when a young "sceptical Protestant" behind us put the unexpected question aloud, "But was the hill ever there?"

The transition from the consideration of *Vermes* to that of *Planaria* is easy and natural. So, too, from *Planaria* to *Nais*, to marine *Nereis*, to *Terebella*, and to *Amphitrite*. To these our author devotes a great part of volume second. In his mode of dealing with them, but especially with *Amphitrite*, we are led again to admire his great skill as an observer, and to notice to how great an extent his labours have been used by succeeding naturalists—often, we regret to add, without acknowledgment. The concluding sixty pages, and ten illustrative plates, are devoted to certain gasteropods, as *Aplysia* (the sea-horse), *Doris* (sea-lemon), *Tritonia*, *Eolis*, etc. We are not, however, to look for anything like the same completeness here, in the method of treatment, as that which meets us in the Ray Society Monograph on the *Nudibranchiata*¹—a monograph which has left nothing more to be done by British naturalists than to make additions to the number of species therein described. There are, however, one or two points, suggested by Sir John's descriptions, which call for remark. He was the first to trace with some accuracy the habits and reproductive power of *Tritonia Hombergii*, the largest of the Tritons. After much patient observation and experiment, he discovered that it feeds on the zoophyte, *Lobularia*. We owe also to him the identification of the Nautiline as the young *Doris*. This led him to the hypothesis, that there might be many forms of lower animal life, which passed through stages of development at each of which they might assume shapes so very unlike their parents, as to warrant the belief that

¹ By Alder and Hancock.

they constitute well-marked, full-formed, and distinct species. This hypothesis has proved a fruitful one both to Natural Science and to Natural Theology. It is indeed true, that, as to the latter, the full testimony to the wisdom of God has not been educed. But materials are accumulating. Owen, Huxley, Forbes, Dalyell, etc., have already done much. The first two are still at work, and are being ably seconded by men like Gosse, Lewes, Strethill, Wight, etc. A Paley or a Chalmers is now needed, in order to give true and full apologetic value to their discoveries.

We must pass over the peculiarly valuable observations on the Cuttle-fish (*Sepia*), on the Testacean Univalves and Bivalves, on *Serpula Contorta*, *Balanus*, the Sponges, and his notice of *Lissotriton Punctatus*—the *Newt* or *Water Eft*. A word, however, as to the *Newt*. If we are to credit some recent anatomists, there must be something far from safe under the skin of *Lissotriton*. Buckland tells us, that when he was dissecting one, such an offensive odour was emitted on dividing the skin from the abdomen, that he was obliged, from a feeling of faintness, to relinquish his task and lie down for a few minutes; and a writer in "Blackwood," for August 1858, corroborates Buckland's experience.

We have thus endeavoured to give our readers a general view of the ground occupied by the author of "The Rare and Remarkable Animals of Scotland," in his last important work. And we have, at one point and another, filled in our outline sketches with information gathered from our own, or from the observation of other naturalists. It was not meet that one who had been such an able and successful student and pioneer in departments of Zoology with which we are now growing rapidly familiar, should pass from among us without a notice in this Journal. The lesson of his life is, withal, an important one for young naturalists. He obtained success and a name as the rewards of untiring patience, perseverance, and careful personal observation in his favourite pursuits. In the spirit of a true philosophy, he was ever mindful of his own ignorance and suspicious of generalisations, at the base of which he found vague hypothesis stronger than the fruits of experience. The meanest and humblest forms of life, equally with the highest and noblest, ever suggested to him the wisdom, power, and goodness of God. Thus every contribution which he made to Natural Science, was rendered in the spirit of one to whom Creation was interesting only in so far as it brought his thoughts into sympathy with such thoughts of the Great Creator as are clearly revealed in it.

- ART. VI.—1. *Report from the Select Committee on Decimal Coinage, together with Minutes of Evidence, etc.* Parliamentary Blue Book, 1853.
2. *Preliminary Report of the Decimal Coinage Commissioners.* 1857.
3. *Questions communicated by Lord Overstone to the Decimal Coinage Commissioners, with Answers.* 1857.

WHEN an Englishman travels for the first time amongst a people whose habits differ slightly from those he has left behind, he is apt to find fault with everything, simply from the fact that he has been accustomed to something different. After a while, he learns to accommodate himself to his new position. His temporary irritation yields to the complacency of self-satisfaction, as he looks benevolently around him on those who, he never doubts, are in every way less favoured than his own countrymen. Perfectly convinced that “they order these matters better *at home*,” he bears with discomforts, and congratulates himself on his interest in Old England. Seen from a foreign shore, home institutions become perfect. Everything around him suffers from contrast with what he has left—men, manners, money: yes, even money. With his hands thrust deep into his pockets, where they delight to dwell, he turns over the florins, or the dollars, or the francs, which he finds there, with a feeling akin to pity at their inferiority to his more familiar shillings. When he lands on the quay at Folkstone, after a three months’ tour, the sight of the head of Old King George on the penny-piece, or of that of his beloved Queen on the sovereign, makes his breast swell out again, and helps him to shake off the qualms of the passage. No one could persuade him that he has left behind him the perfection of coinage, any more than that he has bid adieu to the lands of freedom. He brings back from his travels a hearty faith and an undoubting confidence in the institutions of his country. Happy man! But is he not all the while labouring under a grievous delusion, blinded by prejudice? Suffering he certainly is not, but that proves nothing; for it has been wisely and mercifully ordered, that certain mental infirmities carry with them a soothing balm. He believes himself blest, and his belief is his blessing. Still, it is not the less true, that if he has been all along deceiving himself, he is in a false position, and is happy only by mistake. Such a state of things cannot last for ever. Some officious neighbour or some untoward circumstance will at last open his eyes, and the happiness which he has enjoyed through ignorance, will be all forgotten in the misery of his revealed position.

But what has all this to do with the subject of decimal coinage? We will try to answer the question. From time immemorial, the people of this country have carried on their transactions by means of a system of monies of a mixed character, and not constructed on one uniform principle. They have, notwithstanding, contrived to get along pretty well, and have generally flattered themselves into believing that theirs was the very best system that could have been devised. But, in the midst of this dream of perfection, they have got a great shake. Their position has been made uncomfortable to them, and they are gradually beginning to stretch themselves and look about them. Some thirty years ago, a faint cry was heard urging them to awake to the fact that all Europe, and America too, are in advance of them in that essential element of happiness (alas! that it should be so), money; but, hardly condescending to lift their head, they quietly turned themselves on their side and slumbered on. Within the last few years, however, the echo of the cry has been taken up in high places. The merchants and bankers—a vast multitude—are thoroughly awake. Agitation has assumed an organised form. The old method of reckoning by pounds, shillings, and pence, is at the bar convicted of the crime of having existed in the slow days of stage-coaches, and waiting its sentence of banishment with them to the remote, thinly peopled corners of the island. It is certainly at this moment not improbable that the first information which the mass of the people may obtain on the subject of their coinage, will be the announcement of the fact, that their children must no longer be taught to say, “4 farthings make a penny, 12 pence make a shilling, 20 shillings make a pound,” because it will be no longer true.

We trust we shall be excused for discussing a question of an uninviting character, when it shall appear that it threatens to become shortly a question of universal interest. The history of the subject is briefly this:—In 1824, Sir John Wrottesley introduced the matter into the House of Commons. He recommended that, in place of our present coinage of account, a system should be adopted consisting of pounds, double shillings, and farthings—the last diminished by four per cent. This motion was opposed by the Master of the Mint, on the ground of the inconvenience which might attend its adoption. Once broached, however, the discussion was renewed from time to time by various writers. The work which appears to have been mainly instrumental in directing public attention to the subject, was a small volume by General Pasley in 1834, in which the discrepancies that exist in different parts of the country amongst weights and measures were forcibly pointed out, and the necessity for a decimal system, both of measure and of money, was insisted on. In consequence

of the destruction of the standards of weight and measure by the burning of the Houses of Parliament, Commissioners were appointed in May 1838, to whom the question of their restoration was referred by Lord Monteagle, then Chancellor of the Exchequer. These Commissioners gave in their Report on the 21st of December 1841. Their instructions had reference only to the restoration of the standard of weight and measure; but as the question of decimal division necessarily came under their notice, they took the opportunity of inviting the attention of the Government "to the advantage of establishing in this country a decimal system of coinage." They expressed their opinion, that "no single change which it is in the power of a government to effect in our monetary system would be felt by all classes as equally beneficial with this, when the temporary inconveniences attending the change had passed away." They pointed out the facility with which a new coin with a distinctive name—a two-shilling piece—might be interposed between the pound and the shilling; whilst the farthing, which now passes as the nine hundred and sixtieth part of a pound, might be considered as the thousandth part of that unit, and a new coin might be established, equal in value to the hundredth part of a pound. A suggestion of this kind coming from such men as the Astronomer Royal, the President of the Royal Society, Sir John F. W. Herschel, and others—men of the greatest eminence in the mathematical and physical sciences—could not fail to excite attention. The matter was taken up by Professor De Morgan, whose eminence as a mathematician gives weight to his opinions, whilst his logical acumen and playful humour enable him to place them before the public in an attractive form. Various papers by him were published in the "British Almanac" from 1851 downwards. These papers will be consulted by every one who desires to obtain a full knowledge of the history of the subject.

A second Commission on Weights and Measures, appointed in 1843, referred to and confirmed the recommendations of the former Commission, relative to the coinage. In April 1847, the question was again brought before Parliament in a motion by Sir John Bowring, for an address to the Crown in favour of the issue of silver pieces, of the values respectively of one-tenth and one-hundredth part of a pound, avowedly as a step to the complete introduction of a decimal system. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Charles Wood, had no objection to the issue of one of the coins, the one-tenth part of the pound; and the motion was withdrawn on the understanding that it should be issued. The result has been the introduction of the florin. In 1853, the second Commission on Weights and Measures addressed a letter to Mr Gladstone, then Chancellor of

the Exchequer, in which they stated that "they felt it their duty to represent that they were strongly impressed with the advantages of a decimal system of coinage; and that, having learned that an immediate coinage of copper to a considerable amount was in contemplation, they made an urgent request that, before specific steps were taken in reference to the proposed coinage, the decimal system might be carefully considered, trusting that the result would be that the Government would decide on issuing coins related to the millesimal subdivision of the pound."

In accordance with the views expressed in this letter, an inquiry was made in the House of Commons as to the intentions of the Government. This inquiry seems to have had no effect, so far as the issue of new copper coin was concerned; but it led, on the 12th of April 1853, to the appointment of a Committee, to take into consideration and report to the House the practicability, and advantages, or otherwise, that would arise from adopting a decimal system of coinage. The witnesses examined by this Committee, twenty-five in number, were unanimous in favour of a decimal coinage; and, with the exception of Mr Headlam, M.P. for Newcastle, were all in favour of the scheme recommended by the Commission on Weights and Measures, already referred to, which may be termed the pound and mil scheme. Mr Headlam expressed his conviction, that the scheme is impracticable; and although not warmly advocating any change, propounded a scheme based on the existing farthing.

The Committee reported to the House on the 1st of August 1853. The substance of their Report is as follows:—1. The evidence is clear and decided against the present system, showing, amongst other things, that it entails a vast amount of unnecessary labour and great liability to error; that it renders accounts needlessly complicated; and that it confuses questions of foreign exchanges. 2. On the other hand, the concurrent testimony of the various witnesses is to the effect, that the adoption of a decimal system would lead to greater accuracy, would simplify accounts, would greatly diminish the labour of calculations, and would facilitate the comparison between the coinage of this country and that of others. The resulting benefits to society would be the economy of skilled labour, and the advance of school education. 3. The Committee, having well weighed the comparative merits of the existing system of coinage and the decimal system, and the obstacles which must be met with in passing from the one to the other, desired to record their conviction, that these obstacles are not of such a nature as to create any doubt of the expediency of introducing that system, so soon as the requisite preparation shall have been made for the purpose, by means of cautious but decisive action

on the part of the Government. 4. They had no hesitation in recommending the pound and mil system, retaining the present sovereign, the half-sovereign, florin, and shilling; and suggesting an alteration of four per cent. in the present farthing, to convert that coin into the lowest step of the decimal scale which it is necessary to represent by means of an actual coin, viz., the thousandth of a pound. To this lowest denomination the Committee proposed to give the name of mil. Further, the Committee recommended the withdrawal of the half-crown, and the threepenny and fourpenny pieces, which are inconsistent with the decimal scale, and the eventual addition to the coinage of two silver coins of 10 and 20 mils, and three copper coins of 1, 2, and 5 mils. 5. As to the practicability of introducing the decimal system, the obstacles appeared to the Committee to be twofold in their nature. The first arises from the difficulty which is always found to exist in inducing the mass of the population to depart from standards with which they are familiar, and from modes of calculation, to the defects of which usage has reconciled them. The second arises from the necessity of rearranging the terms of all pecuniary obligations expressed in those coins which, in the event of a change in our monetary system, would cease to have legal currency. Relative to the first of these obstacles, the Committee examined several witnesses, who have extensive dealings with the poor, who gave it as their opinion, that no prejudice would be raised in the minds of the people against this slight decrease of four per cent. in the value of the farthing, provided they were made to understand that they could, on the other hand, get twenty-five of the new coin for sixpence, where they now get twenty-four; and further, that competition invariably causes the quantities of the articles sold to accommodate themselves to prices without difficulty. Relative to the second obstacle, the Committee argue that the change of coinage was easily effected in the United States, and in Ireland. The greatest difficulty lies in the substitution of a new copper coin in place of the penny, and the consequent adjustment of obligations expressed in that coin, such as postage, newspaper, and receipt stamps, certain customs' duties, etc.; in addition to the class of cases in which private interests are concerned, such as railway, bridge, ferry, and road tolls. The Committee offer several practical suggestions for the arrangement of these matters, and conclude by expressing their belief, that the necessary inconvenience attending a transition state will be far more than compensated by the great and permanent benefits which the change will confer upon the public of this country, and of which the advantages will be participated in to a still greater extent by future generations.

The publication of this Report thoroughly awakened the public to the importance of the question. In June 1854, an Association was formed, under the name of the *Decimal Association*, with the object of promoting the adoption of the decimal system in money, weights, and measures. A deputation from this body waited on Mr Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, whilst expressing his own opinion that a decimal system of coinage would be of immense advantage in monetary transactions, frankly owned he was by no means convinced that we can get rid of the penny. He felt that we are not ripe for a decisive measure on the subject, and thought that the aid of Parliament should not be invoked until we are ready for the change. On the 12th of June 1855, Mr William Brown, M.P. for South Lancashire, who has throughout taken a prominent and active part in the discussion, moved in the House, "That the further extension of the system initiated by the florin will be of great public advantage." This motion having been carried after a full discussion, virtually condemns our existing coinage. The next step was the appointment of a Royal Commission, to consider "how far it may be practicable and advisable to introduce the principle of decimal division into the coinage of the United Kingdom." That Commission, having before them the Parliamentary Report, embodying evidence which so unanimously recommended the adoption of a decimal system, resolved to select their first witnesses from amongst those who disapproved of the scheme. They accordingly proceeded to call before them those persons who were understood, by their publications or otherwise, to be the most prominent and best informed of the opponents of the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee, and who were either supporters of the present system of coinage, or advocates of the scheme known as the penny or tenpenny scheme. They further set to work to collect together a varied mass of information bearing on the question, which, together with the minutes of evidence of the selected witnesses, they presented to Her Majesty on the 4th of April 1857. The Commission consisted of Lord Monteagle, Lord Overstone, and Mr Hubbard. In their Preliminary Report, just referred to, they stated that a series of questions had been prepared by one of their number, Lord Overstone, described by their author as being "drawn up with a view of bringing under distinct notice and examination some of the advantages of the present system of coinage, and some of the principal difficulties and objections which had been suggested with respect to the introduction of a system of decimal coinage." These questions were put into the hands of various men of science or of business, from whom speedy answers were requested. Answers were accordingly obtained, and those from

twenty-one gentlemen were subsequently printed by the Commissioners. Many of them were also printed and circulated by the Decimal Association, as a reply to the *arguments* involved in Lord Overstone's questions.

Here the matter rests for the present; but we are satisfied that it cannot rest long. The importance of the movement, and the vastness of the change which it contemplates, have, within the last three years, excited attention in every quarter to this previously unpopular subject. Dr Gray, of the British Museum, enumerates nearly two hundred publications on the coinage, including newspaper articles, during the year 1855. We shall endeavour to condense into as small a compass as possible the arguments on which is based the conclusion that a decimal coinage is needed, and an exposition of the means by which it is proposed to be introduced. Having done this, we will exhibit some of the views of those who object to the Parliamentary scheme, either on the ground of the difficulties and dangers which would attend any alteration, or on the ground of the objectionable nature of the particular measure proposed. We will next contrast the existing coinage with its opponent; and finally, exhibit some arguments bearing on the question of the acceptance of a decimal coinage by the mass of the people.

I. The arguments used by the decimalists are the following:—

First, The propriety of introducing uniformity by causing the representation of monies to be conformable to that of abstract numbers. The basis of our numeral system is self-indication by means of local value, combined with "ascent by tens." Now, the same principle, it is argued, is equally applicable to money—will afford like facilities when so applied—and ought, therefore, to be adopted. The force of this argument, so far as representation is concerned, is due to the hypothesis, that the mind will rest on the lowest unit for support; so that 63,587 mils will be read sixty-three thousand five hundred and eighty-seven mils, just as the corresponding abstract number would be read. In other words, it involves the condition that reference shall be made to only one money of account, or one unit of value. If it should appear that this hypothesis is altogether untenable, the advantages promised by the decimal scale, as an element in a representative system, will be much curtailed. And that such is the fact, will be clear after a little reflection. Will men agree to think and speak in terms of farthings? Nay, even Professor De Morgan, the ablest and staunchest advocate of the decimal coinage, does not propose to limit written sums to multiples of the mil, or to abandon the lines of separation which at present divide the pounds from the shillings, and these again from the

pence. We find him writing thus—L.63, 5fl. 8c. 7m. Those who advocate the decimal principle on the ground that “the numerical is the primary element in a system of coinage, and the decimal is therefore involved in it of necessity, and consequently, when acting uniformly, must be more simple and easy to be comprehended,” are ready to admit that the defect in our present system on this ground is rather theoretical than practical (H. W. Chisholm, Esq., Answer to Lord Overstone’s Question 1). We are consequently to look to something beyond mere representation when we inquire into the advantages of conforming the monetary to the numeral system. The advocates of this conformity point out—

Secondly, The appropriateness of decimal notation to account-keeping, which consists in writing down figures and summing them up. We are accustomed to regard our money columns as three only; but it is obvious that they are really five, because both the shillings and the pence require a separate column for the tens’ place. It is argued, then, that the proposed system will have the double advantage of brevity and uniformity of representation. Moreover, as the irregularity of the tens’ place is said to be a constant source of error, the new system will, it is believed, add accuracy to simplicity and facility. In France and America there are but two columns; and as the second consists of only two figures, both of which are always written down, the chance of error in the smaller monies is much diminished. So important is this simplification, that Mr Meeking has been ungallant enough to give what he terms a proof of the decimal coinage being *very easy*, that in France, women keep a great portion of the books.

The argument here exhibited is not easily dealt with. Its merits can only be determined by experience. For our own parts, we have always regarded division into columns as a simplification; and, at any rate, we can state, from intimate acquaintance, that boys will write down and add up sums to the extent of L.20 or so, with shillings and pence, who could not for their lives write down from dictation, and add up, corresponding whole numbers involving tens of thousands.

Thirdly, A decimal system is supposed to afford facilities for the small calculations which accompany payments in retail transactions. The Astronomer Royal gives this example:—“In adding mentally, or on paper, 1s. 9d. to 2s. 7d., when I have added 9d. to 7d., and formed 16d., I have the trouble of converting the 16d. into 1s. 4d.,—which trouble I ought not to have in a well-arranged coinage.” On the other hand, it must be remembered, as Lord Overstone has pointed out, that in the retail transactions of the shop or market, divisions into halves, quar-

ters, etc., is more convenient, and more in unison with the natural habits of mankind, than divisions into tenths. To this matter we shall return hereafter.

Fourthly, One of the greatest advantages promised by the decimal system, is the readiness with which it enters along with the numeral system into the computations that accompany account-keeping, and into those more abstruse calculations which are the work of the actuary or the financier.

Sir Charles Pasley says, truly—"The great inconvenience is, that in accounts you have to multiply. There are many complex accounts, in which you have first to reduce pounds into shillings, pence, and farthings, and afterwards to reduce them back again by division into pounds, which is exceedingly inconvenient. I believe the inconvenience is acknowledged by every person, except those who are in the habit of working out accounts daily by routine." And Sir John Herschel argues in favour of decimilisation thus:—"The Ready Reckoner would be dispensed with, or its place supplied by a general multiplication table of comparatively small extent; and possibly a table of logarithms might occasionally be seen where now such a thing is never dreamt of. All statistical, revenue, and general commercial computations would be facilitated, and the acquisition of clear views of the mutual relations of prices, imports and exports, duties, taxes, etc., very greatly so, by disencumbering the elements of computation of the infinite complexity of denominations under which they are now presented. The introduction of the decimal system would get rid also of the whole of that complexity which consists in what we call rule of three, sums of complicated denominations. In these calculations, an immensity of labour would be saved, and a great deal of clerkship in the adding up of columns; and the quantities of mistakes that arise with those who are not from their youth up accustomed to that work, is very great." On these grounds, a decimal coinage has been justly termed a "labour-saving machine." Professor De Morgan goes further, and argues that the complication of our present system not only adds to the labour of what is actually done, and must be done, but forms a barrier to prevent the performance of much that ought to be done, but is not. He says, that the money which changes hands is not that which would change hands if we had a more simple system. He instances the income tax of 7d. in the pound, which, he argues, must have been the nearest approximation in the mind of the minister to three per cent.; so that the Government abandoned about L.30,000 in every million of taxes, by taking 7d. in the pound instead of three per cent. But does not Professor De Morgan, in this example, lose sight of the principle on which he so much

insists, that dealers accommodate the prices of their commodities to the monies now in use? It is to be presumed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had satisfied himself that 7d. in the pound was sufficient; and if so, where was the loss or inconvenience? Another example given by Professor De Morgan is the custom of substituting interest for discount. For instance, a bill for L.100 due a year hence, at five per cent., is discounted at L.95, instead of L.95, 4s. 9d. We confess it appears to us that Professor De Morgan has not been so happy in the selection of this example as in that of the income tax. The connection between interest on the sum paid, and the sum itself, which is unknown, is the real difficulty, and it has nothing whatever to do with the monetary system. Is the division of L.10,000 by 105 so difficult, that a dealer sacrifices 4s. 9d. rather than perform it? If this be so, he will continue the sacrifice under any system whatever. We believe the truth to be, that custom has sanctioned a mode of dealing, the principle of which is intelligible to the meanest capacity. Five per cent. strikes off five pounds in the hundred, and there is an end of it, spite of the *word* discount.

Fifthly, It is argued that the want of decimalisation is a check on the education of the humbler classes. Professor De Morgan says:—"Upon the education of the poor it is a tax of a tremendous magnitude; the calculations of the poor are far more difficult than those of the rich, and also more numerous." He is of opinion that, taking all the schools of the country, commercial as well as classical, and considering in how many of them reading, writing, and arithmetic form the great mass of what is taught, he is entitled to regard arithmetic as occupying the fifth part in time of the primary education of the country; and that of this time one-fourth part is thrown away by the present system of coinage, weights, and measures. Thus the loss of time in education, before proceeding to college or to business, is five per cent. He states again, that besides the loss of time, the student sustains a further injury by the distraction of his attention. As soon as he has mastered the primary rules of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division, his attention is called off to another system, or rather complication of systems, which causes him to forget what he has learned, and makes the subsequent use of arithmetic more difficult than is necessary.

We wish to express as distinctly as possible our firm conviction, that Professor De Morgan is under a delusion in respect to the influence of decimal arithmetic on education. We are disposed to doubt whether a child ever begins to understand what he is doing until the tangible form in which the exchanges are made under the compound rules throws some light on the subject. In

all American treatises on arithmetic which we have seen, abundance of examples are given in pounds, shillings, and pence; and many teachers endeavour to make their pupils understand the meaning of "carrying and borrowing" by illustrations drawn from another scale than the decimal. We are willing to admit that, so far as mere acquisition is concerned, considerable saving of time would be effected by a *complete* decimalisation; but we cannot admit that education would be thereby facilitated. We speak from some knowledge of the humblest schools in Scotland, and can record with pleasure the fact, that they aim at something more than the imparting of information: they try to lead the child to discover his own ignorance, and to correct it. And the science of arithmetic is one of the very best exercises of which the schoolmaster can avail himself. The effect which its mixed character produces on the lad's mind, in teaching him to think before he acts, if it goes no deeper, certainly does enable him to master the science itself. Is it not true that the English country schools, deficient as they were in our grandfathers' days, generally contrived to produce good arithmeticians? Professor De Morgan himself admits that "the English have always shown a greater aptitude for arithmetic than our neighbours the French." And he adds further, "I think the English have seized the decimal notion better than their neighbours."—(*Parliamentary Report*, 757, 759.) May not much of this superiority be due to the educating character of our monetary system?—to the constant appeal to value and change of value which it enforces?—whilst decimal arithmetic is apt to be carried on by mere unintelligent writing down.

Sixthly, The Parliamentary Committee, in their Report (1853), specify, as one of the inconveniences of the existing system, that it confuses questions of foreign exchanges; whereas the decimal system, "by facilitating the comparison between the coinage of this country and other countries that have adopted the decimal system, would tend to the convenience of all those who are engaged in exchange operations, of travellers and others." Much of the evidence on which this statement is made, we confess ourselves utterly unable to comprehend. For example, James Lawrie, Esq., author of the "Universal Exchange Tables," states the following case:—"France gives us 25 francs and $22\frac{1}{2}$ centimes, more or less, for our pound sterling. This exchange is equivalent to $39\frac{6}{10}$ mils per franc. If we had a decimal money, we could probably purchase the franc at $39\frac{1}{2}$ mils, and have, in all cases, the turn of exchange in our favour." The logic of this is possibly quite clear to a financier, but to us it is very much the reverse. It seems to read thus:—If we had a decimal system, the franc would be valued at 39·6 mils; but probably we

should not be asked to deal decimally, but be allowed to take the nearest *vulgar* fraction, $39\frac{1}{2}$, and thus effect a gain of $\frac{1}{10}$ of a mil. The same gentleman prepared a table for the Committee, in which he appears to have proved that, under a decimal system, we shall effect a gain of $7\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the purchase of 1000 French francs. The reason being, as before (at least we see no other reason), that when you have a decimal system you need not use it, but may approximate by the nearest vulgar fraction; for here he takes $39\frac{1}{2}$ cents as the value of the French franc—the data being the same as in the previous case, where he made it 39·6. We confess ourselves also utterly unable to understand why the decimal of a pound should be different from the decimal of a *decimal pound*. If it arises from a custom of calculators to stop at a certain number of decimal places, we suppose it will operate in both directions. The French will have their turn. As the traveller and the lion jogged on together, the former pointed out to his companion the sculpture of a man bestriding a lion, whereupon the other remarked, “When we are the sculptors we make the lion stride the man.” Mr Lawrie’s other example, relative to Holland, presents precisely the same anomaly. Are we to believe that an interminable decimal is preferable to a whole number?

What, then, are the advantages of a decimal notation, in an international point of view, except that it facilitates certain computations, we really do not know. Since the publication of the Report, however, these advantages have doubtless assumed a new and definite form in the minds of many persons. During the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, in 1855, a society was formed, of which the British branch calls itself the International Association. The objects which this Association contemplates, are the bringing about of absolute uniformity of weights and measures throughout Europe, or, if possible, throughout the whole world, and of all possible uniformity in coins. We do not know how the gentlemen who constitute this Association propose to effect their purpose, nor do we know whether any of the witnesses examined under the Royal Commission are members of the Association. The views entertained by those witnesses appear to us to be utterly irreconcilable amongst themselves. At any rate, as the objects proposed by the Association form no part of the Parliamentary scheme, we shall pass on to other matters.

II. Admitting, then, that a decimal system offers certain advantages, the next consideration is as to its introduction. We postpone discussing the question of the propriety or desirableness of change, because our readers will be in a better position to appreciate that discussion when they shall have a clear apprehen-

sion of what the change is which is contemplated, and of the mode by which it is proposed to be brought about. And at the outset, we desire to call attention to the distinction between a change in the coinage and a change in the accounts of the country. It must be remembered that gold is the standard of money, or, strictly speaking, alone is money in this country. Prior to 1816, silver was a legal tender; but from that date it has ceased to be so, except to the extent of forty shillings. As to copper, it is, of course, only a make-weight. The silver and copper coins bear a nominal value, as compared with the sovereign, which is greater than the value of the metal of which they are composed. These coins having, therefore, the character of tokens, it is conceivable that the values attached to them may at any time be altered by Parliament. This being admitted, it is clear that if the copper portion of the coinage, and the silver smaller than the sixpence, be lowered four per cent., the whole change to a decimal system is effected, *so far as accounts are concerned*. The florin then becomes the unit in the second column, and the shilling of fifty farthings, instead of forty-eight, becomes the half-florin. Theoretically, this is a very simple matter, whatever the practical difficulties may be. And we have thought it our duty to place it in the front of our discussion, as an index to what is to follow. It may be called the rudimentary form of the pound and mil scheme. But there is another scheme, commencing at the other extremity of the existing coinage, and supported by arguments derived from totally different considerations from those which have influenced the advocates of its rival. This scheme proposes to take the penny as its unit, and to reckon in tens and tenths of pennies. It has been called the penny or tenpenny scheme.

We proceed now to compare the merits of these two rival schemes. It may suffice barely to mention the fact, that there are in reality no less than eleven distinct proposals¹ for effecting the desired end, based respectively on the guinea, the pound, the half-sovereign, the eight shillings, the crown, the double florin, the half-crown, the twenty-penny, the penny, the halfpenny, and

¹ There is also the duodecimal system—12 pence make a shilling, 12 shillings make a pound. Duodecimals have always found favour with pure theorists: they found favour also, it would seem, with Napoleon, who certainly was not a pure theorist. Professor Playfair, in his *Review of Méchain and Delambre's Arc of the Meridian* (*Edinburgh Review*, 1807), censures the Academicians, because, when they were under no restraint from custom or the prejudices of the people, when the Revolution had shaken everything from its seat, they resolved to restore and complete the decimal scale, instead of adopting the duodecimal. It may perhaps serve as a check to those who think with Playfair, to learn that the Academicians acted advisedly. Mr Alexander, the friend of Mr Quincey Adams, confirms the statement of the latter, that the question of the duodecimalisation of arithmetic was discussed and rejected; and adds, that this occurred at a meeting, which comprised such names as Lavoisier, Borda, Delambre, Tralles, Van Swinden, and Harsler.

the farthing. Of these, however, all but two are virtually defunct, and it would be mere waste of time to give them even a passing notice. The two rival schemes, then, are the pound and mil scheme, and the penny or tenpenny scheme—the former supported by such men as Professor De Morgan, the Astronomer Royal, Sir John Herschel, etc.; the latter, by Dr Gray, Mr Rathbone, etc.

The pound and mil scheme was recommended for adoption by the Parliamentary Committee in 1853. We cannot exhibit its features better than in their own words:—"The first question to be decided is, What shall be the unit of the new system of coinage? and your Committee have no hesitation in recommending the present pound sterling. Considering that the pound is the present standard, and therefore associated with all our ideas of money value, and that it is the basis on which all our exchange transactions with the whole world rest, it appears to your Committee that any alteration of it would lead to infinite complication and embarrassment in our commercial dealings; in addition to which, it fortunately happens that its retention would afford the means of introducing the decimal system with the minimum of change. Its tenth part already exists in the shape of the florin or two-shilling piece; while an alteration of four per cent. in the present farthing will serve to convert that coin into the lowest step of the decimal scale which it is necessary to represent by means of an actual coin, viz., the thousandth part of a pound. To this lowest denomination, your Committee propose, in order to mark its relation to the unit of value, to give the name of mil. The addition of a coin, to be called a cent, of the value of 10 mils, and equal to the hundredth part of the pound, or the tenth part of the florin, would serve to complete the list of coins necessary to represent the monies of account, which would accordingly be pounds, florins, cents, and mils."

This statement embodies, substantially, the views of the whole mass of supporters of the pound and mil system. They have, at least, the merit of being harmonious, and they all appear to be really satisfied of the extreme desirableness of the change they propose. The only questions which remain behind are—How shall the new system be introduced? And what steps will be necessary on the part of the Government in regard to the removal of certain obstacles? Relative to the former, the ideas entertained by Professor De Morgan in 1853, have certainly the merit of originality. He says: "There is a question in my mind as to which of two plans should be taken—a gradual introduction, or an introduction at one step. If the new system be introduced gradually, the process would be, without saying a word about new coinage or the decimal system, merely to call in

the half-crowns and issue the florins. When that is done, the process would be to coin a coin of $2\frac{1}{2}$ d.,—that is, of the present coinage, without any reference to decimal coinage, or to any alteration of our system. If a coin of $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. were brought into use—supposing that such a coin could be easily brought into use, of which I am no judge—with the same advantage as the 3d. and 4d., the first thing that would strike the people would be, that five of those would make 1s. and $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and that ten of them would make a florin and 1d. They would soon learn how to give and take change, because nothing is easier than to remember that five of the new coins make 1s. $0\frac{1}{2}$ d. People would soon come to the idea that this odd $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the 1s., and odd 1d. in the florin, was a nuisance, and it might then be abolished as a nuisance, and the 1s. brought to the five new coins, and the florin to the ten new coins; and that would be the gradual way of introducing the system, never mentioning the decimal system, nor giving the people a notion of a change, until a proclamation should be issued to strike off the $\frac{1}{2}$ d. on the shilling, and the 1d. on the florin. That would be a gradual introduction into legal use of the florin, cent, mil, or any other terms that might be chosen.”—(*Parl. Rep.*, No. 715.)

This notion appears to us altogether visionary. It is like unroofing the cottages that the inmates may be compelled to take themselves off. We do not know whether Professor De Morgan still entertains this view; at any rate, what he most strongly insists on now is, that the coins below sixpence, or at least the copper coins, should be lowered by proclamation four per cent., so that the silver sixpence should be equal to twenty-five farthings, or six copper pence and a farthing. The argument, that such a proceeding on the part of the Government might produce a vague but dangerous impression of more extensive injustice, he meets, in his usual humorous vein, thus:—“A. B. goes to bed on the last night of farthings with six copper pence in his pocket, the equivalent of a half-shilling bit, which he has exchanged for them during the day. He rises on the first morning of mils an impoverished man. A Government flea has bit his pocket in the night, and has eaten four parts in the hundred of the value of his copper. His six copper bits will no longer change for the half-shilling bit: they want a new farthing, $\frac{24}{25}$ of the old farthing, to be what they were before. This never happens again: in all time to come, warned by bitter experience, he will not let his half-shilling go until he sees the odd farthing which is to come in. This tone is no exaggeration. This spoliation, this robbery of four per cent. of a man’s odd copper, done once in his life, that he and his children may be benefited for ever, has been spoken of as if it were a thing to rouse a patriot and kill a philanthropist.”

The Astronomer Royal, and some others, entertain a slightly modified opinion, the propriety of which is very questionable, viz., that the light pennies should pass as four mil pieces, and the heavy rimmed pennies of Bolton and Watt's coinage as five mil pieces. Of course, arrangements of this kind will be only temporary during the transition state of the currency; but those who are aware of the vast amount of coinage in circulation, and of the extreme difficulty of calling it in and replacing it, need not be told that the transition period will be very great indeed. Were a system of decimal accounts at once legalised, few of those concerned in the change would live to see the new coins firmly established, and the old tolerably scarce. The Master of the Mint estimated the whole amount of British silver in circulation in 1853 at 13,000,000 sterling in value, or about 236,000,000 pieces of all denominations; of which 125,000,000 silver pieces would require to be withdrawn and recoinced. Further, the amount of copper in circulation is about 5000 tons, numbering 270,000,000 of pieces. All this would have to be recoinced; in addition to which, the shillings, numbering about 110,000,000, would require ultimately to be re-issued as half-florins. The preliminary steps would be to withdraw the half-crown, to increase the number of florins, and to coin a cent piece. With a view to the withdrawal of the half-crown, the Master of the Mint issued a circular to the bankers in 1854, requesting to be informed if the florin has been approved, and if approved, how far on its own merits, as a convenient element of value in itself, and how far as a presumed stage in the transition to a decimal coinage. The answers which he obtained are very contradictory—so much so, that, presuming them to be exponents of the sentiments of the same class of the public, they are altogether worthless. Messrs Smith, Payne, and Co. say that the florin is generally disliked; Messrs Bosanquet, that it is generally approved: which are we to believe? Observe, these are not the opinions of individuals, to which any amount of latitude may fairly be allowed, but conclusions drawn by men who are in hourly communication with the public on this very point, as to what the public approve or disapprove. In the meantime, the Mint continues its issue of florins coined out of new silver, and allows them to circulate along with the existing 37,000,000 of half-crowns. This proceeding is justifiable only on the hypothesis that the decimal must ultimately supersede the present coinage. The co-existence of the florin and half-crown is very generally disapproved. Thirty-seven bankers draw attention to the confusion and mistake caused by the similarity of the coins. After all, however, the public will cheerfully bear a considerable amount of inconvenience, provided they shall be satisfied that it will result in a great ultimate benefit to the country.

A question of far greater importance remains to be considered. The introduction of the pound and mil system, in whatever form it may be effected, will involve as a necessity the abolition of the penny, or, what amounts to the same thing, the alteration of its relative value. Hence the necessity for the readjustment of a great number of existing contracts and obligations based upon that coin. These embrace duties by which a considerable part of the public revenue is raised, such as postage, newspaper and receipt stamps, as well as many duties of customs; in addition to the class of cases in which private interests are concerned, such as railway, bridge, ferry, and road tolls. To alter such charges to the nearest equivalent in the new coinage—four mils—would entail a loss to the receiver of 4 per cent.; whilst, if the next higher coin—five mils—were substituted, the payer would be subjected to a loss of 20 per cent. The conclusions to which the Parliamentary Committee arrived relative to the arrangement of these matters, are more satisfactory as regards cumulative payments, than as regards those which must usually be made in very small sums, amounting to a few pence only. Newspaper stamps, for example, may be charged by the dozen, so that the price shall remain exactly the same as at present. But there is a real difficulty in dealing with postage and receipt stamps. The Committee appear to have a slight leaning towards the increased price of 5 mils, because of its decimal character. Relative to the very important question of railway charges, tolls, etc., they mention, with hesitation, one suggestion only of the many which were presented to them, viz., that the loss which would be sustained by the ultimate reduction (to 4 mils) in the charges, might be provided for by sanctioning a small increase (to 5 mils) in those charges for a limited period. They do not name a period; but the Astronomer Royal fixed it at five years, which corresponds with the calculations of Professor De Morgan. They conclude this branch of their Report by referring the House to the evidence they have received on the subject. Turning to that evidence, we find a principle laid down by the Astronomer Royal, which met the views of many of the witnesses subsequently examined, “that payments defined by the old scale are to be discharged, on the new scale, by their equivalents in the nearest mil.” The great objection to the working of this principle, besides its inequality, is the necessity which it imposes of constant recourse to a table or tables published by authority. The drover who pays 8 mils of toll for his score of sheep, will require some persuasion to induce him to pay 17 mils for two score. The bone of contention in his new multiplication table—twice 8 make 17—will stick in his throat, and ruffle his temper.

A host of such difficulties as these remain undisposed of, amply

sufficient to give strength to the opponent scheme, which consists in making the existing penny the unit for multiplication and division, and in coining a tenpenny piece as the silver unit. This coin we shall term a franc.

To this scheme we now proceed to direct our attention very briefly. The views of its supporters are to be gathered from the evidence in the Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission. This scheme has not, like its opponent, the advantage of an association of influential and wealthy men at its back. It rests entirely on the able advocacy of its proposers, the most prominent of whom is Dr J. E. Gray, of the British Museum. To this gentleman the country is indebted for the compilation of an index of writings on the subject of the coinage, arranged chronologically, from 1605 to 1857. It may be noticed, that, whilst the supporters of the pound and mil scheme are unanimous in favour of a change of the coinage, the supporters of the penny scheme are not so. Many of them would prefer that things should remain as they are. Mr Slater, for instance, the first witness examined by the Commissioners, is by no means an advocate for any change; and Dr Gray is averse to change, and proposes the penny unit only if driven to a decimal system. Mr Rathbone, on the other hand, is quite decided in favour of a decimal scale, and equally decided in condemning the pound and mil scheme, as likely to prove mischievous rather than otherwise.

The principal arguments on which the advocates of the penny and tenpenny scheme maintain its superiority to its rival, are these:—

1. The pound and mil scheme alters or destroys all coins below sixpence, whilst the other does not affect them.

2. It requires the constant use of three decimal places, or three places of figures, below the unit, the lowest of which, amounting occasionally to more than twopence, could not, even in banking and mercantile accounts, be omitted: the other requires but one figure below the unit.

3. The lowest coin in the pound and mil scheme is not sufficiently small, whereas the other would admit of the adoption of coins of the tenth of a penny.

4. The one disarranges all duties, tolls, contracts, etc., which the other does not affect.

5. The new coins on the pound and mil scheme offer no facility for comparison with those of other countries that have adopted the decimal system, as not a single foreign coin of those countries bears any approximate relation to the florin, cent, or mil; whereas the franc of France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy being nearly equivalent to *one*, the florins of Holland and Germany to *two*, and the dollar of America to *five* of these ten-

penny coins, the latter system will afford great facilities for exchanges.

6. The pound and mil scheme, by disarranging the lower monies, throws all the difficulty and confusion attendant on change on the poor, who are least prepared to encounter them, and who do not seek a change: the penny scheme makes no alteration in the lower monies.

7. The former system must be introduced suddenly by Act of Parliament, and cannot co-exist with our present system: the latter can be introduced gradually, as found advantageous.

It would be tedious to enter in detail into the arguments of the supporters of the tenpenny scheme. A few of the most effective must suffice.

Dr Gray says, "The question may be shortly stated thus:—
1. Shall we retain the pound as the unit, divided into 10th, 100th, and 1000th parts, and thus introduce an entirely new set of coins, with new names and of new values, together with a complicated, and, in many cases, an inaccurate, system of computation, producing much confusion, and engendering great distrust among the people at large?

"Or 2. Shall we relinquish the pound as a money of account, retaining all our present coins, with the same names and with the same values, together with a perfect decimal system of accounts, and a simple and perfectly accurate system of computation, which may be brought into use without any confusion or alteration in the habits of the people at large, who may indifferently use either the present system or the new one, until they become satisfied of the advantages of the latter? The chief arguments in favour of the practical advantages of the decimal system, are drawn from its use on the Continent and in the United States of America. But all the countries referred to have uniformly avoided the great evil which I have pointed out in the Committee's scheme, by choosing a small unit, which for the lowest values would require only two places of decimals. Thus the unit of France, Belgium, and Switzerland, is nearly equivalent to our proposed tenpence; that of Holland to twentypence; and those of Italy, Savoy, the United States of America, Canada, Singapore, etc., to fifty English pence."—(*Prel. Rep. of Royal Commission*, No. 413.) "Every country that has adopted a decimal system has based it on the small current coin of the people; they have never altered the smaller coin, analogous to our penny, in the least."—(*Ibid.*, No. 352.) "The Government having before their minds the public excitement at Athens in the time of Aristophanes, and at Dublin in the time of Swift, when only a slight alteration in the coinage was undertaken, and being aware of the numerous legislative changes required, to

adjust the taxes, tolls, wages, outstanding bills, and promissory notes, etc., to the altered coinage, to the debasement of the standard, to the depreciation of the copper coinage, and consequent confiscation of private property,—will not willingly incur the responsibility of proposing the extraordinary and, I may say, unjust changes which the system recommended by the late Parliamentary Committee involves; which are wholly dependent on the assumption that the pound *must* be retained as the unit, on the erroneous idea that it is beneficial for the richer commercial classes; no other nation in the world using a decimal system, having a unit of one-fourth that amount.”—(*Ibid.*, No. 358.)

Mr Turner gives some examples of the injury which would be produced by the depreciation of the penny, in addition to those which were dealt with by the Parliamentary Committee. For example: Benefit Societies—“The Manchester Unity, which is the largest, has 4000 lodges, and 230,000 members. I find that most of the lodges pay every fortnight; the subscription rising from 4d. a week to 7d. a week. If the cent and mil plan were carried into operation, the old members will have paid in in the large pence, and they will have to receive out in the small pence.”—(*Ibid.*, No. 641.) Mr Turner also insists on the injury which would be inflicted on certain retail traders, for instance, the publicans, who sell beer at a penny the half-pint—an unalterable price,—and who could not diminish the strength of the article without causing it to cease to be beer.

Mr Slater advocates the tenpenny unit on the ground of its near approach in value to the French franc. He states that the firm of which he is a partner are very large importers of French goods, and, of course, have to sell those goods in English money. The reduction from French money would, on the system he prefers, be simply the subtraction in the invoice of a certain rate of discount. At the present moment, he states that it is the practice to take French monies as at twenty-five francs to the pound, whatever the rate of exchange may be. The simplicity of converting French money into English by multiplying by four is so great, that any little difference afterwards is to be regulated by a per-centage.

Mr Rathbone is decided in favour of a decimal monetary system: he is equally decided in favour of the adoption of the tenpenny scheme. He further declares that it is not necessary to abandon the pound; but, when pressed by the Committee to reconcile the retention of the pound with a penny or tenpenny unit, of neither of which is it a decimal multiple, he admitted that, practically, the pound must in the end cease to be a money of account.

Mr James Lawrie, to whose evidence in favour of the pound

and mil scheme we have before alluded, was employed by the Committee to draw up tables on their plan. The result appears to have been that he changed his opinion, and, a few days before his death, published a treatise setting forth the grievances which would arise out of the Parliamentary scheme, and the superior advantages of the tenpenny. He argues that our coinage, as it stands, does not descend low enough, and that the pound and mil scheme supplies no remedy. When buttons are sold at 41 for a farthing, and tape at 5 yards for a farthing, he thinks a unit should be adopted which would enable the buyer to pay a smaller sum than a farthing or a mil, and this he finds can be done by the tenpenny scheme.

We believe we have exhibited some of the most forcible arguments used by the supporters of the tenpenny scheme. We do not extend them, simply because we are satisfied that the adoption of this scheme will never be seriously entertained by the Government. Is it conceivable that we shall abandon, as a coin of account, the pound sterling—the standard gold coin—the legal tender—the unit of our historians, our financiers, our merchants, our landlords? Must all the literature of our language be interpreted by the aid of a Ready Reckoner? or must the coins which cross our hands, and those of which we write and speak, be totally different? Shall we submit for half a century to translate shillings into francs, or to see the two pieces, which are scarcely commensurable, jostling each other in the market? Must the labouring man, whose wages are stated at 15 francs, calculate how many shillings he is to receive? We cannot believe it; we are almost disposed to meet the advocates of the scheme with some of the raillery with which Mr De Morgan treats them. This is a specimen of his wit:—"Some people on the tenpenny side had called themselves Little-endians, and the pound and mil people Big-endians. They had got hold of the poker by the wrong end. Lemuel Gulliver—on whom all relied except the Irish Bishop, who, when the voyage to Lilliput appeared, declared he didn't believe half of it—stated that the Endian dispute arose out of the following dogma:—"True believers break their eggs at the convenient end." Now the pound and mil people believe that the small end is that at which the coinage ought to be broken, and a small crack of four per cent. in the copper serves their purpose; but the real Big-endians, the tenpenny people, smash the sovereign into tenpenny bits, making such a hole as lets out all the meat in getting rid of the pound and the shilling."

Speaking of the humbler classes, he says, "One of them might be addressed by an advocate of the tenpenny system as follows, not without irony, but with perfect truth:—

“My friend, there are a set of people who, for their own commercial convenience, are meditating a robbery on your pocket. They want to declare the copper coin less in value by four per cent.; they want to make 25 farthings go to the half shilling, now sixpence. This will probably cost you a fraction of a farthing, perhaps a whole farthing, or even more, etc., etc. Now, we have got a plan which will give all the advantages, and save you from losing a fraction of a farthing, though we confess that, to make your penny a fixture, we shall have to make your shilling a puzzle. You shall have coins of tenpence each mixed with shillings; your wages shall be handed to you in mixed tenpenny and twelpenny bits. You get seventeen shillings a week, perhaps. Now, one week your master will hand you 13 shillings, 4 tenpennies and a sixpence, and 2 pence, which, of course, you see in a moment is 17 shillings. Next week you may have 11 shillings, 7 tenpennies, and 2 pence, which you also see must be 17 shillings, without any trouble.”—(*British Almanack*, 1857.)

Assuming, then, that the tenpenny scheme has no chance during the present agitation, and that its intrinsic merits do not in any degree counterbalance its defects, we shall take leave of it. The question for discussion is now narrowed down to the determination of the alternative: shall we adopt the pound and mil scheme, or shall we remain as we are? We must, in order to do full justice to the argument, consider separately what are the respective merits and defects of the two systems, that we may judge of the advantages of the change when it shall be long established and in full operation; and whether these advantages are of such moment as to warrant the Government in risking so great an innovation on the thoughts and dealings of the people.

III. We have, then, in the next place, to contrast the present with the proposed coinage; and we will endeavour to do so in as fair and impartial a manner as we can. It is, perhaps, impossible for one who has a decided bias towards either system, fairly and fully to exhibit the strong points of the other. Should the following comparison appear to be in any respect unjust to the advocates of the proposed scheme, we trust we may be admitted to plead, that we have been drawn to one side by our convictions, not by our prejudices.

We must premise, that the number of considerations which should be taken into account, in order to lead to a correct judgment in this matter, is very large. And the difficulty in arriving at a right conclusion, arises from the uncertainty which must always attach itself to the relative weights of the various considerations. One person believes the primary object of the coinage is to be sought for in the ledger of the banker, or in the

valuation-sheet of the actuary. Another places it in the mental reckoning and adjustment of the innumerable petty transactions of common life. A third refers it to the less ordinary, but possibly not less important, interchanges of metallic coin which take place between different nations. And each, looking at the question from his own point of view, is confronted with some prominent prime requisite, towards which all others must bend. Were the banker's ledger and the actuary's valuation-sheet to be the only objects contemplated, a decimal system might possibly carry the day without a struggle. Professor De Morgan, the active and consistent advocate of change, has laboured to make plain the distinction between questions of account and questions of coinage. He has shown how simply accounts may be decimalised by a change in value of the lower coins; he has shown, further, how easily the usual fractions of a pound sterling can be instantaneously converted into decimals. But to what effect? Have the large body of merchants and bankers who have petitioned for a change, followed the example of their teacher in availing themselves of the facilities of a decimal system, as things are? Does one of them seek to take advantage of the power, which the proposed change will not extend, of entering the second column in florins? On the contrary, was not the opinion of the bankers, when pressed, rather unfavourable to decimalisation?—(*Prel. Rep.*, p. 161.) We must, therefore, not suffer our minds to be drawn off by the lure of the apparently trifling cost at which we may purchase a new and improved system of accounts. We must hesitate to form a judgment until the subject has been contemplated in all its aspects, and even then our judgment will have little more than a temporary value. It may lead us to pause before we venture on any immediate change; but it will hardly determine us as to the steps which may ultimately be taken.

The following are some of the conditions which a coinage has to fulfil:—

1. The coins should be few, well separated, and easily understood.

2. Certain coins, placed at convenient intervals, should present themselves as independent units; and these units should be expressible in simple terms of each other. The size, value, and weight of these units should be so adjusted that the coin of the hand shall also be the coin of account.

3. The coins should carry in their appearance some faint indication of their value, even to foreigners unaccustomed to them.

4. The system on which the coinage proceeds, and the position of the coins of account, should be convenient for the computations which are made in the counting-house and the study.

5. The coins and their subdivisions should harmonise with the reckonings that accompany the petty payments of every-day life.

To these might be added a *sixth* condition, which relates to international exchanges; but, in the present state of the question, the discussion of such a condition does not promise to lead to any practical result.

1. In regard to *the number of coins and their separation*, the existing system and the proposed stand nearly on the same level. It will probably be thought desirable to combine a binary division with a denary in the new silver coinage. In this case the systems will stand thus:—

Present, $\frac{1}{4}$ d., $\frac{1}{2}$ d., 1d. | 3d., 4d., 6d., 1s., 2s. 6d. | 10s. L.

Proposed, 1m., 2m., 5m. | 1c., 2c., $2\frac{1}{2}$ c., 5c., 1f. | 50c. L.

Here we have the same number of coins in each, viz., three of copper, five of silver, and two of gold; we have also, for all practical purposes, the same range; we have, further, no evident advantage on either side in the mode of paying a given sum. For example, sums up to 6d. would be paid, we imagine, to the extreme farthing or mil: the average, on our present system, is $2\frac{5}{4}$ coins for each payment; whilst on the proposed system, the average would be $2\frac{6}{5}$ for sums extending from 6d. to 1s., payments need be made only to the $\frac{1}{2}$ d., or 2 mil piece. We find, then, giving to the proposed system the benefit of its fives when they occur, that the average on our present system is $2\frac{1}{2}$ coins for each payment; whilst on the proposed system, the average would be $2\frac{1}{3}$. Lastly, from 1s. to 2s., stopping at the penny in both, the present average is $2\frac{2}{3}$ coins, the proposed, $2\frac{2}{3}$. So far, therefore, the combination of the binary with the denary system gives it no advantage over our own.

2. In regard to *the selection of the units*, the decimal system of necessity sacrifices every other consideration to the one prime requisite that they shall be multiples of one another by 10. In our existing system, the three coins which respectively present themselves as independent units, are the penny, the shilling, and the pound. The halfpenny and farthing are referred to the penny; the crown and half-crown, partly to the shilling and partly to the pound; and the half-sovereign, partly to the shilling and partly to the sovereign. In the proposed system, the independent units are the mil, the cent, the florin, and the pound. Now, we believe it will not be denied that the existing system has the advantage in this respect over the decimal. The former has three independent coins, the latter four. In the former, these coins are respectively in the three different current metals; in the latter this cannot be the case. The former affords facilities both for multiplication and for division; the latter for multiplication only. In

the former, the intervals increase as the coins increase in value; in the latter, the intervals are equal. It is true the simplicity of the construction of a decimal system, and its coincidence with that of numeral arithmetic, appear to be grounds of recommendation; but these very grounds offer their counterbalancing disadvantages as contrasted with our existing system,—the most notable of which are, the want of successive divisibility by two, and the inappropriateness of both the silver and the copper units, as coins of reference. We will endeavour to make this clear. The existing coins are constructed on the following principles:—

First, Every separate coin divides by four, in terms of the next lower; so that the constantly recurring operations of halving and quartering are performed without the necessity of introducing fractions.

Secondly, The ratio of each coin to the unit next above it, is an increasing ratio as the coin increases. Four is sufficient for the farthings, but a unit of fourpence would be preposterously near to the penny; and accordingly the next prime number, 3, is introduced,—thus making 12 the interval between the copper and the silver unit. On the same principle, 12 would be an unnecessarily small interval between the shilling and the highest coin. And as, besides, division by three is already provided for, the next prime number, 5, is employed, making 20 the interval between the silver and the gold unit. The coins thus rise from the lowest in the simplest conceivable ascending scale—four ones, four threes, four fives. Four ones—four farthings make a penny; four threes—twelve pence make a shilling; four fives—twenty shillings make a pound. The highest coin is thereby rendered divisible, not only by 3 and by 5, but, what is more of importance six times over, by 2.

Thirdly, The values of the units are such as experience has determined to be convenient. In France, the centime is too far below the franc, the consequence of which is that the *sou* sticks to the coinage like a limpet. “Galignani’s Messenger” is priced, at this very moment, not 5 décimes nor 50 centimes, but 10 sous; and, in 1855, Louis Napoleon issued a proclamation, forbidding people to cry their wares in the streets in sous. In America, the dollar is too far above the cent, and the quarter dollar has been found to take its place as a separate unit. In both countries, the tendency has been to introduce a new coin of representation, which the decimal interval had found itself incapable of placing. Arbitrary power may cry down the *sou* in France, but the voice of the people will cry up the quarter-dollar in America; nay, not always the quarter-dollar: with its local habitation it has also claimed to itself a name. In many parts

of the States, and in Canada West, it goes under the appellation of the "quarter"—a noun substantive, *plural* quarters. An hotel-keeper, in saying, "I have run short of quarters," does not mean you to infer that his accommodation is scanty as to sleeping apartments, but as to silver coins. The decimalists contemplate the preservation of the shilling as the half florin, and they imagine that the people will refer their operations on that coin to operations on the florin; but they deceive themselves. Fifty years after the introduction of the decimal coinage, the people will halve and quarter their shilling, just as they do now; and thus the shilling will undecimalise or confuse the English coinage, precisely as the shilling, sixty years after its abolition, undecimalises and confuses the monetary system of America. In the latter country, it has nothing but custom and the facilities it affords for binary division to rest on. For appropriateness of value and size it yields to the quarter-dollar, but with us it combines all the requisites in itself; and, though its beauty may be destroyed by the annihilation of the penny, the shilling will continue to be the coin of representation. And let us see how it will work. In America, the old dollar was divided into 8 York shillings, whilst the quarter-dollar is divided decimally into 25 cents. A stranger in New York is astonished to hear the *word* shilling in everybody's mouth; and he has the additional gratification of being puzzled to know whether it means 12 or 13 cents. The fact is, the half of the every-day coin, the quarter-dollar, varies with a man's conscience or his convenience. Thus, Mr Barnum charges 13 cents for the admission of children to his museum; whilst Mr Lee, of the Bowery Varieties, is content to admit them at 12 cents,—the quarter-dollar of 25 cents being, in both cases, the charge for adults. The New York omnibuses—established long after sixpences had ceased to exist—contended, for a time, for the full fare of the quarter quarter-dollar, corresponding in every way to our threepence, but have now limited themselves to the nearest integral approximation to that sum in the charge of 6 cents. We assure our readers that the quarter-dollar is the pocket coin of the New Yorkers, just as the shilling is of the Londoners. And both cities treat their coin in the same way: they divide it, subdivide it, and re-divide it—aye, and re-subdivide it by 2. The latter assertion will be fully established in the sequel. Relative to the former, we will content ourselves at present with quoting a single example. We take it because it comes first to hand, in the *New York Herald* of September 5, 1857. Out of fifteen advertisements of excursions and amusements, ten, or two-thirds, are at a quarter-dollar. And does not this fact, derived from the experience of America, furnish us with a powerful argument in favour of the retention of the shilling as

a coin of account, as a coin of name, as the silver unit?—not the mutilated shilling called a half-florin, susceptible of only one useful division, and part of a system which supplies the additional luxury of presenting its largest copper coin in a form incapable of division at all.

But we have more to say about the shilling. We trust we shall be excused if we plead its cause at some length. For silver is the great element of exchange. Gold lies in dignified repose in the banks, and is largely replaced by paper in various forms. Copper is used only as the means of division and adjustment; but silver is the pocket coinage of all classes—the poor as well as the rich. In silver the daily earnings of the labouring man are accumulated—in silver the cheque of the merchant or the esquire is distributed. The silver *unit* is therefore a consideration of the utmost importance. There are various ways in which we may imagine it to be determined. Such as *by size*.

The coins should be small enough to pack easily; but not so small as readily to escape the eye, or the touch, or the ear, in falling to the ground. Dollars and crowns are too large. The United States mint has ceased to coin silver dollars, wisely confining its operations to the real silver unit, the quarter-dollar, with its divisions. Dimes ($= 5d.$) and sixpences are too small, and involve too much counting. In respect to size, then, the balance appears to be against the florin (2s.), or the cent ($2\frac{2}{3}d.$), and in favour of the shilling.

By *weight* combined with size. Philosophers have puzzled themselves to find the relations which exist between the force of gravity at the surface of the earth, and the appropriate size and strength of a human being. Possibly an extension of the investigation might lead to the discovery of the fittest weight of a coin. At any rate, the gold and silver units, both in France and in this country, are nicely adjusted to each other, whatever merits they may themselves possess. In this country, standard gold is about fourteen times as valuable as standard silver, so that, weight by weight, a gold coin will be equal in value to fourteen silver ones. But the gold is heavier than the silver in the proportion of about $17\frac{1}{2}$ to 10; hence, bulk by bulk, a gold coin is equal in value to about twenty-five silver ones. The mean between 14 and 25 is very much about 20, the exact proportion in value which the existing gold unit bears to the silver. In other words, the sovereign is heavier than the shilling in nearly the same proportion that it is smaller.

Another way in which we may imagine the silver unit to be determined is by its *value*, as the average of the ordinary single payment. This last condition must vary with different nations, and at different periods. At the foot of the scale amongst the

nations of India, the rupee occupies the same position that the sovereign does with us, whilst cowrie shells fill the place of our copper coinage. On the other hand, in California¹ and Australia, where, from temporary causes, the value of metal bears a smaller ratio to that of the necessities of life than it does with us, the silver coin occupies a lower position, and might be made larger without detriment.

But, after all, our imaginings are not worth much. A safer appeal is to our experience. Are the people not attached to the shilling? The Astronomer Royal, a warm advocate of change, must think they are, when he considers it requisite for the success of the decimal system that the name of the shilling, and with it the idea of the shilling, must be withdrawn.—(*Parl. Rep.*, No. 499.) The Astronomer Royal is right. The shilling will stand in the way of decimalisation. But he is also wrong; wrong in expecting to get rid of the shilling. Recoin it and recast it as you please, it will always come out the people's shilling, and nothing else. But we have not space to pursue this subject further. Let us now examine the promise of the new system,

3. In respect to *the appearance of the coins, whereby they may present some faint indication of their value even to foreigners*. Every one who has travelled on the Continent, has learnt by dear experience the difficulty of mastering the coinage. Who does not know the fact, that a silver groschen is not a good groschen—is indeed a very bad groschen? In Switzerland, prior to the introduction of francs and centimes in 1850, the current coins were batz, thin, worn down bits of copper, of the intrinsic value of half a farthing each, but current at the nominal value of $1\frac{1}{3}$ d. A party, entering the country in 1839, were imprudent enough to entrust the charge of the batz to a gentleman skilled in driving a bargain, but ignorant of the value of the money. Spying a basket of cherries, he made up to it, and counted out a score of these little coins, estimating his offer at something under 6d. The woman to whom it was tendered, to his great astonishment, handed over to him her whole stock in trade. He abstracted about a pound of cherries therefrom, and returned to the party in great glee, at the discovery of the ridiculous cheapness of cherries. His glee was a little

¹ In the South and West States of America, the lowest coin current is the picayune, or half-dime. Offer a strolling musician a cent, and he will probably reject it as worthless. In California, the lowest coin referred to is the half-quarter, or bit, or shilling, viz., $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents. As, however, dimes are tolerably abundant, they are made to serve as shilling tokens. Four dimes, not five, are the common change for half a dollar. The people are too busy to avail themselves of the "labour-saving machine" provided for them; so they stick to halves and quarters, and ignore fifths.

modified when he found that he had unwittingly paid half-a-crown for his pound of cherries, instead of sixpence. As a natural consequence of such a state of things, good French and German money circulated at a considerable premium. Thus the five-franc piece, which, at the beginning of the century, was current as 34 batz, rose ultimately to be worth $35\frac{1}{2}$. Now, we should not like to see this country in the predicament from which Switzerland has just emerged. There is, indeed, no fear of that. But the cent—one of the units of the proposed coinage—is a troublesome customer. Its value is $2\frac{2}{3}$ d. It is too small for silver, too large for copper. Most of us think the threepenny piece small enough. To be sure it is an excellent make-weight, circulating as it does at the rate of one threepenny piece for every forty shillings. But let the proportions be reversed; let forty threepenny pieces be counted out for every shilling, and we shall soon begin to grumble. As a silver unit, therefore, the cent is not promising.¹ It has been urged that it is about the size of the American gold dollar; but those who make this appeal forget that the question in America is not between a gold and silver dollar, but between gold and paper—too frequently between gold and waste paper. But will not copper do? We think not. Some of the advocates of the decimal system—the late Governor of the Bank of England, Mr Hankey, for instance—consider the penny rather a large and inconvenient coin to carry about. And even those who differ from him have only to travel in the Papal States, and make acquaintance with the copper paul or half-paul, to determine them for ever against the copper cent. And is there no escape from the dilemma? Yes, certainly. There are as many devices for escape as Reynard boasted of to Pussy, in contempt of her one miserable shift of climbing up a tree; and with much the same success. There is the silvered coin, like the old Swiss batz; the alloyed coin, like the silver groschen; the copper coin rimmed with silver, like the astronomer's mural circle; the ring coin, like the Chinese cash, convenient also for necklaces;—in fact, and to be serious, there is no coin at all:—a conclusion to which Sir John Herschel, when Master of the Mint, himself virtually arrived (*Parl. Rep.*, No. 583).

4 and 5. *A good system of coinage should afford, at the same time, facilities for account-keeping and for the petty transactions of every-day life.*

¹ The early English coin—the penny or sterling—was larger than the proposed cent. It was the 240th part of a pound of standard silver (*the pound*), and its value was, consequently, a little above 3d. In its weight—the penny-weight—it still survives. When Edward I. coined fourpenny pieces (about the year 1280), they were termed groats or great coins, and were much the same as our shillings.

We have placed these two conditions in juxtaposition, because the requirements of the one run, to some extent, counter to those of the other. There can be no doubt that the multiplications and reductions which occur in such vast numbers at the desk, would be greatly shortened by the assimilation of the monetary to the numeral system. This may be fairly conceded to the advocates of decimalisation. But they probably expect more. And, but for the melancholy fact, that ten is one of the very worst of even numbers for purposes of reckoning, we should be disposed to yield them more. The uncivilised South Sea Islander, as truly as the civilised Greek, walked on his ten toes, and counted on his ten fingers. Thus nature taught him arithmetic: she taught him to count upwards by tens. But what did she teach him about counting downwards? Either she, or her handmaid necessity, taught him not to divide by tens, but by halves. Halving and re-halving are the almost universal processes of division—so much so, we are persuaded, as to justify the strong expression employed in Lord Overstone's 38th question, that the coins "should harmonise with the natural tendency of mankind to subdivide commodities for retail purposes by continual halving." When a people, the money in whose hands is decimal, and decimal only, require to reckon and think downwards below their coinage, do they descend by the decimal scale? Nothing of the kind. A glance at the American papers will show that the prices of cottons are quoted in binary divisions— $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, etc. The obvious conclusion from this fact is not set aside by the statement, that "these are mere paper prices." If the mind instinctively seizes on the binary division where it has not the guidance of an actual coin; and if, relative to these transactions on a large scale, a considerable amount of extra labour in calculation is sacrificed to a mode of representation which can be readily grasped, then may we be sure that binary division is founded in some deep principle, and that, where it exists, it will hold its place spite of legal enactments. But it may be objected,—“Is the existing monetary system binary? and is the proposed system altogether deficient of binary qualities?” The answer is easy. The old silver unit, the shilling, is divisible four times over by 2; the new silver unit, the half-florin or new shilling, is divisible only once by 2; the old copper unit, the penny, is divisible twice by 2; the new copper unit, the five mil piece, is not divisible by 2 at all. We need say no more. We trust we have made it clear that our existing monetary system has many great and striking advantages over its opponent. That these advantages more than counter-balance any facilities which the other may afford, in regard to certain questions of account-keeping and computation, we are firmly convinced. But, as we cannot expect to convince those who, after

careful study, have arrived at the contrary conclusion, we beg to call their anxious attention to what we have to say on the next head.

IV. It remains that we inquire into the probable consequences of the introduction of a decimal coinage into this country. Will it give satisfaction to the nation at large? Will it be received and acted on as fully and completely as our present system is? Will the mass of the people, after any moderate interval—say half a century—cease to think and to operate on their shillings and pence? We believe that the answer to these questions must be such as to deter our legislators from attempting innovation. The decimalists do indeed assure us, that the system they propose is working satisfactorily in most of the countries into which it has been introduced. But they forget the grounds of satisfaction. When the French nation shook itself free of its old monarchy, the magnificent ideas of the National Convention sought to discover the law of nature, and to make it the law of France and of the world. In France and in America, decimalisation was regarded as the republican system, as something like a feather in the cap of liberty. Right or wrong, the people were not likely to be lynx-eyed to the inconveniences of a state of things which they had brought on themselves. It must be remembered that the change was effected in France in the year 1793—the year I.—the commencement of all things new. It formed part of a grand system. The month was to be thirty days, the last day of each decade being the day of rest in place of the old Sunday. The day was to consist of ten hours; and new dials were ordered to be constructed to bring this mode of reckoning time into practice. “Nevertheless,” says M. Thiers, “in order to avoid forcing everything at once, this last reform was postponed for a year”! For a year—for ever. And even the most reasonable change, that of the coinage, was extremely unpopular. M. St. Hilaire informs us that its unpopularity lasted thirty years with the lower orders, and that half a century did not suffice thoroughly to establish it.

In America, also, the conservatism of the Anglo-Saxon race has preserved amply sufficient remains of the previous state of things to serve as a warning to us. We shall see in the sequel that an interval of seventy years has had almost no effect in banishing from the thoughts and affections of the people a monetary system, which the sovereign people themselves formally sentenced to perpetual exile. But of that by and by. At present, what we contend for is the small value which must be attached to the argument, that, because other nations have submitted calmly, or even complacently, to decimalisation, therefore we may reckon on the acceptability of the same system in this country. The

circumstances of France and America were totally different from our own—far more favourable to change. And yet success in these countries has been anything but triumphant. Still, argue the decimalists, it has been sufficient to induce other countries to follow their example: Switzerland and Canada have quite recently adopted a decimal coinage. A little consideration will show that decimalisation was but a trifling element in directing the counsels of those countries. The discreditable state of the old coinage of Switzerland we have already referred to. It was not easy to change for the worse. And when the Swiss did effect a change, it was but the exercise of sound judgment, on the part of the people, to accommodate their system to that of their powerful neighbour, France. And in regard to British America, the confusion which existed there prior to the introduction of dollars and cents, in January last, beggars description. The coins in circulation were English sovereigns and shillings; but the nominal value of those coins was expressed in the currency of the respective colonies. In Canada, the sovereign was, until recently, 24s. 4d.; in New Brunswick, 25s. 6d.; in Nova Scotia, 25s.; and in Prince Edward's Island, 30s. To add to the confusion, the word shilling was also applied to the 6d. sterling—the value of a coin which once existed in the States, and probably in Canada also. Thus the people had the really Chinese luxury of five distinct meanings to the word which was most frequently on their lips in the shop and in the market. That the Canadas should seek a change from such a Babel, cannot be wondered at. Nor are we surprised at their adoption of the system of the States. Similarity of coinage is almost as necessary in the two countries as it is in Scotland and England.

But all this has no bearing whatever on the acceptability of a change of system in this country. No one pretends to assert that our pounds, shillings, and pence are inconvenient for the purposes of the people. There are not four distinct values to the pound sterling here, as was the case in the old colonies of America before the federal constitution of 1789,—as was the case in the existing British American colonies within the last few years. Nor is there any dissatisfaction expressed with the coins themselves. They create no confusion; they give rise to no ambiguity. The people are not ready to jump at a novelty as a certain boon. On the contrary, they will assuredly cling with affection to a coinage which long years have familiarised to them. That we do not venture this assertion on insufficient grounds, will, we trust, be admitted, provided we can prove that decimalisation in America, which was set agoing by the people themselves, as an experiment, in 1786, and afterwards fully organised in 1792, has not even now shaken itself clear of the modes of

speaking and thinking which it was intended to supersede—has indeed, as yet, hardly affected them at all. And if this is the experience in a young country, with a population drafted from every quarter of Europe, having no conservative associations to attach them to the old coinage, but, on the contrary, enjoying a system selected as the monument of their independence; what may we expect from a change in this country, where old associations link the people to the monetary system as to an heirloom from their fathers?

And that we have not misstated the experience of the older states of America, we are prepared to prove. It might suffice if we brought in proof statements made by Americans themselves, such as that of the editor of the *New York Independent*, Mr Leavitt, who says (1855):—"The provincial currency of New York, before the revolution, was framed upon the reckoning of eight shillings to a dollar; and when the federal currency was introduced in matters of coin, the common people still clung to the old shilling, as a matter of necessary convenience, in their pocket payments; and the experience of sixty years has not in the least diminished their attachment to this method of reckoning in small payments." Or that of Mr J. Quincey Adams (1821), who says:—"Even now, at the end of thirty years, ask a tradesman or shopkeeper in any of our cities what is a dime or a mille, and the chances are four in five that he will not understand your question. But go to New York, and offer in payment the Spanish coin, the unit of the Spanish piece of eight, and the shop or market man will take it for a *shilling*. . . . And thus we have English denominations most absurdly and diversely applied to Spanish coins, while our own lawfully established dime and mille remain, to the great mass of the people, among the hidden mysteries of political economy—state secrets."

But we attach more weight to facts than to opinions; and to facts we will appeal. We suppose the bill of fare of an eating-house is likely to accommodate its prices to the customs of the people. We happen to possess one, which is a fair specimen of the kind of thing in the state of New York. To prevent mistakes, we present the articles and prices in full and verbatim, omitting nothing which is priced:—

J. M. M'NAMARA & Co.'s DINING SALOON,
SYRACUSE, N. Y. AUGUST 1857.

FISH.					
		S.	D.		S. D.
Oysters, per dozen, raw,	.	2	6	Oysters, fried in crumbs, per doz.,	3 0
" per half-dozen,	.	1	6	" " " per half,	2 0
Oyster Stew,	.	2	0	" fried in batter, per doz.,	3 0
Oysters, broiled,	.	3	0	" " " per half,	2 0

MISCELLANEOUS DISHES.

	S.	D.		S.	D.
Beefsteak, with Potatoes, .	2	0	Sandwiches, .	0	6
Porter-house steak, .	3	0	Tomatoes, raw, .	0	6
Pork-chops, .	2	0	Sardines, .	1	0
Lamb, .	2	0	Ham and eggs, .	2	0
Veal cutlets, .	2	0	„ broiled, .	2	0
Roast turkey, .	2	0	Omelets, plain, .	1	6
„ beef, .	2	0	„ with ham, .	2	0
Fricassee chicken, .	2	0	„ with herbs, .	2	0
Pork and beans, .	1	0	Eggs, poached, .	1	0
Potatoes, stewed and fried, .	0	6	„ scrambled, .	1	0
Kidneys, wine sauce, .	3	0	„ fried, .	1	0
Sweetbreads, tomato s., .	3	0	„ boiled, .	1	0
Ven'n steak, cur'nt jelly, .	3	0			

COLD DISHES.

	S.	D.		S.	D.
Corned beef, .	1	0	Roast turkey, .	1	0
„ ham, .	1	0	Beef tongue, .	1	0
Pigs' feet, .	1	0	Lamb tongue, .	0	6
Soused tripe, .	1	0			

WINES, ETC.

Heidsick, quarts, .	Dols. 2	00	Hibhoard's brown stout, pints, .	2s.
„ pints, .	1	00	Muir & Son's Scotch ale, pints, .	2s.
Claret, St Julien, .	75		Fine draft ale, .	6½
„ St Emelion, .	1	00	Champagne cider, .	6½
„ La Rose, .	1	50	Mineral water, .	6½
Congress water, quarts, .	2s.		Memonade, ¹ .	6½

PASTRY, ETC.

Cranberry pie, .	6½	Sponge cake, .	6½	Buckwheat cakes, .	12½
Lemon „ .	6½	Loaf, .	6½	Hot Indian „ .	12½
Berry „ .	6½	Pound, .	6½	Wheat „ .	12½
Green apple .	26½	Dry toast, .	6½	Coffee, per cup, .	6½
Pumpkin „ .	6½	Dipped, .	12½	Green tea, per cup, .	6½
Custard „ .	6½	Milk, .	18½	Black „ .	6½
Mince „ .	6½	Butter, .	25c.		

We will suppose two persons to enter this establishment, one of whom treats himself to half a dozen of oysters, and the other to a glass of milk. On demanding the charge, the waiter replies, “eighteen-pence a piece;” which means, in the coinage of the country, 18¾c. each. Now, this is really an impossible price, and the guests must be content to pay 19c. each, and lose the quarter cent. It is indeed just possible that a real, or half-real, a piece of money in the shape of the eighth or sixteenth of the old Mexican or Spanish dollar, may be in the hands of the parties. A few still remain—very few—certainly not enough to act on prices. These are influenced only by the *words* shilling and sixpence, the imperishable remains of a coinage which facilitated binary division.

¹ ? Misprint for Lemonade.

² ? Misprint for 6½.

Again, let the reader take up an American newspaper, and he will find prices stated in this confused mixture of shillings and cents. He will see, too, that halves and quarters of cents occur wonderfully often—wonderfully, it must be confessed, when he learns that no such coins are in circulation. We have before us the *New York Dispatch* of January 24. Half the priced advertisements are given in the jargon we have described. What would a decimalist say to the two following consecutive lines of the same advertisement:—

“Dark prints, 4 and $6\frac{1}{4}$ c.
Merino plaids, 1s. 6d. and 2s.”?

Or to this,—

“Yardwide flannels, $31\frac{1}{4}$ c. and $37\frac{1}{2}$ c., worth $62\frac{1}{2}$ c.”?

Perhaps he would look to the shop-boy for an explanation, and he would get it thus: The shop-boy would not think of reading the prices in cents. He would paraphrase the latter passages by “yard-wide flannels—half-a-crown, three shillings, and five shillings.” And these are by no means isolated, exceptional cases. The truth is, the words shilling and sixpence meet the ears just as regularly in New York as in Old York. And the state of things in New England is not very different. There the old shilling was the sixth of a dollar. And spite of the experience of the Astronomer Royal, who, in the course of his life, to the best of his recollection, never had occasion to divide by 6 (Ans. to Lord Overstone’s Question, No. 9), either its real convenience or the force of habit has preserved it on the lips of the people, long after it has vanished from their pockets.

As a further proof of what we assert, let us turn up any bookseller’s catalogue. The bookselling trade has certainly as little of a local character as can well be imagined. The Boston, Philadelphia, and New York publishers, supply not only the States, but the British Provinces also. They are obliged, therefore, to make their prices intelligible to parties at a distance. This deprives their catalogues of much that would strengthen our argument; but, fortunately, enough remains behind. We take up, then, the American Book Catalogue, published in 1849, and, so far as we know, not yet reprinted. It is a goodly volume of 360 pages, in which the publications, from 1820 to 1848, of about seven hundred houses are arranged alphabetically. Fractions of a cent are altogether omitted, although they appear, to some extent, in the catalogues of the individual publishers. We have before us the Educational Catalogue of Messrs Appleton of New York. Here we find, amongst other things of the same kind, *The Primary Speller and Reader*, priced $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents. To under-

stand the Book Catalogue, therefore, this circumstance must be borne in mind. Thus 42c., which occurs very frequently, is the nearest approximation to 41½c., or half-a-crown N.E. We have gone over pages 10, 15—305, taking every fifth page, and, omitting prices which are common to the decimal and the non-decimal system, we find the ratio of non-decimal prices (or prices expressible by exact numbers of shillings and sixpences) to decimal prices to be 117 to 40. In other words, there are three times as many prices expressed in shillings as in cents proper; and this, too, spite of the more extensive choice of decimal places. The space of half a century has, then, hardly sufficed to clear away one-fourth of the old habits of speaking and thinking in shillings. At this rate, much of that habit will survive to the year 2000.

We will exhibit the argument in another form. The decimalists have already commenced their approaches, and are sapping our system by the introduction of the florin as the substitute for the half-crown. We will try to conjecture the interval which must elapse between the periods when the half-crown shall cease to be a coin, and when it shall cease to be a price. We are not sure that any existing New Yorker can remember his half-crown. There is no such coin—for aught we know there never was one—and so, says the decimalist, there is an end of the matter. Softly, we entreat. Let him enter the stores of Broadway, and the phrase “two-and-sixpence” will greet his ears often enough. The people have not abandoned the language of their old currency. We have the authority of the Director of the U. S. Mint, Mr Snowden, for stating, that “the custom still obtains in many, if not most, of the older states of the Union, of expressing small prices *colloquially* in shillings and pence.” But the decimalist would like us, perhaps, to consult the Book Catalogue. Well, we have no objection. The half-crown occurs often enough there, at any rate. And in such a questionable shape: 31 cents! Why, it is so near 30—three dimes, three coins which do exist—that even an anti-decimalist would hardly anticipate that the ghost of a half-crown should have a chance with its tangible rival. But how often does it occur? By a careful examination of the first 50 pages, we find that it occurs thereon 41 times, whilst its decimal neighbour 30 occurs only 22 times. The deceased half-crown beats its living successor two to one. Let those who are so industriously labouring to destroy our half-crown, complete the solution of this little problem: If an imaginary coin loses one-third of its being in 50 years, how long will it take to destroy a real one?

We have instanced the half-crown, not because it is the strongest example, but because it furnishes matter for *present* consideration. Is it possible to supplant the English half-crown?

Ought the attempt to be persevered in? Let the half-crown and the florin be allowed to struggle together, and we will answer for the result. The fourth of the half-sovereign against the fifth: the latter has no chance. Does it seem necessary to offer proof? Hardly necessary; but we will condescend on one. There is a gentleman at this moment in Britain, on some diplomatic errand relative to the coinage—Mr J. H. Alexander of Baltimore, U. S. His authority is unquestionable, and, as he is a thorough decimalist, can be open to no suspicion. It happened that Mr Quincey Adams had stated that the Americans have halves, quarters, etc., and *might have fifths* of a dollar. Lest the latter portion of this sentence should convey a wrong impression, Mr Alexander writes thus:—"The facts are, that they [the fifths] did exist. I myself have handled many hundreds of them; and they only went out of use because of their liability to be confused with the fourths, just as now a florin and a new Victoria half-crown are rather confusing to a stranger." The weaker went to the wall: and the weaker, even in a country where the decimal system is in full operation, is the decimal coin—the fifth.

Another example. A glance at the catalogue will show that 3s. N.Y., or 38 cents, is a very popular price. It will be found fourteen times on page 5. But where is its decimal neighbour 40? It does not occur on the page at all; and, on the succeeding fourteen pages, taken together, it does not occur fourteen times—only eight.

We conclude: If the old coinage prices have maintained their ground in America, both because they were once on the ground, and because of the facilities they afford for binary division—if they keep their ground against a system which is the glory of the very men who partially abandon it: what dire confusion will the historian of the British coinage have to record, should our legislators determine on the introduction of a decimal system, which is neither suited to the wants, nor demanded by the wishes, of the people?

There are other matters connected with the question before us, which we have not space to discuss. For example, the bearing of the decimalisation of the coinage on that of the weights and measures. At present the division of the shilling tallies completely, and that of the pound partially, with the combined binary and ternary division of our weights and measures. Ought we to preserve this connection? Unanimous as are the advocates of the pound and mil scheme on other points, they are completely divided on this. One thinks decimalisation should commence with the coinage; another, that it should com-

mence with the weights and measures; a third, that it should take effect simultaneously in the two. Those who anticipate that the dealings of the people will, to any extent, spontaneously accommodate themselves to the coinage,—for instance, that wine will cease to be sold by the dozen, and come to be sold by the ten,—labour under a delusion. From the Atlantic to the Mississippi, dozens retain the position they occupy in this country. For our own parts, we are disposed to advocate some reform in the system of weights and measures. The numerous and altogether irreconcilable variations which occur in different localities, afford a ground for interference which has not the faintest parallel in the case of the coinage. And should the decimalisation of weights and measures be carried out, and take a firm hold of the people, the question of reforming the monetary system would then present a new and far more favourable aspect than at present. In the meantime, we trust the Government will adhere to the judicious position laid down by Mr Gladstone, when Chancellor of the Exchequer:—"The present arrangement of the currency . . . is so wound up in the habits of the people, that it would not be desirable to have recourse to any change in it, unless we had clear evidence that it was one the people themselves required and understood."

In parting, we may be allowed to express our unfeigned respect for the talents, and admiration of the disinterested zeal of such men as Professor De Morgan. Actuated by a simple desire for the public good, they have laboured hard for years, with a devotedness scarcely exceeded in cases where a personal end is the guiding principle. The present is the only one of their pursuits in which we do not heartily wish them success.

- ART. VII.—1. *The Ogilvies*: A Novel. Cheap Edition. Revised. Chapman and Hall. 1855.
2. *Olive*: A Novel. By the Author of "The Ogilvies." Cheap Edition. Revised. Chapman and Hall. 1857.
3. *The Head of the Family*. By the Author of "Olive," "The Ogilvies." Cheap Edition. Chapman and Hall. 1858.
4. *Agatha's Husband*. By the Author of "Olive," "The Ogilvies," "The Head of the Family." Cheap Edition. Chapman and Hall. 1858.
5. *John Halifax, Gentleman*, 3 vols. Hurst and Blackett. By the Author of "The Head of the Family," etc. 1856.
6. *Nothing New*. Tales by the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman," 2 vols. Hurst and Blackett.
7. *A Woman's Thoughts about Women*. By the Author of "John Halifax." Hurst and Blackett. 1858.

It is clear that, hitherto at least, feminine ability has found for itself a far more suitable sphere in novel-writing than in any other branch of literature. Among English or American authoresses we doubt if any, with perhaps one exception, have achieved for themselves a permanent place in the history of English literature, who are not novel-writers; and even the failures belong chiefly to the same class, though some few of the latter have been made in the field of poetry. Miss Burney, Miss Edgeworth, Miss Austen; Mrs Inchbald, Mrs Radcliffe; Miss Martineau, Mrs Marsh, Mrs Gaskell, Miss Brontë, Miss Muloch;¹ Miss Sewell, Lady Georgiana Fullarton, Miss Yonge; Miss Sedgwick, Miss Mitford, and Mrs Stowe, are most of them remembered exclusively—all of them, even Miss Martineau, mainly—by their fictions. Even Mrs Browning's greatest work, *Aurora Leigh*, though full of poetic power, has been termed, with great truth, a "modern novel in verse," so full is it of that circumstantial descriptiveness—so to say—in dealing with mood, scene, and incident, which properly constitutes the novel as distinguished from the poem. Still, if we except Mrs Browning, and as some will think, Joanna Baillie and Mrs Hemans, there remains, we believe, not a single woman's name of distinction in the field of

¹ We ought to add to this group the less generally known writers, the Baroness Tautphæus, the lively and skilful English authoress of "The Initials," "Quits," etc.; also the authoress of "Lena," "Kingscope," etc.; and, lastly, the authoress of "A Lost Love," published under the pseudonym of Ashtord Owen. The imagination that gave birth to *Lena*, *Kingscope*, etc., has a vein of light humour, and a power of individualising the *superficies* of character not surpassed by any writer but Miss Austen, though her fictions skim only the surface of life. The last mentioned writer has written but one short tale; but yet a tale of rarely-equalled beauty, pathos, and power.

English literature, which is not mainly associated with the novel. The reason is perhaps not very recondite. The purely human interests of life, the daily incidents, the circumstantial joys and sorrows, occupy largely the thoughts of women ; and what occupies the thoughts works in the imagination. If, at any moment, the reveries of all the men and all the women in England could be laid bare to us, there can be little doubt that the latter would be found filled, for the most part, with pictures, memories, or hopes of *visible* human life,—men, women, or children, in actual or possible costume, with faces sad or happy, in the midst of daily wants or luxury, in the crisis of some great or little emergency, or the enjoyment of some long-desired blessing. But not so with the men : in their minds a curious *mêlée* of interests half abstract, and where they were not abstract, often at least less about persons than about things. You would find in them queer visions of books, ballot-boxes, 3 per cents, bank-reserves, railway regulations, cotton bales, rights of electors, race-courses, courts of chancery, points of evidence, and again, considerations about kings, and wars, and statesmen, past and present, telegraph-cables, attractions of gravitation, planetary orbits, laws of metre, laws of thought, and laws of harmony. And, as are the common thoughts of men and women, so are their imaginative powers. The former have more power to conceive anything, we will not say merely *abstract*, but that requires some withdrawal of the imagination from the human *dress and circumstance* of life ; while the latter have more skill in elaborating fresh combinations of human incidents—that flow of event which is one of the greatest necessities of the writer of fiction. It is for this reason we conceive that women have not yet succeeded as poets. Poetry is concerned, it is true, mainly with the creation of living and breathing life, yet it certainly requires a power akin to the power of abstraction. The poet must penetrate and battle for a time, nay even *live*, far beneath the surface of life, in order to create fine poetry. Not that he can neglect any visible expression of deeper wisdom that is written on the surface of the universe, but that he must decypher and interpret it. It requires an effort, something of a spiritual mood, to plunge into the pure beauty of true poetry. And though women have usually finer spiritual sympathies than men, they have not the same power of concentrating their minds in these alone, and living apart in them for a time, without being disturbed by the intrusive superficialities of actual life and circumstances. Their imagination is not *separable*, as it were, in anything like the same degree, from the visible surface and form of human existence ; and hence, such poetry as they do usually write, is apt to be mere personal sentiment without any token of true imaginative power at all.

Women's imagination, wherever it is really vivid, delights in conceiving character as it is seen in the full dress of circumstance and the slow evolution of narrative.

We propose to discuss shortly, the main characteristics in which feminine fictions, as distinguished from those of men, are strong or defective, with some detailed illustrations of our remarks from the agreeable and skilful novelist, whose books we have put at the head of this article. Indeed, her fictions have led us involuntarily into this line of thought: to say nothing of her latest and only didactic work, in which she discusses so carefully the sphere and limitations of women's powers, her novels are in every respect typical of the special advantages and special disadvantages which a woman, as such, has for the task of representing the various aspects of human life in the form of a fictitious narrative. Not that she has reached so high as some others of her feminine contemporaries; but that, perhaps on that very account, she represents more adequately the kind of faculty which is either potential or actual in most clever women, and disturbs us less with marks of that signal individual genius, which is only misleading if we suppose it to have any special connection with sex at all.

And first, we may notice a characteristic difference between the narrative element in the fictions of feminine and of masculine writers. The former identify the reader much more closely with the current of the story than the latter, who always recall to you, by occasional glimpses of the intellectual canvass on which they paint, that it is but a picture, an effort of the artist's thought, after all. You can always see a kind of intellectual framework, of some sort, in a man's novels, which tells you that the unity is given rather by the mind and conception of the narrator, than by the actual evolution of the story. Feminine novelists never carry you beyond the tale they are telling; they are a great deal too much interested in it. But with men, you can see that some more general idea has governed the artistic composition; some desire, as in Sir Walter Scott, to contrast local customs, or a grand historic age, with modern civilization; some general creed about human nature, such as Mr Kingsley is ever intruding into his tales; some general satiric vein of feeling, like that which animates and gleams through the interstices of Fielding's and Thackeray's sketches; some vague philosophy, such as that which looms through Goethe's and Bulwer's novels; some genial scorn for prevalent cant, like that which impels Mr Anthony Trollope to illustrate and expose "reform-cries." It is quite different with ladies' novels. Sometimes, indeed, as in those of Miss Sewell, Miss Yonge and Lady Georgiana Fullarton, or, as in our author's *Olive*, there is an effort to inculcate some faith. Sometimes, again, as in *Mary Barton*, or Miss Martineau's tales, some social

theory is advocated or assailed. But, nothing can be more different than the effect produced in such cases, and the effect of the broad intellectual framework of masculine novels. With the authoress, the didactic or other purpose is wholly imbedded in the tale; it does not come out in the shape of the author's generalizations and comments, as in the other case, but enters into the very texture of narrative, as the moral assumption on which alone the characters are intelligible. There is rarely any wide background to a woman's tales, which tells the reader that there is a whole outlying world of thought which cannot be introduced *into* the tale, and which is yet suggested to the writer by the story told. With all our great masculine novel writers, the tale is a kind of living illustration of what the writer conceives to be the ruling principle of some special time, place, or system of things. And these principles are continually reappearing, to remind you, that the organized world of the narrator is but a picture drawn according to the laws which rule the writer's imagination. When a lady, on the other hand, wishes to be instructive, she creates a second self among the *dramatis personæ* of the story, and is quite content to lecture her fictitious world through that medium alone. Masculine writers cannot apparently brook this restraint. Their reflections are too wide for it. Mr Kingsley, for instance, has never scrupled to attribute his own peculiar convictions even to the most unlikely heroes,—Jews of the fifth century, and sailors of the Elizabethan age. But, even this does not content him; and he bursts forth into directly personal dissertations on the points which most interest him, so that you discern at once the primary world of thought on which his secondary world of fiction is based. So, too, Sir Walter Scott is always appearing in his own person, to contrast the different historic features of different periods, and the relative worth of the society he is at the moment describing, and some modern state of society he is, by implication, criticising. Dickens is, perhaps, the only great masculine writer whose genius has no disposition to generalize on the people and things he describes. Whenever he attempts it, you say that his criticisms are spurious second-hand reflections. Indeed, the type of Dickens' genius is, in many respects, feminine. Like most women's genius, it is founded on delicate powers of perception alone, though lighted up with something broader than feminine humour. There is no intellectual background to his pictures; and in this respect, he resembles the numerous authoresses of modern English fiction.

As a question of artistic effect, it may fairly be disputed which class of production is the better. There can be no doubt that the interest is the more intense, where the tale does not in any way introduce the writer's thoughts or comments upon it. Miss Bronte could never rivet us as she does, if, like Mr Trollope, she

had general observations to offer at the beginning of each chapter. Then, as a natural consequence, the authoresses *believe* so much more intensely in their own stories. The habit of generalization is scarcely compatible, indeed, with that intense interest in circumstance and pleasure in writing out the small effects of circumstance, which are essential to the proper *cohesion* of a plot. In reading *Olive, the Head of the Family, John Halifax,* and *Agatha's Husband*, no one can fail to be struck with the neat welding together of the smaller elements of the story, when you compare them with the broad and awkward transitions by which you pass from scene to scene, of many far greater novelists. This we ascribe very much to the complete *insulation* of the interests of the feminine novelists in the story they are telling. The general ground-ideas of such writers as Scott or Fielding, determine the plot according to a different law. The former feels obliged to make it include some great figures and great scenes ; and he passes from scene to scene often almost *per saltum*, as far as regards the tissue of events, filling up the interstices of the plot as best he can. Fielding, again, is eager to develop certain well-defined social types of character, and to illustrate certain general observations on life ; and these must come into the story. Mr Kingsley's narratives, again, are constructed on an intellectual law, in which circumstance does not grow out of circumstance, but the previously appointed effects have to be linked together by any scheme however artificial. It is quite different with most lady-novelists. They really think out the *subordinate elements* of the plot, and link them according to the suggestions of circumstances, and not according to the moral exigencies of the writer. The consequence is, that while there is something freer and broader about the *effect* of masculine novels, the interest is certainly looser—concentrated at fixed points, and not equally distributed through the narrative. In women's novels, on the other hand, you see the artist less, and the windings of circumstance more. You have less sense of contrast ; in short, altogether a narrower and less intellectual horizon, but you have more sense of the present reality of the circumstances detailed. You are more identified with the story ; more immediately oppressed by the perplexities which arise ; while, at the same time, they are associated with a less extensive range of interests. The interest is more immediate, but also more transitory. There are no general landmarks of thought by which the story is marked out, and retained for ever in the memory. Like the pressing and painful interests of daily life, they pass away as soon as they are solved, if they be painted on no wide background of general interests.

There is another point closely related to the last, in which the narrative part of masculine differs from that of feminine novels.

The characters, as intellectual studies, predominate often too much in the former, over the claims of the narrative itself. They are brought out in connection with subjects or incidents which have little or no bearing on the narrative. This is a fault which ladies rarely, if ever, commit, mainly because they study character principally in its *bearing* on the happiness or unhappiness of others. Our authoress, for instance, seldom or never introduces a scene which has no connection with the movement of the story; and women almost always wind off character, as it were, into incident that is capable of constituting a link in the narrative. Not so, men. Mr Thackeray's "Virginians," for instance, has almost *stood still* for eleven numbers, while he has been leisurely exhibiting the paces of his different characters. Dickens, though his interest in his characters is not intellectual but humorous, does exactly the same. Bulwer has far more of narrative power, more of constructive genius, in his plots. But, on Sir Walter Scott himself, the same fault is often chargeable; that is, there are great *intervals* of paralyzed interest. In Goethe's novels, this fault is exaggerated almost to the ruin of the story. We do not think it applies to any one eminent feminine novelist. The circumstantial interest is far too keenly conceived. The narrative really goes on.

On the whole, we do not know that we can say that our feminine novelists excel their masculine contemporaries in their plots. In many respects they do. In the close texture and welded interest of the whole, they do eminently. But their defect is, that the interest usually turns on too small and artificial a point, which is rarely the case in masculine novels. Protracted misunderstandings, morbid impressions, that one hour of natural intercourse would sweep away in real life, promises that no right-minded hero or heroine would make; or, if they were to make, would think it right to keep, are too often at the basis of a lady's story. Thus, in what is as regards the central female character the best, we think, of Miss Muloch's novels,—*Agatha's Husband*, we find a plot which reminds us almost of the unhealthy and morbid misunderstandings which are woven together in the didactic novels of Miss Edgeworth. Instead of bringing the interests wholly out of the natural passions and natural virtues of the leading characters, a promise to keep a secret for a year is introduced, on the adherence to which everything depends. This is so unwholesome a device, that the moral nature of the reader revolts against it; and a novel, which has some really fine features, is partly spoiled. Indeed, the defect in all the plots of this authoress is a certain want of breadth about the leading interest. *The Ogilvies* is too young a production to invite criticism. In *Olive* and *John Halifax* the defect takes this form, that a small

number of successive plots are threaded together in place of a single comprehensive plot. *John Halifax* is a fictitious biography, rather than a novel. Two generations are introduced; and there is more than one point at which the interest of an epoch is fully satisfied, and a new novel, as it were, has to be begun. The same defect, in a less degree, exists in *Olive*. There is first, the interest, never fairly worked out, of the unsuitable characters of Olive's father and mother. The reader is led to believe that Olive will be the reconciling spirit between them. But the father dies, leaving a subsidiary plot behind him, and then the interest turns chiefly for a time on Olive's endeavours to lead the life of an artist. This period also comes to an end; and the proper interest of the novel begins in the history of Olive's attachment to the man whom she subsequently marries. *The Head of the Family* has more unity of interest; though, to our mind, the characters are less true and more melo-dramatic than those of the other novels,—*The Ogilvies* excepted. We have no superstitious regard for unities. But, it is obvious, that in a work of art, different centres of interest and different groups of events, should not be artificially amalgamated into one work. In a real biography the interest lies in seeing the whole issues of a single life; and the reason for threading together periods which, as artistic effects, are complete in themselves, is obvious, namely,—that in real life, and by one greater than any artist, they were so threaded together. But there is no such excuse for a fictitious biography that does not form an artistic whole. The only reason the author can have for any delineation is, that the imagination has given birth to it. And if the imagination gives birth to three different and severally complete narratives in connection with the same character, they clearly ought to be delineated in three different and severally complete works of art. The publisher may demand three volumes of one work. But, if the imagination refuses to conform, to conceive a tripartite whole, and conceives instead three distinct wholes, the publisher should be set at naught.

We have said enough about the *narrative* aspects of feminine and masculine fictions. We have much more to say on the essential characteristic in all fictions,—the delineations of character;—in which respect again our present authoress represents fairly, we think, the characteristic powers and deficiencies of the deeper feminine school of modern fiction. In many ways, the natural limitations of feminine power are admirably adapted to the standard of fiction held up as the true model of a feminine novelist in the last century. It was then thought sufficient to present finished sketches of character, just as it appeared under the ordinary restraints of society; while the deeper passions and spiritual impulses, which are the springs of all the higher drama

of real life, were, at most, only allowed so far to suffuse the narrative as to tinge it with the excitement necessary for a novel. To sound the depths and analyze the secret roots of individual character, after the fashion of the modern school—Miss Bronte for instance—would never have been thought a legitimate or possible aim by Miss Edgeworth or Miss Austen. They lived in a time when it was not a universally accepted fact that this unexplored world existed at all in “well-regulated” minds; and certainly in a time when it would have been most unusual to reanimate such a world in the light pages of fiction. And, in many respects, the writers we have named, gained by the restriction thus laid upon their aims. In completeness and harmony no feminine fiction-writer has ever approached Miss Austen: and we do not doubt that if Miss Austen were living now, and attempted to create new works more in conformity with the deeper wants of the day than the exquisite and humorous, but very tranquil and somewhat limited, sketches of character which she has left us, she would produce works of less artistic harmony, of less finished proportions than those which have given her so high a place in English literature. The aim of Miss Bronte was indefinitely wider and deeper than that of Miss Austen, and few would venture to say that, in its way, her genius was not of as high an order; yet no one can hesitate for an instant to pronounce that there is far less proportion and equality of success in the artistic results in Miss Bronte’s case, than in that of her predecessor. Nor can we adequately account for this by saying, that the higher the attempt the oftener will the execution fall short of its aim. We believe there are deeper causes at work, and causes, the operation of which are so clearly illustrated in Miss Muloch’s own case, that we shall not hesitate to discuss them. †

The natural forte of women, as writers of fiction, is, fine perception of individual traits of character, a ready power of conceiving new combinations of what they have observed, and of delicately delineating what they have conceived. But, as a rule, they evince very little power of imagining the whole *unseen interior* of the character in conformity with the conception they wish to give to its social aspects. We scarcely know of any exception to this rule among our female novelists. Miss Bronte indeed, Miss Muloch to some extent, and many others, paint with considerable depth and detail the interior of *one* character—usually the centre-character of the novel—which is obviously taken from the artist’s own experience. But while this central character is deep and vivid, those which come into connection with it are either mere sketches, not so fully conceived as Miss Austen’s, or very frequently unreal and unsuccessful attempts at

something deeper. The result is, a certain disproportion of effect that is somewhat distressing in a work of art, and which can only be justified by the autobiographic form, which accordingly is becoming, since Miss Brontë's time, so common in fiction, since it alone seems to suggest good reason for the elaboration of a central figure, and an external treatment of all the others. This form is openly adopted by our authoress in *John Halifax*, and adopted in effect, though not in form, in *Olive*, and almost again in *Agatha's Husband*, which are, we may perhaps say *consequently*, her three best works. But unless all fiction is to be moulded in future in the autobiographic form given to it by Miss Brontë,¹ we must be content to accept from our various skilful authoresses either fictions of very irregular finish and power, or of very limited scope in the breadth and depth of character delineated.

It may seem a harsh and arbitrary dictum, that our lady novelists do not usually succeed in the field of imagination, properly so called—the creation of the unseen side of character in conformity with the traits delineated as representing it to society. Yet we are fully convinced that this is the main deficiency of feminine genius. It can observe, it can recombine, it can delineate, but it cannot trust itself farther: it cannot leave the world of characteristic traits and expressive manner, so as to imagine and paint successfully the distinguishable, but not easily distinguished, world out of which those characteristics grew. Women's fancy deals directly with *expression*, with the actual visible effects of mental and moral qualities, and seems unequal to go apart, as it were, with their conception, and work it out firmly in fields of experience somewhat different from those from which they have directly gathered it. Thus no woman, we believe, has ever painted men as they are amongst men. Their imagination takes no grasp of a masculine character that is sufficiently strong to enable them to follow it in imagination into the society of men. We have two remarkable and recent illustrations of this fact. One is in Miss Brontë's posthumous novel, *The Professor*, the materials of which were very wisely thrown by her into a much more artistic form in *Villette*. It is quite obvious to any reader who attends to the sketch of the character of the Professor, that the Professor is a woman in disguise,—as indeed she proves to be,—for she is quite properly stripped of her male costume, and turned into "Lucy Snowe" in *Villette*. There is a shyness, a sulky tenderness, and a disposition to coquet manifest in the Professor's relations with his friend the Yorkshire manufacturer, which betrays to us at once that the

¹ In all her novels except *Shirley*, which is accordingly, we think, much the least successful of the series.

picture is drawn from a lady's experience of her friendships with the other sex, and not from any genuine insight into the character of mutual masculine attachments. The same curious inability to conceive of men as they are in relation to each other, is shown in our authoress's clever and delicately conceived tale of *John Halifax*. In that tale she unwisely takes up her point of sight in the mind of a man,—a delicate, gentle valetudinarian, it is true, which gives her every advantage; but still she fails in catching even the general attitude and bearing of masculine friendship. During the early part of the tale, it is difficult to suppress a fear that Phineas Fletcher will fall hopelessly in love with John Halifax, so hard is it to remember that Phineas is of the male sex. Afterwards, when he professes to be an uncle, the reader is aware constantly that he is really an aunt, and a curious perplexity is apt to arise in the mind on the subject. Lest it should be thought that we exaggerate, let us extract one or two passages in which Phineas Fletcher expresses his feelings towards his friend John Halifax. It is scarcely possible to persuade one's self that the tender, devoted manner in which courage comes for the first time in thinking and acting for another, and the self-sacrificing resignation with which all monopolising desires are resigned on the glimpse of that other's dawning passion,—are not taken from the experience of a mother, or at least a sister, very thinly disguised under the masculine pretensions of Phineas Fletcher.

“My father was not to be seen; but I ventured to leave word for him that I was gone home, and had taken John Halifax with me. *It was astonishing how bold I felt myself growing, now that there was another besides myself to think and act for.* . . .

“That long quiet Sunday, when I remember the sun never came out all day, but the whole earth and sky melted together in a soft grey haze; when we lay on the common, and heard church-bells ringing—some distant, some near; and after we were quiet, talked our own old Sabbath talks of this world and the world to come; when towards twilight we went down into the beech-wood below the house, and sat idly thus amongst the pleasant-smelling ferns; where, from the morning to the evening, he devoted himself altogether to my comfort and amusement, to perfect which required of him no harder duty than to be near me always;—that Sunday was the last I ever had David altogether for my own—my very own.

“It was natural, it was just, it was right. God forbid that in any way I should have murmured.”

But even in relations less special and one-sided than these, feminine imagination, properly so called, is apt to fail. It is not from any disposition to carp at Miss Muloch's writings, but rather from a desire to clear at once our critical conscience of all the real sense of shortcomings, before we come to the more congenial task of

appreciation, that we refer to another illustration of the characteristic deficiency which is apt to run through all women's novels, when they attempt to draw scenes, the higher elements of which must be taken from the resources of a powerful imagination thoroughly steeped in the conceptions to be delineated, rather than from close observation and a delicate fancy. One of the cleverest sketches in what we conceive to be quite the cleverest and most vigorous of our authoress's works, is the character of Major Harper in *Agatha's Husband*. The vanity, real sensitiveness, superficial tenderness, honourable sentiment, genial conversational ease, and fundamental weakness of the man, are all admirably drawn. We know no minor sketch of this authoress so skilfully finished. But in the only scene where she carries her conception among the influences of intense passion,—where the imagination alone, grasping its own thought, was called upon to continue it into a sphere beyond the range of ordinary observation, she wholly fails. Major Harper has proved an unfaithful trustee of his ward's property. He himself has been, and is, humiliated to the earth by the sense of his delinquency. His father, an austere old gentleman of the unforgiving school,—finely drawn, especially in the scene in which he is represented as finally sinking under the blow,—has discovered his son's conduct, revoked the will in his favour, and died from apoplexy, not without an inarticulate reconciliation, but without altering his stern decision. The scene to which we refer is that in which Major Harper learns that he is disinherited, and that his brother, Agatha's husband, who has all the strong principle that he wants, and wants all the ease and geniality of character that he has, is to take the estate instead. Every reader who has followed with admiration the sketch of Major Harper, must feel that it here loses all its outline, and fades away into the unprincipled "evil genius" of stock novelists. He will feel that our authoress's imagination utterly failed her when she attempted to carry the character she had so well sketched into a world of deeper passion. Had she been able to penetrate from the external phases of her conception to the mental world that alone could underlie them, she would have felt that the irritable vanity, the fine sense of shame, the love of approbation, and the general weakness rather than passionate evil of Major Harper's character, were utterly inconsistent with the demeanour she has here portrayed. Some flush of mingled shame and resentment he would no doubt have felt, but it would not have led him to contest, but to acquiesce bitterly, and, with ostentation of dissembled congratulation, in the changed will of his father: his own sense of dishonourable conduct was far too keen and clear to admit of any self-assertion, beyond that which would have been implied in the short manner

of feigned satisfaction ; and the superficially warm impulses of the man would have sustained him throughout such a scene.

If we were asked to account for this deficiency of what we may call proper *imaginative* power in women's novels, we should ascribe it to that very absence of anything like a capacity for abstract intellectual study, which is sometimes, and quite justly, conceived to spoil masculine minds for undertaking similar works of art. But the truth is, that a certain element in what is usually called the power of abstraction, is absolutely requisite to a vigorous imagination. If we accustom ourselves to think of science as dealing with abstractions,—that is, with laws and single properties of things, not with the living things,—then no doubt an abstract intellect is the last in the world for the creation of character. But the same habit of mind which enables men of one set of tastes to withdraw their thoughts from all but one class of phenomena, and to fix them intensely on that class of phenomena, also enables men of another set of tastes to withdraw their thoughts from the mere external *symptoms* of character, and meditate deeply on the living realities which lie beneath. Now this is what feminine novel-writers do not seem able to do. They cannot withdraw their thoughts sufficiently from the outward traits by which they distinguish their conceptions, to realise adequately the mental personality. In all great masculine novel-writers,—except Mr Dickens, who, with all his genius, is in some remarkable points feminine,—you see how good an influence the masculine power of abstraction has on the imagination. The same mind that has been trained to go apart with laws of matter, and laws of wealth, and laws of intellect, and to elaborate them as if no outer world for the time existed at all, also enables men to go apart with conceptions of character—when they have any, which is certainly less frequent than in the case of women,—to sound deeper depths, pursue their thoughts into newer fields, and discover subtler analogies. Thus it happens, we believe, that the lighter treatment of character,—the superficial treatment, so to speak,—is done far more perfectly and delicately by women ; while in passionate tales, that require a certain thoroughness and vigour of ideal imagination, they are almost always apt to fail.

There is another indication of the same want of substratum in Miss Muloch's sketches of character. Like Mr Dickens, when she has noted a certain peculiarity, she thinks she has caught the whole character, and somewhat sickens us with constantly recurring to the same monotone. Professor Reay in the *Head of the Family*, Marmaduke Dugdale in *Agatha's Husband*, Michael Vanbrugh in *Olive*, are all of them impossibilities, caricatures without humour ; and yet all of them are well conceived

and delineated in the first instance, had they not been crystallised there and then in eccentric attitudes, from which they are never suffered to emerge. Miss Muloch's conception of a scientific man is an especially womanish caricature. Because Kenneth Reay cares for geology and astronomy, and is always ready to talk about the geological formation of the Campsie Hills, or Dumbarton Rock, why need he be represented as suggesting "great circle sailing," when he is near being swamped in a boat on Gare Loch? It may be an eccentricity to be scientific, in a woman's eyes; but even an eccentric man is not a delirious man, and is usually sobered by the very practical question of how to avoid drowning. Marmaduke Dugdale, again, raves in like manner about free trade, and Vanbrugh about art. It is an error in Miss Muloch to suppose that no man can have any strong abstract interest without being quite unequal to attending punctually to his meals, and understanding generally what money is worth. The sense of *meals*, especially, is deeper in the abstract mind than Miss Muloch supposes. In Miss Muloch's novels there is always some practical lively wife or sister to flutter about such a hero, and supplement his deficiencies. In fact, however, it might well be found that these airy beings were quite as much incapacitated for practical tasks by their levities of character, as the men, for whom they provide, by their abstruser studies.

One more piece of fault-finding, and we have done with this disagreeable side of our duty. We must observe that Miss Muloch's feminine "ideal," the suffering and resigned angels of her tales, are very feminine conceptions indeed. What we object to in the characters, is not their excellence, or resignation, but their want of practical vividness. They are the incarnations of a sentiment, not living figures. Anne Valery, in *Agatha's Husband*, is excessively distressing in this respect. Compare her with Mrs Gaskell's wonderful sketch of "Miss Matty" in *Cranford*. She, too, has been, and is, in love; she, too, has a sore place in her heart. But this is not constantly uppermost. She becomes tender-hearted over old letters; but she is interested, deeply interested, in the fashions of the day,—in gossip, in little kitchen arrangements,—in short, she is bound to the present as well as to the past. But Miss Muloch's suffering women live only "for others;" the "beautiful light" is always on their faces; their hands "work spasmodically" at least once in every two or three chapters; they are never suffered to surmount their griefs quietly, and take living and characteristic interests in the living world. Even the natural silences of human nature are too often compelled to be "full-hearted" in Miss Muloch's tales. Here, however, she is guilty of a feminine weakness into which not by any means all her sister-authoresses have fallen. We have now

carped enough, and will point out some of the characteristic and *representative* feminine excellences of Miss Muloch's novels.

There is nothing more difficult than to paint the *growth* of a character. No masculine novelist, that we know of, has ever done so successfully, except Goethe and Thackeray,—men whose microscopic and flexible genius has rendered the secrets of mental expansion as open to them, as was the “metamorphose” of the seed into the stalk, leaf, and flower, to the poetic science of Goethe. If a child be finely drawn, like little Paul Dombey, for instance, in Dickens's tale, he must die to solve a problem too hard for the artist's genius. David Copperfield himself, admirable as a child, fades away into a very faintly, outlined character. Even Miss Bronte could not develop the wonderful character she had sketched in the little “Paulina” of *Villette*, and the grown-up young lady would be recognised by no one. But we may notice in the novels of our best lady novelists much more of this continuous flexible delineation. Miss Yonge has succeeded in delineating admirably the growth of character in her extraordinarily clever, though rather uninteresting tale, called “The Daisy Chain.” You see many of the characters grow before your eyes. Miss Sewell has succeeded in the same attempt in the *Earl's Daughter*, and some of her minor tales; and success of this kind is intrinsically suited to the patient and pliant genius of women. By our greatest novelist, Sir Walter Scott, the attempt was never made. He grasped firmly a strong and vivid conception, and vivified it with wonderful power; but his genius was too essentially masculine, his eye too graphic, as it were, to attempt so subtle a province of his art as this. Indeed, it does not usually accompany strong pictorial genius. A mind haunted by a *picture* will represent its conceptions always in the one striking attitude in which they have conceived it. Hence, perhaps, Mr Dickens's failure to delineate any mental or moral growth. Hence also, perhaps, Miss Bronte's, who photographs her characters just as she sees them, but presents us with a series of daguerreotypes, rather than a continuous moral history. Miss Muloch has much of this feminine power. She can mark, with delicate continuity and real success, the various graduations of moral experience through which some of her finer conceptions grow to maturity. True, she shows this power most in delineating characters which must be, more or less, drawn from her own experience—in drawing the character of Olive, (evidently to some extent of this nature), and, most successfully of all, in the admirable delineation of the opening out of the heroine's character in *Agatha's Husband*. The vacancy of purpose with which an active-minded and notable, but not very sentimental, damsel is afflicted; the mode in which her mind is gradually lighted up by the *desire*

for affection first, and its reality afterwards; the art with which the shadow of a stronger character is represented as falling upon and fascinating her own,—constitute a series of pictures of very great and unusual interest. She marries rather from the trust and gratitude with which she is inspired by the resolute character and deep passion of her husband, than from any matured attachment. It is the object of the novelist to illustrate the trial so brought upon herself and her husband, and, at the same time, the natural influence of such trial in deepening this elementary affection into one of absorbing power.

Akin to this power of exhibiting the gradual growth of character, which is, if not exclusively, still in great degree, a feminine gift, is that other power which Miss Muloch also possesses of giving, in the widest sense, *purpose* to her fictions, without in any way making them didactic. There are three classes of fiction, distinguishable with respect to the *use* made of the narrative or circumstantial element. The lowest class, in an artistic point of view, is the *didactic* fiction, which so manages events as to point some very obvious moral, making all the mysterious complexities of life converge upon the punishment of some carefully selected fault, and the reward of the corresponding virtue. This is so obvious a falsification of the truth, that it has often produced a reaction in favour of what we may call the *indifferent* school of fiction, in which events are simply used to bring out and illustrate character, without affording any insight at all into the deeper moral and spiritual purposes of life. This is artistically faulty also; because, when life itself is so full of profound discipline to all men, the art which reproduces life should not leave out the deepest elements it finds there. At the same time, it is a necessary fault in all novelists who have not the power, of which we have spoken, of exhibiting the *growth* of character. If it is beyond the power of an artist to do this, if he can only exhibit successfully what we may call *stationary* types of character, then he must omit all the moral and spiritual lessons of Providential event. For these do not usually consist in visiting the meritorious action with immediate and visible reward, and punishing evil with immediate and visible suffering; but rather in that gradual expansion and deepening of character which is the result of accepting the moral alternatives presented to men in the right spirit, and that gradual contraction, or even corruption of character, which is the result of accepting those alternatives in the opposite spirit.

Now, we confess to preferring greatly what is here termed the *indifferent* school of fiction, to that which presses all the resources of art into the service of some small item of penal discipline or rewarding justice. It is a higher thing to exhibit even stationary

types of character truly, than to misrepresent the Providence of life after the fashion of the didactic school of novelists. Nevertheless, it is higher still to represent, after some more or less complete fashion, the true Providence of life, which can be done by those who have the happy art of displaying the *growth* of any class of minds beneath the influence of events. This it is which Miss Muloch attempts, and has, indeed, with more or less success, achieved. She attempts to show how the trials, perplexities, joys, sorrows, labours, and successes of life, deepen or wither the character according to its inward bent. She cares to teach, *not*, how dishonesty is always plunging men into infinitely more complicated external difficulties than it would in real life, but how any continued insincerity gradually darkens and corrupts the very life-springs of the mind: *not*, how all events conspire to crush an unreal being who is to be the "example" of the story, but how every event, adverse or fortunate, tends to strengthen and expand a high mind, and to break the springs of a selfish or even merely weak and self-indulgent nature.

This highest purpose has evidently guided Miss Muloch throughout her artistic career; and we are happy to observe its influence in a direction in which she is probably not fully conscious of it herself,—the clearing away of a certain vein of turbid rose-water sentiment which deluged "*the Ogilvies*," and is not imperceptible even in her best and ablest tales. Her deeper study of life, for artistic purposes, has taught her that, in all genuine growth of character, this morbid element is rapidly absorbed and disappears. *John Halifax*, if not absolutely her most powerful tale, is certainly clearer from this consciousness of sweet feeling than any other, except *Agatha's Husband*, and contains broader sketches of the influence of ordinary and casual incident on the discipline of a vigorous mind. It has, so to say, a wider horizon. She does not limit herself in it to domestic conversations, and the mere shock of character on character: she includes a larger range of events,—the influence of worldly successes and failures,—the risks of commercial enterprise,—the power of social position,—in short, the various elements of a wider economy, than anything she had hitherto admitted into the scenery of her tales. If she were less fond of nursing her sentiments,—dwelling on the "fatal woman-heart," and such like mawkish moods of thought,—she might easily attain a far higher place in the literature of the day than she has ever yet reached. She has a true respect for her work, and never permits herself to "make books;" and yet she has evidently very great facility in making them. There are few writers who have exhibited a more marked progress, whether in freedom of touch or in depth of purpose, than the authoress of "*The Ogilvies*" and "*John Halifax*."

- ART. VIII.—1. *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education ; Correspondence ; Financial Statements, etc. ; Reports by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.* 1857–8.
2. *The Twenty-Third Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (for the year 1856).* With Appendices. 2 vols. 1858.
3. *Evidence taken before Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of the Endowed Schools in Ireland.* 2 vols. 1858.
Papers accompanying the Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into Endowed Schools in Ireland. 1 vol.
Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the Endowments, Funds, and Actual Condition of all Schools Endowed for the Purpose of Education in Ireland. 1 vol. 1858.
4. *Letter to the Right Hon. Sir G. Grey, Bart., M.P., G.C.B. By Arch. John Stephens, Esq., one of Her Majesty's late Commissioners of Inquiry into the Endowed Schools of Ireland.* London.
5. *Essays upon Educational Subjects.* (Read at the Educational Conference of June 1857.) *With a short Account of the Objects and Proceedings of the Meetings.* Published by Authority of the Committee. London. 1857.
6. *Punishment and Prevention.* By Alex. Thomson, Esq., of Banchory. 1857.
7. *The Reformatories, Refuges, and Industrial Schools of Great Britain and Ireland.* Published by the Committee of the Reformatory and Refuge Union. London. 1857.
8. *The State of our Educational Enterprises. A Report, etc., Prepared and Published at the Request of Gentlemen in Glasgow interested in National Education.* By the Rev. WILLIAM FRASER, Paisley. Glasgow : Blackie and Son. 1858.

THE Educational aspects of Britain and Ireland have, within the last thirty years, almost completely changed. A brighter period has dawned. Public instruction has taken a higher form, and given to the interests of the common school a National value ; and although our condition is still transitionary and experimental, encouraging results are appearing. While it is not possible to point to a single legislative proposal dealing comprehensively with the Educational necessities of the country, which has not been the signal for energetic and wide-spread opposition, it is interesting to trace, through all, the silent yet continuous advance and elevation of public instruction. While politicians, ecclesiastics, and mere speculatists, have been doing zealous—often disgraceful—battle over the shibboleths of competing abstractions,

earnest workers, devoting their fortune and talents to the interests of Education, have broken in upon the olden apathy and routine of the common school, and given to its movements new life, buoyancy, and completer methods; and many a Christian association has been sparing neither expense nor toil to secure for the teacher higher scholarship and professional fitness, a better income, and a status in society worthier of his responsibilities. Great as have been the successes achieved by individual and associational energy, the Educational interests of the country have happily not been left to the contingencies of such necessarily isolated and desultory processes. The Committee of Council on Education, leaving Parliament and the country to discuss and re-discuss the vexed question of a National System, have, in great wisdom, laid hold of that power which, in this country, is unquestionably the most deeply-seated, the most generally diffused, and the most commanding in its action,—the religiousness of the people,—and have, to a large extent succeeded, chiefly through this instrumentality, in drawing into harmonious combination our hitherto scattered Educational forces, and in establishing a system which, in breadth and completeness of organization, and in the variety and liberality of its appliances, is such, notwithstanding many serious defects, as a few years ago could have scarcely been anticipated. The very power which has hitherto rendered the adoption of any National System impracticable, has, in the hands of the Committee of Privy Council, given such unity, strength, and elevation to our Educational agencies, as to make a formally Denominational System, virtually National.

The most recent Reports attest unabated zeal, and confirm this general statement. In Britain, there are now no fewer than 35 Training Colleges, efficiently equipped for the education of more than 2000 Students; there are upwards of 5000 Certificated Teachers, nearly 250 Assistants, and more than 12,000 Pupil Teachers. Constant inspection and competitive examinations give fresh impulse to the teacher, and fresh enthusiasm to the taught; and as the net-work of regularly inspected schools is gradually raised, it is drawing with it the surrounding schools not connected with Government. The diffusion of Educational benefit is thus becoming universal. Branching off from this regularly-organized common school system, are night schools, workhouse schools, industrial schools, with field-gardens and workshops for boys, and with washhouses and bakehouses for girls, ragged schools for vagrants, and reformatories for criminals.

In Ireland, there is one Normal College, in which are trained yearly between 300 and 400 Students; there are 12 District Model Schools, to diffuse educational enthusiasm, and exemplify the best methods, and upwards of 5000 National Schools. Inti-

mately associated with the National System, properly so called, is an Agricultural Experiment or supplemental system, thoroughly organized, and, apart from the question of success, carried forward with considerable enthusiasm. Its central institution is the Agricultural College, with its surrounding farm, to test new methods and exhibit ascertained improvements. Throughout the country there are 37 Model Agricultural Schools, "either in partial or full operation;" 51 Ordinary, and 77 Workhouse Agricultural Schools. The promoters of this experiment have for their object not only directly the agricultural improvement of the country, but indirectly the social elevation of the people. When it is borne in mind, that over the vast area occupied in Britain and Ireland by these school agencies, the best books, best maps, best diagrams, models, chemical and other apparatus are being gradually diffused; and that thus advantages long the privilege of higher class schools, are now accessible to the peasant's son; and, when we add to all this, the Educational benefits conferred in England by those who repudiate State aid, and in Ireland by the Church Education Society, the general result is eminently satisfactory, as representing Educational progress in the United Kingdom.

But this is not all. Well were it if the outline just given, fully exhibited our Educational condition, our difficulties would be lessened, and, in a great measure, removed. Beyond the light and life we have noted, there is a region of almost hopeless gloom. There is, in the *uneducated* and *uneducating* sphere, mass on mass, sinking and sunken, unmet and unmoved by all that philosophy, statesmanship, or Christian philanthropy has yet devised or applied. The Census Returns, admitting that they are only approximately accurate, dissipate the half-satisfying conclusion, long cherished by educationists, that the children not at school must be at work, acquiring at least habits of industry, and reveal to us the appalling extent of our social and moral heathenism. Hundreds of thousands, self-trained in streets and lanes, for future responsibilities, never hearing God's name save in blasphemy, and never knowing the "day of blessed rest," save by the tolling of the Sabbath bell, are growing up by the very door of the common school, scorning its privileges, and refusing to enter, though coaxed by legislative grants, books, medals, certificates, and an almost endless variety of prize schemes.

These two facts—the fact of a well-defined, yet expansive and accommodative organisation, rapidly improving the condition of the common school; and the fact of uneducated masses lying beyond all its appliances—give character to two classes of Educational discussionists. The one class looking too exclusively to the machinery in motion, and thoroughly satisfied with existing arrangements, deprecate any change: the other class look-

ing exclusively to the untaught masses, jealous of the character of their country, and in a great measure ignorant of present advantages, would sweep all aside for the sake of any National System, however low its religious tone, or defective its Educational equipment, obviously in the belief that there is in the National School some peculiarly attractive element not in the Denominational, to arouse the careless and win them to a practical appreciation of learning. These two classes—the one unduly magnifying, the other unduly depreciating, present advantages, and both ever sedulously ignoring the one chief and real difficulty, as presented in the all-pervading apathy of the sinking and sunken masses,—have hindered rather than promoted the adequate consideration of the whole question, and lessened the probability of a speedy and satisfactory solution.

Associated with no party, having no theory to elaborate or enforce, and feeling no interest in the legislative bearings of the question but those common to all who long to see established a National System worthy of their country's history, we propose to deal with both facts—we propose to review as fully as space permits, our leading Educational positions, acknowledging strength wherever manifested, exposing weakness or failure by whomsoever perpetrated and sheltered, and offering such practical suggestions for the institution of a National System and the inbringing of the indifferent, as the teachings of the past supply.

In the midst of the strictly Denominational agencies, fostered by the Committee of Privy Council, and of almost innumerable minor experiments, we have two well-defined exemplifications of a professedly National System, to assist us in our difficulties—the *Scottish Parochial*, and the *Irish National*—the one from Reformation times, the other of recent origin. To leave out of view the results which these histories present, is to extinguish the light of a distinct experience. In examining the influence of National Systems, we instinctively turn first to the Scottish Parochial Schools. We envy the Scot neither his Educational enlightenment nor his patriotism who can sneeringly cast out of view, in planning modern arrangements, a system remarkable alike for the wise policy which laid its foundation, and for the benefits which it has long conferred. The outline, drawn by the master-hand of John Knox, might, with modifications to meet our altered social and commercial condition, be easily made the basis of a model National System. We need scarcely remind the reader that the Reformers, though beset with almost insuperable difficulties, stipulated in the Third Book of Discipline, "that every several kirk shall have a schoolmaster," such a one as is able "to teach grammar and the Latin tongue," and made provision that the young be instructed in religious doctrine and duty. They

further required, apart from the universities "in the three towns accustomed," that "in every notable town there be erected a college, in which the arts, at least logic and rhetoric, together with the tongues, be read by sufficient masters, and for whom honest stipends must be appointed." After many a struggle, whose issues give no blazonry to the aristocracy of the time, but that of unblushing rapacity, the Privy Council directed, in 1616, "that in every parish of this kingdom, where convenient means may be had for establishing a school, a school shall be erected, and a fit person appointed to teach the same, upon the expense of the parochinaries, according to the quality and quantity of the parish." This Act of Council was ratified in 1633.

We have thus, in the bold and comprehensive legislation of a period comparatively dark, an example for the present: we have a National System, recognising the value of a universally diffused education, which should unite with thorough intellectual culture, sound moral and religious instruction, meet all the necessities of the community by suitable schools, and the wants of the schoolmaster by an adequate salary, and provide for the efficient maintenance of the whole by compulsory local taxation.

But, unfortunately, the system was stereotyped: it made no provision for growth. Based chiefly on agricultural economy, and embracing the small towns of that time, as if as perpetually fixed in the number of their population as was the physical outline of every parish, its goodly proportions were destroyed by the populous cities which commerce created. Wanting elasticity and expansiveness, it had neither power to appropriate improvements, nor cast off accumulating corruptions. As the church and the civil courts became jealous of each other's authority, unseemly contentions followed, and in their wake, change and abuse. The chief gainer was the teacher; the church lost influence, and the Educational interests of the country suffered. The teacher's position became so strengthened, that the Presbytery cannot dislodge him because of incompetency and inefficiency however manifestly detrimental to the interests of the parish. The most incompetent, though for years with scarcely a pupil, can retain the school, the dwelling-house, and the stipend. In short, on the concurrent testimony of the witnesses examined before the Select Committee of the House of Lords in the Session 1845, it is evident that the authority of the Presbytery "to remove masters for neglect of duty, cruelty, or immorality, has become inoperative."

But, apart from the anomalies produced by commercial and other external changes, and by internal abuses, alterations have taken place, perhaps still more seriously affecting the nationality and efficiency of the parish school. The Established Church is much weakened. Repeated secessions have left only about one-

third of the population within her pale. Presbytery is still national, as embracing the religious communions of Scotland, but as embracing the Established Church, is merely sectional or fragmentary. The parochial economy is still national as to its territorial divisions, but as to its connection with the Established Church, it is thoroughly denominational; and as to its schools being open only to members or adherents of the Established Church, while deliberately shut against the teachers of other Presbyterian bodies, it must be held sectarian. As educationists, and apart from all ecclesiastical controversies, we deeply regret this policy, as most injurious to the interests of public instruction, unjust to the eminently qualified teachers of the other Presbyterian communions, and subversive of the original design of its institution as a parochial system under Presbyterian superintendence.

In so far as the public management and the internal economy of the parochial system are concerned, it is becoming more hopelessly exclusive than ever; the last vestige of nationality is being rapidly effaced, inasmuch as its schools are being placed by the Established Church and the Committee of Council on Education on the same *denominational* footing as the schools of other religious communions. On analysing the lists given in the Government minutes, we find that last year 173 parish schools were aided by Privy Council Grants, and this year 197. We do not grudge to see the teacher's salary increased; but we do regret to see thus disintegrated and broken up the last fragment of that massive educational fabric long the glory of our land: we do regret to see the Established Church herself, reducing within the limit of a narrow denominationalism, that which was originally national, and which might still be so expanded and so adapted to the altered conditions of the country, as to preserve for Scotland what she once had, a national system worthy of her early educational character.

Apart from all questions of educational progress and utilitarianism, and all crotchets of ecclesiastical and civil court controversies, the early sympathies and traditions of the Scotchman cling through life to his parish school. Judgment and sentiment pronounce in its favour. Amid the apathy, disorder, and all depths of its darkest days, the parish schools provided generally a substantial education in English and Classics, for rich and poor, and wrought out important social and moral results. On its benches social distinctions vanished;—class met class in the fervour of equal and honourable competition;—and friendships between rich and poor were formed, which, ripening in future years, genialised the community and made compacter its structure. How often has it happened that the peasant's son, starting in life with his wealthier companions, on the equal terms simply of an

adequate education, has rapidly distanced them, and after rising into opulence and power, has given to those who struggled behind, and now far beneath him, rich token of that kindness which the common intercourse of the parish school originated and fostered, and which the iron heel of the world had never trodden out.

The political, social, and ecclesiastical constitutions of the country have changed. Scotland is no longer self-governing, and all her laws are being rapidly assimilated to those of England. Commerce has drawn together masses of town-population, and obliterated parochial distinctions. Succeeding secessions,—as we have already indicated,—have dissociated from the Established Church a vast proportion of her mental wealth and moral power. An intense denominationism prevails. As parties multiply, conflicting interests increase in bitterness and exaggerated importance; and the difficulties of educational legislation are consequently becoming greater. The general aspects of the state of parties are anything but creditable to Scotland as a nation, so long honoured for Educational enlightenment, liberality, and power. Scottish educationists, bereft of their distinctiveness, are drifting helplessly among currents breaking over their country from English and Irish experiments. On every one of the great Educational questions of the day, Scotland is almost silent. Although possessing in our burgh and grammar schools the framework for an admirable system of thoroughly organised and liberally equipped intermediate or higher schools, Scottish educationists are silently permitting not only England but even Ireland,—beset as she is with manifold difficulties,—to grapple with these higher questions; and when some theory has been elaborated to suit the special conditions of these countries, with their universities differing from ours, the admirable grammar and burgh schools of this country must then be either altogether ignored or forced into combinations which ill befit them. In the Reports of the Endowed Schools in Ireland, there is among much useless and irrelevant matter, and through almost continuous cumbrousness and confusion, so much that is really valuable, suggestive, and practical, not only in the recommendations of the Commissioners themselves, but in the evidence of some of the leading educationists of the country, that we feel persuaded, if the Report be recognised as it deserves, some commanding Educational measure will be the result; and when Ireland has outstripped Scotland in the completeness of her equipments, we may then, perhaps, awake to the necessity of reorganising and re-adjusting the noble Educational fabric which the sagacity and zeal of the Reformers reared for us, and of which we are proving ourselves unworthy, by allowing it to fall into a decay altogether unfitting it for the educational activity and expansiveness of the age.

In so far as the progress of public opinion is concerned toward a National System, based on that already laid in the country, there is really little for our encouragement. The country is now broken up into numerous educating sections, under the Committee of Council on Education. Although the system in its Educational tone and arrangements, in its Pupil Teacherships, and disregard of the preparation in classics of our future teachers, and in many other respects is ill-suited to the traditions, tastes, and habits of our people, although it is a system specially framed for the condition of England, and is such as no Scotchman, honouring the educational genius of his country, and recognising the close relations subsisting between our primary schools and our universities, would have ever dreamed of proposing; the different educating sections of the country are submitting to purely Denominational action, and conforming to all the requirements of the Committee of Privy Council. As the country is being habituated to these processes, educational contentment is diffused, and the probabilities of a comprehensive National measure are annually lessening. An examination of the relative work and progress of our educating sections confirms this conclusion. There are in Scotland, according to last Census Returns, 3349 public day schools, and of these more than one-third are already receiving Parliamentary Grants. Every year the number is increasing. The following analysis which we have made of the lists furnished in the Minutes for this year, shows the extent to which the different religious communions in Scotland are taking advantage of State assistance. The tables only exhibit that part of our Denominational work which is connected with the Committee of Privy Council:—

SCHOOLS RECEIVING PARLIAMENTARY GRANTS.

			1857.	1858.				1857.	1858.
Free Church,	-	-	346	380	Roman Catholic,	-	-	21	29
General Assembly,	-	-	278	283	Industrial, Ragged, etc.,			34	38
Parochial,	-	-	173	197	Endowed, District, Sub-	}		107	123
Sessional,	-	-	37	48	scription, etc.,				
United Presbyterian,	-	-	2	4	Academies, Grammar and	}		20	21
Episcopalian,	-	-	71	76	Burgh Schools,				
					In all,				
					1089 1199				

This analysis, though not perfectly accurate, owing to the difficulty of ascertaining to what class a few of the schools in the list belong, shows the rapid progress of the country to an education exclusively denominational in its management. Endowed, parochial, sessional, grammar, and burgh schools, are all being drawn into the midst of sectional, if not thoroughly sectarian, influences. The nationality of our public schools will soon be a mere tradition. The pupil teachers in our schools, now numbering nearly two thousand, are all associated, during

their five years' apprenticeship, with an exclusive denomination-ism. So also are our Queen's scholars, and nearly all our certificated teachers. The Normal schools, the centres of educational enthusiasm and example for the primary schools, are also strictly associated with the denomination which maintains them; and thus the system intensifies itself while expanding.

Although essentially of little importance whether the education of the young be conducted on a denominational or national basis, we confess our strong preference for a national system, free from all sectarianism; and we hold it to be deeply discreditable to our country, that, with a parochial system for a model, with an admirable framework already laid down for intermediate institutions, trained as we have been to the idea of national education, and with four-fifths of the educating community thoroughly agreed as to the duties of the State, the Church, and the parent in the education of the young, and in the general recognition of the Bible and Shorter Catechism as the basis of an unsectarian public instruction, we yet cannot agree to a suitable system—broad, bold, and comprehensive—sending its blessings down to the poorest, and carrying its highest privileges free to all classes, up to the halls of our universities.

While the present divided state of educational parties, however, is both discreditable to us and discouraging, the eagerness of many to cast denominationalism altogether out of the public school, is likely to launch us on a sea of greater difficulty than the present. We apprehend danger, and warn against it. Christian educationists in Scotland, perplexed, and perhaps disgusted, by ecclesiastical and political conflicts about ancient rights and tests, about the rightness or wrongness of State interference in religious education, have lately been showing—with a view, as they allege, to get over all difficulties—a decided disposition to a compromise with purely secular educationists, so far as either to confine Bible instruction to a prescribed corner of the daily or even weekly arrangements, or to exclude it altogether from the public school, on the understanding that the Bible may be taught before or after public school hours; and, as they ever point to the Irish national system as a successful vindication of their views, it becomes us to examine deliberately the results of that fully and fairly wrought experiment. If the Irish national system be indeed better fitted for Scotland than an extension of her own parochial system, let us divest ourselves of all national predilections, and at once gratefully adopt it.

Although holding decided conclusions on the subject, we shall not, at this stage, discuss the rightness or wrongness of this theory in its moral and religious bearings, but shall confine ourselves to a close examination of the results which its history has

distinctly evolved. Whatever differences of opinion may exist among our readers as to educational questions generally, there can be none as to the results of this experiment: the facts are so broadly marked and outstanding, that no ambiguities whatever stand in the way of clear and unembarrassed conclusions. While the instructive historical outline of educational effort in Ireland—legislative, associational, and individual—from 1580 to 1856, given by the Commissioners in their Report recently issued, and which we have prefixed in our list, indicates not only the deep interest long taken in the extension of popular education in Ireland, but the difficulties in its way arising from the peculiar political and religious conditions of the country, and is suggestive of many important inquiries, we must limit our investigation to the present experiment alone, and its results. We can do this with the greater ease, as its history is so distinct and of such recent origin. Its germ lies in the recommendation given by the Commissioners of Education in 1812, to introduce a system “from which should be banished even the suspicion of proselytism, and which, admitting children of all religious persuasions, should not interfere with the religious tenets of any.” The Kildare Place Society was intrusted with the distribution of the National Grants, and faithfully carried out the principle on which they were bestowed. The religious instruction was meagre enough, being limited to the reading of the Scriptures, without note or comment, but sufficient to arouse the active opposition of the Romish priesthood. Although there were, according to the Second Report of the Government Commissioners, a large number of schools—2607—under Roman Catholic teachers, in which the Scriptures were read; and although in no fewer than 4179 adventure schools, conducted by teachers on their own responsibility, and adapted to the demands of the people, the Bible was read,—there was no vigorous opposition by the priesthood until it was found that the reading of the Scriptures was being systematised, and likely to awaken on religious questions the slumbering energies of the people. This opposition became so violent and so thoroughly organised, that statesmen grappled in vain with its power; and Englishmen and Scotchmen, alarmed by the volcanic upheavings of a nation whose millions were in conflict, eagerly sympathised with every proposal apparently fitted to pacify the people, and gave a ready acquiescence, therefore, to the proposal which Lord Stanley, now Earl Derby, submitted for the establishment of a national system, which was advocated as fitted to foster the kindliness of a common brotherhood. The general value and plan of the theory may be gathered from the following sentences in his well-known letter to the Duke of Leinster. Referring to the mere reading of the Word of God in school, he

says :—" But it seems to have been overlooked that the principles of the Roman Catholic Church were totally at variance with this principle, and that the indiscriminate reading of the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment, by children, must be peculiarly obnoxious to the Church which denies, even to adults, the right of unaided private interpretation of the sacred volume with respect to articles of religious belief." Noticing the many schemes proposed to meet the difficulty of the case, he adds :—" But it was soon found that these schemes were impracticable ; and in 1828, a Committee of the House of Commons, to which were referred the various reports of the Commissioners of Education, recommended a system to be adopted which should afford, if possible, a combined literary and separate religious education, and should be capable of being so far adapted to the religious persuasions which prevail in Ireland, as to render it in truth a national system for the poorer classes of the community." Again, " In the success of this undertaking, much must depend on the character of the individuals who compose the Board, and the security afforded thereby to the country, that while the interests of religion are not overlooked, the most scrupulous care should be taken not to interfere with the peculiar tenets of any description of Christian pupils." To carry out this theory, we have in the same letter such practical suggestions as the following :—" But, as one of the main objects must be to unite in one system children of different creeds, and as much must depend on the co-operation of the resident clergy," he recommends that " applications be made by, *first*, the Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy of the parish ; or, *secondly*, one of the clergy and a certain number of parishioners professing the opposite creed ; or, *third*, the parishioners of both denominations ;" and further, that, " for the proper support of the school, they (the Board) will invariably require, as a condition not to be departed from, that local funds shall be raised upon which any aid from the public will be dependent."

The theory thus distinctly enunciated, and carrying with its general aims and its details of practical application so much that is feasible and praiseworthy, was hailed by many as having the very power needed to draw gradually, yet surely, the conflicting elements of Irish factions into all the beauty and strength of national harmony,—as a halcyon charm, in short, which should soothe into repose the surge and surf of those political and religious agitations amid which so many governments had found themselves helpless. The statesmen of successive cabinets, sincerely desirous to promote through this system the best interests of the country, and hoping to lay in the common school the foundations of peace from Ireland, to legislate, gave the full measure of

their resources to secure its complete success. And what are now the issues? Has it established a united local patronage for the support of schools? Has it brought children of different creeds to sit on the same benches, and compete for the same distinctions, even in purely secular instruction? Has it lessened party animosities, and made the schoolmaster the common friend of all? Let results speak. With the history of concessions and changes we do not at present deal: we care not to show the concessions made separately to Presbyterian or Roman Catholic; enough that these have been made, and are working out distinct results. The simple question is, What is the fruit of our twenty-five years' expense and toil, and what light does this history shed over our difficulties in Scotland?

There is in this country a prevailing indefiniteness of thought as to the whole bearing of the system. We hear of some 5000 schools and 500,000 scholars, and infer that there is here a truly national system, resting on common principles, and pervaded by a common spirit. Although the channel separating this country from Ireland is not remarkably broad, the distance seems sufficient to lend enchantment to the view, and few are prepared for the facts which a close and deliberate investigation brings to light. We ask, therefore, the serious attention of educationists to a few incontrovertible statements as to matters of fact, proving the utter failure of this system in every one of its fundamental principles.

It was originally required that, with a view to the co-operative local management of each school, joint application for aid should be made by representatives of different religious denominations. No marvel that the Earl of Derby, startled by the answer of the Secretary of the Irish Board to the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed in 1854, when he announced, through a tabular statement, that out of 4602 schools, only FORTY-EIGHT! were under joint management, asked again, "Do I rightly understand the return which you have now read, as showing that the whole number of schools under joint management is only 48 of persons of different religious denominations?"¹ Nothing can be more conclusive of failure. United management can scarcely be said to exist; applications for aid are almost invariably from one denomination.

But another step in the investigation reveals concessions still more remarkable, and completely destroying the unity of the system as national: we refer to the establishment of non-vested schools. Vested schools are those to the building of which the Commissioners have contributed, which are consequently vested in trustees, or in the Commissioners in their corporate capacity, and in which provision must be made for separate religious in-

¹ Report, pp. 20, 28.

struction. Non-vested schools, on the other hand, are those to the building of which the Commissioners are not permitted to contribute, and which are under the absolute control of the local patrons or committees. The teachers receive salaries, and the schools grants of books; but it remains with the patrons to decide whether or not there shall be any religious teaching, and what it shall be. The vested are obviously the only schools which can be described as in any sense national, and as even partially carrying out the original purposes of the Earl of Derby. Their number is comparatively small: according to last Report, there were only 1116 separate school-houses, or, including distinct schools in the same buildings, 1655. The non-vested schools, in almost every sense denominational, and in spirit and management utterly subversive of the primary purposes of the National System, number, on the other hand, no fewer than 3680. So, after the pressure and manifold anxieties of a quarter of a century, we have but a most fragmentary and discordant national system, showing little more than a thousand school-houses under the regulative and permanent control of the Board; while there are more than three thousand, not at all contemplated in the original plan, and positively antagonistic to its spirit, which patrons and committees control with absolute independence.

But this is not all. There is a class of schools still more intensely denominational in spirit and practice,—Convent and Monastic schools,—taught by nuns or monks, and for whose public support, in connection with a national system whose distinguishing aim was to avoid “even the suspicion of proselytism,” there can be no satisfactory vindication. In these schools, by a special rule, there are permitted, during the day, intermediate religious services. Special legislation also admits nuns and monks to be teachers, while it positively prohibits the Episcopalian curate or Presbyterian minister from engaging in precisely the same work. The education may be good,—we do not question the effectiveness and devotedness with which the Sisters of various orders toil for the young,—but is it not most incongruous to mark these schools as *national*, and as having “banished from them even the suspicion of proselytism?” It is impossible to visit them, and note the quiet power of the Sisters, as they move gracefully and with intense earnestness through their classes, each with her suspended crucifix, peculiar head-dress, and flowing veil, without perceiving that, although not a syllable may directly tamper with the religious belief of any Protestant children attending for merely literary or industrial instruction, there are shed around them the silent, yet most effective, influences of a perpetual proselytism. It cannot be otherwise. No one for a moment doubts it who has carefully examined the working of this

system. We do not object to the assistance given to promote the literary and industrial interests of these schools, but we aver that they are strictly and unequivocally denominational, and to mark over them the description "National School" is a very mockery. As we turn from this section of our review, the question forces itself upon us, On what principle of justice or honourable policy is money lavished on schools like these, so utterly subversive of all the original purposes of the National System, and not a single farthing on Protestant schools, because the condition is that through them the *Bible* shall daily shed its hallowing and authoritative influences?

In closely examining this experiment, we find, further, that the spirit which has made joint management impracticable *outside* the school, works disastrously to the system as aiming at united education *within*. Parents naturally prefer teachers for their children of their own religious persuasion. It is common to find in immediate proximity two national schools,—the one under Roman Catholic patronage, taught by a Roman Catholic teacher, and attended by Roman Catholic children; the other being as exclusively Protestant in its character. To such an extent do these very natural preferences influence the schools, that, although there are some gratifying exceptions, united education has become an utterly hopeless aim. Recent reports give us no means of judging of the relative numbers of children of different religious persuasions in each school at present. Indeed, on this part of the working of the system the country was kept in the dark, until Returns, which had been obstinately refused for years, were peremptorily ordered by the Earl of Eglinton, during his first vice-royalty. These returns exhibit the state of the schools for the half-year ending March 1852, and completely dissipate, when closely examined, the delusion which we were long fain to cherish as to the general diffusion of the advantages of this National System. In the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, the most ardent supporters of this system can find scarcely a trace of united education; and in Ulster, where religious parties are more nearly balanced, we find the children of Episcopalian or Presbyterian parents sent to Protestant in preference to Roman Catholic teachers. Throughout all Ireland the Roman Catholics in national schools are to Protestants (Established Church and Presbyterian), on the average, as to 6·35 to 1. Dr Carlile, who, it is well known, was a cordial supporter of the experiment, calculated in 1837 the ratio to be 5 to 2.¹ If his calculation be admitted—and there was no higher authority at the time on the subject—the difference is worth

¹ For a singularly calm and masterly discussion of the whole question, see *Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese by the Bishop of Ossory*.

noticing, as showing that the ratio has become $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as great in favour of Roman Catholics as it was fifteen years before, and, consequently, that instead of nearing, we are receding from a healthier and better balanced state of parties.

The last annual blue-book enables us to test the system still more closely by the light of the teachers' religious persuasion. We have carefully analysed a list extending over 200 closely printed pages. We found several inaccuracies, even in simple addition, in the Government list,—a thing to be the less expected, inasmuch as the Report just issued is for 1856, and is fully two years behind time. This, however, by the way: the results are interesting, as showing the extent to which each denomination is taking advantage of public assistance. This tabular analysis represents all the schools under the Board, Ordinary and Special (Special including convent, workhouse, and agricultural schools).

Provinces.	ORDINARY SCHOOLS.						SPECIAL SCHOOLS.						ORDINARY AND SPECIAL SCHOOLS.					
	Presr.	R. C.	E. C.	Dist.	Not Named in Report.	Total	Presr.	R. C.	E. C.	Dist.	Not Named in Report.	Total	Presr.	R. C.	E. C.	Dist.	Not Named in Report.	Total
Ulster, . . .	779	1170	229	37	9	2224	73	70	45	2	...	190	852	1240	274	39	9	2414
Munster, . .	1	1606	14	...	...	1621	2	400	9	1	22	434	3	2006	23	1	22	2055
Leinster, . .	3	1447	53	...	2	1505	8	375	25	...	...	408	11	1822	78	...	2	1913
Connaught, .	7	859	16	...	2	884	...	108	8	1	...	117	7	967	24	1	2	1001
	790	5082	312	37	13	6234	83	953	87	4	22	1149	873	6035	399	41	35	7383

• Presr., Presbyterian; R. C., Roman Catholic; E. C., Episcopal Church; Dist., Dissenter.

Thus, when we exhaust every variety of National School—ordinary, agricultural, workhouse, convent, and monastic—we have as the result—

873 Presbyterian Teachers,
399 Episcopalian do.,
6035 Roman Catholic do.

Out of 7383 Teachers, only 1348 are Protestant, including Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Dissenters, and those also for whom the Board have found no name. These results are such as few anticipated. But may not these, after all, be generally fair proportions? What are the relative numbers of Roman Catholics and Protestants in Ireland? Strange to say, the Census Returns for Ireland are silent as the grave on this subject. Under the curse of concession, the Returns came forth with no response to questions which were at once filled up in Britain. For the credit of British statemanship, and the interests of social science, we trust such tampering with National Statistics will never again be tolerated. Apart from this, we have striking supplementary evidence, in the Reports of the Church Education Society, that the above numbers do not at all adequately represent the Protestants of Ireland. We find that there are actually under the Church Education Society more Protestant Teachers than under the National Board. The numbers stand thus—1348 Protestant Teachers under the National Board; 1800 Protestant Teachers under the Church Education Society. The unexpected fact thus suddenly starts up before us, that there are more Protestant Schools supplying primary instruction to the poor of Ireland under the Church Education Society than are under the National Board. When we find that out of 2020 of the clergy of the Irish Church, not 90 give this system their support; when we look over the General Annual Reports of the Society, and the smaller District Reports, and, testing the character of associations by the names of their subscribers and supporters, we find to what an overwhelming extent the intellect, rank, wealth, and moral and religious power of Protestant Ireland are set dead against the system, because it excludes from the public school the word of God, we have no hesitation in affirming that *the System is not National*, and the difficulties of the Education question are yet unsolved. It is not our purpose to debate the questions raised between the Church Education Society and Government, but, we affirm, there is something grossly impolitic and harsh in the legislation which deliberately confers public assistance on Convent and Monastic Schools, while it continuously refuses to adopt such arrangements as would draw at once into the National System that vast accession of life and power which the support of the Established Church would give. They are not the friends

of Educational progress who exclude these Schools and the additional power they could bring for the social and professional elevation of the Teachers. We venture to affirm, that the legislation, which for a quarter of a century has disregarded and trampled on the conscientious opinions of 2000 clergy, and of the laity whom they collectively represent, is unworthy of the statemanship of Britain, and will assuredly be regarded in a generation or two hence as intolerant and persecuting.

In examining the means of local support for the Schools, we find there is neither local taxation nor any scale of contribution. The rule which we quoted at the outset, "that the Board will invariably require, as a condition *not to be departed from*, that local funds shall be raised," is a dead letter. In many cases, neither patrons, school-committees, nor scholars, pay a single farthing for the maintenance of the school; in others, a few shillings are paid to meet the Government salary; and from nearly 3000 schools, the contributions, including school-fees, donations, and regular subscriptions, are under L.5 a-year. The average sum raised locally over all Ireland is little more than L.5; and the average salary, from all sources, for each Teacher, is under L.30 a-year. In these hap-hazard processes there is little either to emulate or admire. What the style and efficiency of such Schools may be, we leave the reader to judge. In the Reports before us, we find rival panegyrics and rival depreciations. Each supporter bepraising or bespattering the National or the Church "Schools," as the case may be.

In the practical working of this system many absurdities appear, almost incredible, as associated with deliberative legislation, and which few men of common sense will venture to vindicate. We notice only one. Suppose a committee, interested in the welfare of the young, open a school in the midst of a Protestant district, and a hundred pupils attend, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Dissenting. The committee arrange, that while no catechism nor church formulary shall be taught, the school shall be opened with praise, prayer, and the reading of a short portion of the word of God. They give to some of the classes the Scripture Extracts, prepared and earnestly recommended by the Commissioners themselves; and to another class the volume of Sacred Poetry. The scholars are receiving a vigorous secular education, combined with the privileges of healthful moral and religious influences,—two Roman Catholic children, from a family just come to reside in the district, enter the school,—they object to praise and prayer, and henceforth the psalm must be unsung and prayer unuttered,—they object to the reading of the Bible, and it must be instantly shut,—the religious services, in which the young delighted, must cease in the public school, and about a

hundred scholars, at the bidding of two, must either come an hour earlier to school or remain an hour later,—they object to the Scripture Extracts, and they must at once be gathered up from every little scholar,—they object to the volume of “Sacred Poetry,” used in another class for the ordinary purposes of instruction, and although neither of the Roman Catholics has a place in that class, or is called to read that simple and favourite volume, it too must be at once cast aside. These two little lads, objecting on the part of their parents, can not only send the Bible out of the public school, and silence opening praise and prayer, but can gather up from the different classes the Scripture Extracts and the volume of Sacred Poetry, and prohibit their public use. This legislation is so utterly preposterous, and its processes so completely stultifying, that, as a fact in this nineteenth century, it is almost incredible.

We cannot believe that those who so strenuously press this National System, as a certain solution for our difficulties in Scotland, are even remotely cognisant of its actual results in Ireland. It is well the experiment has been made. The good men who took part in framing and launching this System “hoped all things,” and neither did nor could foresee the impossibility of satisfying Roman Catholic educationists with anything short of a total surrender of all that is vital in Bible Christianity. Realising, at last, the hopelessness of the experiment, Baron Green, Judge Blackburn, and Archbishop Whately, have reluctantly given it up and retired from the Board. But, further consideration of the results is unnecessary. The Earl of Derby himself, the framer and advocate of the System, admits and laments its failure.¹ As it may be urged that these absurdities and extravagancies of concession are contingent on the peculiar condition of the country, we affirm, that the whole theory is fundamentally and essentially unsound, that it never has succeeded and never can. In Upper Canada, Prince Edward’s Island, and, where tried in the United States, it has failed. All experience proves it to be an egregious educational blunder.

Apart from every question of abstract doctrinal teaching and

¹ “I admit,” he said, in his place in the House of Lords in March last, “for my own part, that I very much regret, first of all, that the System of united education, which was intended to be *National*, has, to a very considerable extent, failed to realise the expectation of its promoters, . . . I regret that, in so large a portion of the schools, support has been given to the arguments of those opposed to them, and that, in fact, in the great bulk of the schools, contrary to the intention of those who originally proposed the System, there not only is no religious education given, but no facilities even are given for separate religious instruction by the ministers of different persuasions, out of school hours.” Those who know the reluctance of the Earl of Derby to acknowledge an error, will best understand the state of the experiment now, when it has wrung from him so full and explicit an admission.

general forms of Christian Churches, it is impossible to train the young to the habits of a healthful citizenship without the morality and authority of the Bible.

That Education must ever be feeble and fragmentary which disassociates the moral and religious from the social and intellectual, and addresses itself to the lower purposes of life, leaving the conscience without exercise, the Bible unnoticed, and God in Christ unrecognised and unnamed. It has been urged, that the theory is in practice not so bad; that in the Normal and Public Schools references to Scripture authority may be made, and passages quoted, either enforcive or illustrative. But this, we affirm, can only be done in gross violation of the principle, on the faith of which Roman Catholic students attend the Normal Institution, and children the common schools; and, in every case, the Roman Catholic who denies the right of the "unauthorised" to deal with Scripture, may justly be suspicious of proselytism, and complain of all or any applications of Scripture in the hearing of his children by a heretic; and the Infidel, who denies the authority of the Bible, may justly complain of the teacher for setting the positive belief of the child against the negative belief of the parent.

But, there is another objection, the force of which will be universally admitted. The expediency that sweeps the Scriptures from the Public School, must also, in deference to Popish prejudice, carry with it all that is distinctive in British history. In Ireland there is and can be no public recognition of historical facts and men. It is essentially incompatible with united education. History must be excluded from the literary, as the Bible from the moral, instruction. A few meagre facts about the invasion of Julius Cæsar, about Scots, Picts, Saxons, and the like, we do find in little books in stray schools, but nothing more. The Commissioners of Inquiry into the Endowed Schools attest this fact. Surely the advocates of such a System as suitable for Scotland, do not estimate the consequences. For our own part, we hope never to look on the face of the recreant Scot, who would blot from our school histories all reference to the life, character, and times, of Patrick Hamilton, George Wishart, Knox, and Melville, and command the schoolmaster to be silent about Wickliffe and William Tyndale, Oliver Cromwell and John Milton, and those lofty names that fill up the intervening and succeeding periods, giving to the firmament of the past a halo of unwonted splendour. Such a System, necessarily involving influences which wither alike the piety and patriotism of the people, will never, we trust, be attempted or tolerated in Scotland.

We ought to notice here, as closely associated with the National

System, and under the National Board, the Agricultural Experiment, but our limits forbid more than a passing reference. While we welcome every legitimate effort to ameliorate the condition of the people, and cordially approve of the erection of Professorships in our Colleges and Universities on the Arts and Sciences, which bear on the material interests of the people, as Mining Engineering, Agricultural Chemistry, etc., we think the principle vicious in political economy, which permits the State to enter, as in reality, a competitor, while professedly only a guide, in either agricultural or commercial pursuits. The State should abstain from all interference with the material resources of a free people, enjoying the benefit of open and unrestricted competition. Ireland is only now beginning to enjoy these privileges, and will assuredly make all the greater agricultural progress that the State lets her alone. As well may the State become the "Moses" or "Hyam" of Ireland, and erect establishments to give to the coat of the Connaught labourer a happier fit, and to his brogues a more graceful form and finish, as begin the work of farmer-general for Ireland. Apart from the principle in political economy which it affects, the recorded results of the experiment are miserably incommensurate with the recorded outlay. The Central Institution, and some of the District Model Farms, are conducted with enthusiasm, and accomplishing some good, but the general feebleness of the whole experiment, may be seen in its attempting the social elevation of the people through agricultural schools, whose farms have a "cowshed," a "piggery," or a "toolhouse," for their offices; and whose "live stock" consist of a single pig or a few poultry. Fortunately, we do not require to wield such appliances or study such examples. The Lothians render Albert Institutions useless; and we doubt not, the happy time is speedily approaching, when the private farmer will outstrip in Ireland his State competitor.

Although the so-called National System has failed to work out United Education, it is through Denominational action largely promoting public instruction. Abrogation is, on this account, not desirable. We urge adjustment, not abandonment nor overthrow. Let the present framework, dissociated from agricultural and all other incidental experiments, remain as the basis of extended and improved applications: let the varied processes of inspection, competitive examinations, and normal training, be stimulated by increased liberality in Government aid and local contributions, and by a higher standard of attainment,—in the spirit—very much also in the form—of Dr Chalmers' recommendation, let the National Board require, as the condition of continued assistance, a prescribed standard of proficiency,—but let the legislation, which has thrown the Bible out of the Public

School be withdrawn: let all the complicated regulations about religious instruction, with their ambiguous explanatory clauses, be at once swept off, as having proved utterly ineffectual either to promote united literary education, or to provide separate religious teaching. These regulations have been effective only in keeping *outside* the System nearly all the 2020 clergy of the Established Church, and more Protestant Schools than are *within*. Matters can scarcely be worse. Separation and sectarianism can never become more saddening. The change suggested would leave all the Schools under the System precisely on the same footing with regard to Secular Education, as at present, and with but little or no difference as to the Religious, for the Presbyterians have the Bible in their Schools, and no regulations that Government can frame will much modify the religious tone and character of Roman Catholic Schools. Bible teaching may safely be left to the zeal and good sense of Episcopalian and Presbyterian patrons and committees. The withdrawal of the legislative restrictions so offensive to the Established Church, would secure a vast accession of Educational power to the National System, and an efficiency in the Common School impossible amid present antagonisms. We would continue the present arrangements as to the National Board, and erect additional Normal Institutions, not for sectarian, but for common training. We deprecate all possibility of divided action in promoting public instruction by separate Boards, whether judicial or executive. It is with regret we find the Commissioners recommending, in their Report on Endowed Schools, a separate Board for Endowed Mixed Schools. We highly value many of their suggestions, as springing from a liberal spirit and marked by great practical wisdom, but think Mr Stephen, the dissentient Commissioner, has decidedly the best of the argument, when objecting, in his *Letter to Sir George Grey*, not only to this, but to some of the other proposals. The divided counsels of the Commissioners lessen much the value of their most ponderous Report; and it is to be hoped that their suggestion to erect an additional Board, will not be adopted. Every proposal to dissociate public institutions spread, for a common object, over the country, and throw them into classified groups, necessarily fenced by more or less of exclusiveness, tends to irritation and discontent. Fragmentary deliberation, halting, if not conflicting, movements, and enfeebled Education, must be the inevitable results. Efficient schools will more promote united Education, than all possible legislative constraints.

In England, while there is nothing distinctive in Educational legislation, there is much for the study of educationists in the higher enthusiasm and completer organisation of the Normal Colleges, in the multiplicity of monthly and quarterly serials de-

voted exclusively to Educational subjects, and in the fervour and power with which many of the discussions are conducted. Nothing, perhaps, more strikingly illustrates the difference between the condition of England and Scotland, than the fact that, while almost every educating section in England has its vigorous periodical, there is not in all Scotland a single serial devoted to the interests of public Education. Apart from the question of University improvement, Scottish Educational thought has been stereotyped for nearly thirty years; and almost every movement, whether backward or forward—to right or left—has been mechanical to some impulse from England. This is a change in our history which our educationists may well examine.

What is to be done? The time has come when there must be renewed efforts to frame and establish a National System on a broad and liberal basis, not an implantation from Ireland or England, but an evolution from amid our own National experiences, and adapted to the altered condition of society. The difficulty hitherto has been to legislate so as to preserve the Bible in the common school, and secure the support of the "Voluntary party." Solutions have been attempted again and again, so earnest and liberal, as to give promise, though they failed, of success, to repeated and modified trial. Now that the dust of agitation and controversy has been carried past us, we may profit by our mistakes, and relay our foundations. In the resolutions agreed to at the public meeting of the National Education Society held in Edinburgh in 1850, religious instruction in the Common School was left altogether to the haphazard deliverances of School Committees, chosen from amid masses of the community. The Church was ignored as an educating power; and the resolutions, though influentially supported and advocated with consummate ability, proved generally unacceptable. In the "Proposal for a System of National Education," signed by Dr Cunningham, Dr Candlish, and others, there was provision made that the Government inspectors "satisfy themselves as to the moral and religious character of candidates" for teacherships, "but without imposing any test of conformity;" and, further, that "the religious instruction be given exclusively from the authorised version of the Holy Scriptures and the Shorter Catechism." The Church was so far recognised, that the ministers of different denominations might have liberty of visiting. The proposal was very unacceptable to a large class, because it legislated at all as to religious instruction in the school; and to another class, because it left to the decision of inspectors the religious character of the teacher; and, further, because, if the teacher proved incompetent or immoral, there was no local management or control provided. The Sheriff was to have the incon-

gruous task of settling all difficulties, disputes, and delinquencies. It provided for religious instruction, but swept from those most interested in the school, every trace of religious control; and, while it recognised the Established Church and other Presbyterian bodies, as entitled to take an interest in schools and watch over their efficiency, it denied them any jurisdiction, and transferred to the Sheriff-court the functions of a court of conscience. For these and similar reasons, the "Proposal," though closer in its tone and arrangements to the general wishes of the people than the resolutions already noticed, did not carry with it sufficient support.

The difficulty may be obviated by a legislation which deals in this country, not with the Education in the School, but with the Local Managers or Board out of it: Let the legislation give such constitution to the Local Boards as will be a guarantee, that the best instruction, secular and religious, will be efficiently imparted: Let them be constituted on the tacit recognition of the threefold responsibility of the parent, the Church and the State: Let the Town-Councils elect three of their members,—and let the Presbyteries,—Established, Free, and United Presbyterian—elect each a representative, as the Local Educational Board, with power to add to their number three others, if they see necessary. This would enable the Board to obtain the co-operation of clergymen and laymen of other denominations, distinguished for their interest and influence in local education. Each school district might have also its commissioner, chosen by resident heads of families, to take part in the deliberations of the Board. But we omit details, and refer to the admirable work by Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, as having many valuable hints on this view of the subject.¹ This is the only course, we think, likely to extricate conflicting parties from the disgraceful dead-lock in which, for many years, they have been lying; and to give the country a satisfactory guarantee, without statutory obligations, that the Education shall unite the thoroughly intellectual with the moral and religious. With this start, and free from the encumbrances of ecclesiastical and political antagonisms, it will be comparatively easy to carry improvements upward through all our intermediate institutions.

But difficulties, dark and almost overwhelmingly saddening, meet us when we look outward and downward on the simmering masses, out of which our Ragged-Schools and Reformatories are ever filling. Oppressive revelations of the social disorganisation and disease of the sinking and sunken, are spread before us in the calmly written and invaluable work by Mr Thomson of

¹ "Public Education," pp. 396–409.

Banchory, "*Punishment and Prevention.*" It exhibits the more effective methods yet attempted for prevention and reformation. But what avail they all? Ragged Schools and Reformatories are but skirting the borders of the sinking and the sunken, without permanently lessening the mass. Our manifold appliances yet scratch the surface, and gather in a few floating particles for improvement. Were there no reproducing, nor rapid filling up of the empty space, the whole mass might ultimately yield to the play of benevolence and philanthropy, as the solid rock moulders into pliability and fruitfulness under the gentle influences of the air, the glistening dewdrop and the silent sunbeam. But such result is here improbable. Nor, will a National System avail. The most perfectly equipped network of National Schools, spread over the whole country, and lowered to encircle the most sunken, will assuredly not avail. All experience attests, that to raise the sunken, or to arrest the sinking, something more direct and stringent is needed,—in short, that compulsory Education is now a National necessity.

The claims of the labour market must no longer triumph over the rights of children,—covetous employers and parents must be no longer permitted to lay the body, heart, intellect, and spirit of the helpless young a sacrifice on the altar of Traffic, and to raise imposing structures out of finest sensibilities, while they crush hopeful intellects which they keep for ever dark, and consciences which they too often touch only to deaden. Britain has already broken in upon the sacredness of the labour-market by smiting off the fetters of the slave; and why not, by regulative legislation, lighten for her own children the burden of premature toil? The difficulties are not insuperable in the way of extending to all employments the principle of the Factory Act, and of applying Educational tests as the condition both of half and of full time labour. For the hundreds of thousands who are growing up untaught, a source of misery to themselves, and of weakness to the state, increasing our taxation, multiplying our reformatories, and exhausting public benevolence, nothing short of direct compulsion will suffice. The Educational condition of our sinking and sunken population, demands extraordinary remedial measures. We pity the imbecility which for generations leaves untouched the Pontine Marshes while they diffuse the elements of disease and death; but wherein is Britain better, so long as she allows her moral jungles to send abroad freely, on the breeze of every passing influence, the seeds of idleness, vagrancy, and crime?

- ART. IX.—1. *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin: Comprising the celebrated Political and Satirical Poems, Parodies, and Jeux-d'Esprit of the Right Hon. George Canning, the Earl of Carlisle, Marquis Wellesley, the Right Hon. J. H. Frere, W. Gifford, Esq., the Right Hon. W. Pitt, G. Ellis, Esq., and Others.* With Explanatory Notes. By CHARLES EDMONDS. Second Edition. London, 1854. 8vo.
2. *Melibæus-Hipponax.* The Biglow Papers. Edited, with an Introduction, Notes, Glossary, and Copious Index, by HOMER WILBUR, A.M. Fourth Edition. Boston, 1856. 8vo.
3. *The Age: a Colloquial Satire.* By PHILIP JAMES BAILEY. London, 1858. 8vo.
4. *Humbug Attacked, in Church, Law, Physic, Army, and Navy. A Poem.* By Mr JOHN BULL, Jun. London, 1858. 8vo.
5. *Two Millions.* By WILLIAM ALLEN BUTLER, Author of "Nothing to Wear." London, 1858. 8vo.

THE poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, now more than half a century old, contains the latest specimens which have been produced in England of true satire—of satire which is likely to stand the test of time. The satires of Moore and Byron are already obsolete, and would rarely meet our eyes but for the place they necessarily occupy in the "complete works" of these poets. The condition under which satire is likely to be well-written, are even more rare than those which produce good poetry. The writer must be a man of very great vigour of intellect—even greater than that which would make a good poet upon grave subjects—for he must subdue and bring into the realm of poetry the most refractory kind of matter; and he must have a *good grievance*, one which has the rare recommendation of having at once a special and temporal, and an abiding, public interest. Personal satires, without the latter element, are in reality no more than vulgar libels—allowing the maxim, "the greater the truth, the greater the libel;" and satires, without the personal, or party, element, are not satires, but "didactic poems"—things which the world has very properly agreed to nauseate. That which is to blame in the social body, before it can be assimilated by the poetical digestion, must be cooked up with the salt of wit and the pepper of personality. Even then there is something very unsatisfactory, to the cultivated imagination, in most forms of satire. With the lapse of time, the salt always loses some of its sharpness, and the pepper becomes less pricking to the palate; and the harsh and essentially unpoetical and properly unversifi-

able *negative* character of censure, acquires a more or less repulsive predominance. We are strongly of opinion that parody—although sadly susceptible of foolish application—is the form of satire which best justifies the employment of verse. Verse, even of the lowest kind, is an assertion, at the outset, of thoughts and feelings which “move harmonious numbers.” Now, mere censure, or mere ridicule, does not do any such thing; witness the satires of Pope, which are, for the most part, the smoothest, and, at the same time, the least “harmonious” numbers in the world. Pope’s numbers never approach to being musical, properly speaking, except when he rises above the merely negative character of most of his satires, and becomes really indignant, or when he assumes a sympathy with what he satirises, as in that delightful poem, “The Rape of the Lock.” In the first case, the negative character of blame or ridicule becomes subordinated to the positive and poetical love of good, implied in indignation; and, in the second, he adopts the truest form of satire—its most thoroughly poetical and genuine form—that of a humorous adoption of, and assumption of, sympathy with the absurd.

Most of the satires of the *Anti-Jacobin* were written in the happiest form, and under the happiest conditions. Their authors were men of great intellectual vigour and worldly knowledge,—that essential constituent of the truly poetical no less than the political character; and they had a most excellent grievance. The doctrines of the French Revolution had been more or less accepted in England, to an extent which must have seemed indescribably alarming to men who did not need to wait for the subsequent practical results, to be convinced of and horrified at their nature. Men of the purest lives and highest imaginations, Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, among others, were deceived and seduced by the boast of the near approach of that “good time coming,” which has at all times possessed such charms for the poetical fancy, but which has always been laughed at by men whose judgment has been cultivated by a knowledge of the world and a thorough training in moral and historical science. Here was an evil which united the personal and temporary with the abiding interest, in the highest degree. As long as human nature is human nature, there will always be a considerable class of persons at whom the finger of scorn, pointed by the authors of the “*Anti-Jacobin*,” towards persons now no more, will stand equally directed; but it was only under the temporary predominance of, and threatened danger from, the principles of that class in England, at the time of the French Revolution, that those persons and principles could produce the amount of interest required as a basis for satire. The recollection of the interest and importance which once attached to the verses of the *Anti-Jacobin*,

gives them value to readers of the present time, who probably would not have paid much attention to the same satires, had they appeared in our own day. The same thing is true of "Hudibras," "Tartuffe," and every other satire of permanent worth.

We have said that parody is the most perfect form of satire; but, by parody we do not mean exclusively the ironical imitation or paraphrase of other writers. The parody may be that of a habit of thought or action. The essential of satirical, as distinguished from mere farcical, parody, is, that it shall represent, with a humourous assumption of sympathy, the satirised habits or principles, in a condition of development so advanced as to be their own refutation. The "Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin" contains several irresistibly humourous and forcible examples of this kind of satire. "The Friend of Humanity and the Knife-Grinder," is as fresh in its fun as if it had been written yesterday. It is a parody of Southey's Sapphics—"The Widow," of which one stanza will suffice to enable our readers to enter fully into the parody:—

"I had a home once; I had once a husband:
I am a widow, poor, and broken-hearted!"
Loud blew the wind, unheard was her complaining:
On drove the chariot.

Thus runs the imitation of Southey's somewhat illogical "invective against the pride of property:—

Friend of Humanity.

"Needy knife-grinder! whither are you going?
Rough is the road, your wheel is out of order;
Bleak blows the blast; your hat has got a hole in't,
So have your breeches!
"Weary knife-grinder! little think the proud ones,
Who, in their coaches, roll along the turnpike-
Road, what hard work 'tis crying all day, 'Knives and
Scissors to grind, O!'"

The "Knife-Grinder," and the parody on an "Inscription for the apartment in Chepstow Castle, where Henry Martin, the regicide, was imprisoned thirty years," probably did as good political service as was ever done by an equal amount of literature, since literature existed. The following is Southey's inscription:—

"For thirty years, secluded from mankind,
Here Martin lingered. Often have these walls
Echoed his footsteps, as with even tread
He paced around his prison: not to him
Did Nature's fair varieties exist;
He never saw the sun's delightful beams,
Save when, through yon high bars he poured a sad
And broken splendour. Dost thou ask his crime?"

He had *rebelled against the king, and sat
In judgment on him* ; for his ardent mind
Shaped goodliest plans of happiness on earth,
And peace and liberty. Wild dreams ! but such
As Plato loved ; such as, with holy zeal,
Our Milton worshipp'd. Blessed hopes ! awhile
From man withheld, even to the latter days,
When Christ shall come, and all things be fulfill'd."

Whatever may be one's opinion of Henry Martin, it is impossible not to laugh heartily at the humour and force of the following development of the principle implied in Southey's approval of bloodshed, for the sake of the realisation of what he himself represents as the "wild dreams" of an individual:—

"Inscription for the door of the cell in Newgate where Mrs Brownrigg, the Prenticide, was confined previous to her execution.

"For one long term, or e'er her trial came,
Here Brownrigg linger'd. Often have these cells
Echoed her blasphemies, as with shrill voice
She scream'd for fresh Geneva. Not to her
Did the blythe fields of Tothill, or thy street,
St Giles, its fair varieties expand ;
Till at the last, in slow-drawn cart she went
To execution. Dost thou ask her crime ?
She whipp'd two female 'Prentices to death,
And hid them in the coal-hole. For her mind
Shaped strictest plans of discipline. Sage schemes !
Such as Lycurgus taught, when at the shrine
Of the Orthyian goddess he bade flog
The little Spartans ; such as erst chastised
Our Milton when at college. For this act
Did Brownrigg swing. Harsh laws ! *But time shall come
When France shall reign, and laws be all repeal'd.*"

The picture in the last five words of the revolutionary millennium is inimitable ; and is more fatally convincing in its fun than any amount of grave disquisition, even of a Burke.

In the long piece called "*New Morality*," we have an admirable example of the *direct* satire of indignation against a class of evil which had reached its climax at the period of the first French Revolution, but which has a perennial vitality, and is indeed at present almost as rampant in the ordinary morality of France,—as expressed by its literature,—as ever ; namely, the substitution of morbid feelings for moral truth, and the merging of individual duties in generalities too vague for action.

"Behold Philanthropy, whose boundless mind
Glows with the general love of all mankind ;

Philanthropy, beneath whose baneful sway
 Each patriot passion smiles and dies away.
 No narrow bigot *he* ; his reason'd view
 Thy interests, England, ranks with thine, Peru !
 France at our doors, *he* sees no danger nigh,
 But heaves for Turkey's woes the impartial sigh :
 A steady patriot of the world alone ;
 The friend of every country—but his own.

* * * *

Next comes a gentler virtue. Ah, beware
 Lest the harsh verse her shrinking softness scare.
 Sweet Sensibility, who dwells enshrined
 In the fine foldings of the feeling mind !

* * *

Her feelings strong,
 False by degrees, and exquisitely wrung ;
 For the crush'd beetle *first*,—the widowed dove,
 And all the warbling sorrows of the grove ;
Next, for poor suffering *guilt* ; and, *last* of all,
 For parents, friends, a king and country's fall."

This delightful volume ranges over a great variety of subjects ; and upon all it is brilliant, fresh, and full of strong good sense. There is scarcely a page which does not deal a fatal blow to some moral, political, or literary abuse or absurdity. A whole class of "Didactic Poems," till then respectable, became for ever ridiculous from the day of the appearance of "The Progress of Man, a didactic poem, with notes critical and explanatory, dedicated to R. P. Knight, Esq.," whose "Progress of Civil Society" was the immediate provocation. The mere "argument" of the first "canto" is a satire complete in itself:—"The subject proposed. Doubts and waverings. Queries not to be answered. Formation of the stupendous whole. Cosmogony ; or the creation of the world. The Devil. Man. Various classes of being. The influence of the sexual appetite—on tigers—on whales—on crimped cod—on perch—on shrimps—on oysters. Various stations assigned to different animals. Bears remarkable for their fur. Birds do not graze—nor fishes fly—nor beasts live in the water. Plants equally contented with their lot :—Potatoes—Cabbage—Lettuce—Leeks—Cucumbers. Man only discontented—Born a savage—Resigns his liberty. Priestcraft. Kingcraft. Tyranny of Laws and Institutions. The savage free—Feeds on hips and haws—Animal food—He wonders if it is good—Resolves to try—Makes a bow and arrow—Kills a pig—Lights a fire. Apostrophe to fire," etc. The satire called "The Rovers ; or the Double Arrangement," was the death of the English *furor* for the German drama of the day ; the tendency of which was "to substitute, in lieu of a sober contentment and regular discharge of the duties incident to each man's particular situation, a wild

desire of undefinable latitude and extravagance,—an aspiration after shapeless somethings that can neither be described nor understood, a contemptuous disgust at all that is." The purpose of this parody, according to the preface of its supposed author, Mr Higgins, is to represent "the reciprocal duties of one or more husbands to one or more wives, and to the children who may happen to arise out of this complicated and endearing connection." The song of Rogero, described in the list of "*Dramatis Personæ*," as "in love with Matilda Pottinger," who is herself described as "in love with Rogero, and mother to Casimere's children," is as universally and as deservedly known as anything of its length in modern verse. Indeed, it is to us inexplicable how so many of the separate poems of the "*Anti-Jacobin*" should have attained so vast a reputation as that which attaches to this song, the "*Knife-grinder*," the "*Loves of the Triangles*," the "*Elegy*" beginning "All in the Town of Tunis," and others, and yet the complete collection—one of the most charming little volumes ever published—should only have been made three years ago; and, after three years, should only have reached a second edition. There is no book of modern verse which is more certain of a place among the English classics, or which more refreshingly contrasts, in its genial power, with much of the witless word-painting that passes for poetry in the present day. Apart from the satirical ability of these verses, many of them display a combined force and delicacy of expression, which have rarely been surpassed. Several passages in the "*Loves of the Triangles*" may be taken as models of descriptive power.

Whatever satiric power has arisen in England during the sixty years which have elapsed since the appearance of the "*Anti-Jacobin*," has been devoted to subjects of too transient an interest to be the foundation of abiding verse. This has been rather the misfortune than the fault of the satirists; for, during that time, we cannot call to mind that any abuse has been developed to a sufficiently conspicuous and dangerous extent, to become deserving of the lash of a first-rate poet. For many years past, satire seems to have died out altogether; and, it is only within the last season or two that it has shown any tendency to revive. All at once we have a batch of small satirists—Mr Bailey at their head—in England, and one really powerful satirist in America, namely, Mr J. R. Lowell, whose "*Biglow Papers*" we most gladly welcome, as being, not only the best volume of satires since the *Anti-Jacobin*, but as also the first work of real and efficient poetical genius which has reached us from the United States. We have been under the necessity of telling some unpleasant truths about American literature, from time to time; and it is with hearty pleasure that we are now able to own

that the Britishers have been, for the present, utterly, and apparently hopelessly, beaten, by a Yankee, in one important department of poetry. In the United States social and political evils have a breadth and tangibility which are not at present to be found in the condition of any other civilised country. The “peculiar domestic institution,” the filibustering tendencies of the nation, the tyranny of a vulgar “public opinion,” and the charlatanism, which is the price of political power, are butts for the shafts of the satirist, which European poets may well envy Mr Lowell. We do not pretend to affirm, that the evils of European society may not be as great, in their own way, as those which afflict the credit of the United States—with the exception, of course, of slavery, which makes “American freedom” deservedly the laughing-stock of the world—but what we do say is, that the evils in point, have a boldness and simplicity about them, which ‘our more sophisticated follies have not; and, that a hundred years hence, Mr Lowell’s Yankee satires will be perfectly intelligible to every one, whereas, most of the subjects offered by European politics, are such as would require an explanatory commentary twenty years hence, just as is the case at present with the satires of Byron and Moore. The only subject in the social state of England at all rivalling in satiric capabilities any one of half-a-dozen subjects seized by the author of the “Biglow Papers,” is the strange and portentous despotism which threatens, as usual, to arise from the very heart of freedom,—a despotism, against which songs and assassins would be equally powerless, namely, that of the newspaper-press, which combines the two most fatal elements of tyranny, popularity, and an enmity to all individual excellence. A newspaper is a trading speculation, which must rely for its success, in a very large measure, upon the skill with which it follows the prejudices of the many, while it appears to teach them. The danger which would arise to the life of freedom—though not perhaps to its external forms—should any one paper ever acquire such a preponderance, as to leave any person or party whom it might choose to injure, without appeal—for the most fatal injuries are not “actionable”—is one which has made the hearts of the best and bravest tremble; and we regret, that a subject, in every way so worthy of the indignant eloquence of the greatest poets, should as yet have found no better treatment than that of Mr Bailey’s, whose verses on this subject we append as a fair specimen of his last poem:—

“But even now in England may be found
 A tyranny that’s greatly gaining ground;
 Though less upon the ladder’s lowest round
 Than on the upper; the mid-classes most.
 From filling, first, a very humble post,
 The Typocrat now rules from coast to coast;

Who, rattling off a leader while you are winking,
Has almost stifled independent thinking.
As people pray in Tartary by machines,
So here by dailys, weeklys, magazines,
Each turns his wordy mill, which nothing means ;
So deftly now the Press, of scribbling power,
Inflates the favourite folly of the hour ;
Some grand delusion happily long covert,
But ripe at last for sale in market overt ;
That when its influence seems most comprehensive,
Its worthlessness but shows the more extensive.
And this because its prosperousness depends,
Not on its speaking truths, but making friends,
Sway o'er weak minds, and gain its only ends.
Has ever one, when war-tide was at flood,
Called to the people—' Hold, friends ! it were good,
Ere we commit our hands to blows or blood,
To scan those maxims which, in cooler hours,
We have maintained as Christians, must be ours,
And conscience may admit as motive powers ?'
Soon as the scent of blood first taints the air,
The sleuth hounds of the Press at once are there.
All philanthropic cant is cast away ;
To rouse ill passions is to make them pay.
With polished pens and learning at command,
Although their reasoning rarely could withstand
A Sunday scholar's logic in the land,
Yet types—the Press—the body of the nation."

We cannot give a better example of the difference between true and false satire, than by appending to the diffuse and flabby verse of "The Age," the following four lines, which are the conclusion of Mr Lowell's "Pious Editor's Creed."

In short, I firmly du believe
In Humbug generally ;
For it's a thing that I perceive
To have a solid vally.

Satire at once so genial and good-humoured, and yet so fatal as that of "Ezekiel Biglow," is, indeed, a relief after the weary platitudes which have recently appeared, under the name of satire, in England. Out of a volume, as full as it can hold, of good stuff, we shall take, almost at random, a few specimens, for the edification of that large proportion of our readers to whom this very remarkable work is probably unknown.

There is no portion of "Hudibras" itself which is, space for space, so abundant in fun and hard hits as the "Remarks of Increase D. O'Phace, Esquire, at an extrumperry caucus in State Street," from which these are stray sentences :—

“ I’m willin’ a man should go tollable strong
 Agin wrong in the abstract, for thet kind o’ wrong
 Is ollers unpop’lar an’ never gits pitied,
Because it’s a crime no one ever committed ;
 But he mus’nt be hard on partickler sins,
 Coz then he’ll be kickin’ the people’s own shins.”

“ Constitoounts air hendy to help a man in,
 But arterwards don’t weigh the heft of a pin.
 Wy, the people can’t all live on Uncle Sam’s pus,
 So they’ve nothin’ to du with’t fer better or wus ;
 It’s the folks that air kind o’ brought up to depend on’t,
 Thet hev any consarn in’t, an’ thet is the end on’t.”

The reckless fun of the following lines is more like Rabelais than any other satirist :—

“ We’d assumed with gret skill *a commandin’ position,*
On this side or thet, no one couldn’t tell wick one,
 So, wutever side wipped, we’d a chance at the plunder,
 And could sue fer infringin’ our paytented thunder ;
 We were ready to vote for whoever wuz eligible,
 Ef on all pints at issoo he’d stay unintelligible.
 Wal, sposin’ we hed to gulp down our perfessions,
 We were ready to come out next mornin’ with fresh ones ;
 Besides, ef we did, t’was our business alone,
 I’er couldn’t we du wut we would with our own ?
 An’ ef a man can, wen pervisions hev riz so,
 Eat up his own words, it’s a marcy it is so.

We wish that we had space to quote the whole description of the incident which led to Mr Sawin’s conversion to slavery doctrines, but we can only give a few lines here and there :—

“ Ez fer the niggers, I’ve ben South, an’ thet hez changed my mind ;
 A lazier, more ungrateful set you couldn’t nowers find.

* * * * *

I shou’dered queen’s-arm and stumped out, ah ! when I come t’ th’
 swamp,
 Tworn’t very long afore I gut upon the nest o’ Pomp.

* * * * *

Wal, I jest gut ’em into a line, an’ druv ’em on afore me,
 The pis’nous brutes, I’d no idee o’ the ill-will they bore me.
 We walked till som’ers about noon, an’ then it grew so hot
 I thought it best to camp awhile, so I chose out a spot,
 Then I unstrapped my wooden leg, coz it begun to chafe,
 An’ laid it down jest by my side, supposin’ all wuz safe.”

Pomp, however, “snaked up behind,” and stole the leg, robbed him of his pistols, and took him prisoner to the swamp.

“ An kep’ me pris’ner ’bout six months, an’ worked me, tu, like sin,
 Till I hed gut his corn and his Carlino taters in ;

He made me larn him readin', tu (although the crittur saw
How much it hut my morril sense to act agin the law),
So'st he could read a Bible he'd gut; an' axed if I could pint
The North Star out; but there I put his nose some out o' jint,
For I weeled roun' about sou'-west, an', lookin' up a bit,
Picked out a middlin' shiny one an' tole him thet was it.
Fin'lly, he took me to the door, an', givin' me a kick,
Sez,—“Ef you know wut's best fer ye, be off now, double-quick.”

The best American writers are very fond of preaching against, and laughing at, war, chiefly because they have as yet had no experience whatever of its real necessity; and, not being very profound in European history and politics, they are apt to judge our wars by the standard of their own filibustering enterprises. This explains, if not excuses, the somewhat shallow arguments they use when speaking of war generally, and accounts for certain stanzas of Mr Lowell's, which, though admirably witty, are of doubtful wisdom, if meant to apply beyond his own country. But, Mr Bailey has no such excuse; and, in what he says on this and many other questions, he displays that strange ignorance of ordinary social and moral truth which so disastrously distinguishes the whole of the spasmodic school of poets. We trust that when we assure our readers that the following lines are above the average merit of Mr Bailey's poem, they will hold us excused from entering into any detailed criticism of it:—

“Of all conceits mis-grafted on God's Word,
A Christian soldier seems the most absurd.
That Word commands us so to act in all things;
As not to hurt another e'en in small things;
To flee from anger, hatred, bloodshed, strife;
To pray for, and to care for, other's life.
A Christian soldier's duty is to slay,
Wound, harass, slaughter, hack, in every way,
Those men whose souls he prays for night and day;
With what consistency let Prelates say.
He's told to love his enemies; don't scoff;
He does so; and with rifles picks them off.
He's told to do to all as he'd be done
By, and he therefore blows them from a gun;
To bless his foes 'he hangs them up like fun,'
Such inconsistencies will men pretend;
Such blasphemous apostacies defend,
To slake a passion or to serve an end.”

The point which, in the matter of war, is vulnerable to satire, is quite missed in the above verses, and, indeed, in all that we have ever read upon the subject. War itself, under certain circumstances, especially the war for the sake of peace—which St Augustin says, is the only justifiable kind of war—has, to say the

least of it, such strong reasons in its favour, as entirely to exempt it from that obviousness of evil and moral absurdity, which is proper to the themes of the satirist. It is the exaggerated and false idea of glory and heroism in war—the error rather of civilians than of true soldiers—which offers the appropriate object to the wit and indignation of the poet. War, at best, is a grievous necessity; and, in its least fearful shapes, involves so much misery, that no thoughtful man, in waging it, could be thinking much of the glory of successes at such cost; but, were it otherwise, could he allow the thought of glory to occupy his mind in such connection, it would only be to discern, that there are few kinds of action into which real heroism enters so little as into that of fighting. To lead a forlorn hope, to fire the engine which is to blow open a town-gate, is a kind of enterprise which, from the nature of the case, can rarely be undertaken in a state of mind that admits of the exercise of true courage, which is a deliberate virtue, and one which is not to be tested by an act resolved on in a moment probably of frantic exaltation, and very possibly executed with nerves braced by the consideration, that the alternative of retiring from such resolve, is the more formidable danger of the two.

The courage corporate that drags
The coward to heroic death,

and makes him equal, in his external action, to the truly brave, who are his companions, is surely not a virtue which we ought to honour, as it has hitherto been honoured. It has been the subject of much lamentation, that our recent wars have given rise to no good war-poetry. We are rejoiced to hail, in this circumstance, a proof that good poets—who are always ahead of their generation in their moral philosophy—begin to perceive the shallow and unpoetical character of the glory which their predecessors sang so loudly and effectually, because believingly.

Mr Lowell, in satirizing war, pursues the same erroneous track as Mr Bailey; but with what inimitable humour!

“ We were gittin’ on nicely up here to our village,
With good old ideas o’ wot’s right an’ wot aint,
We kind o’ thought Christ went agin war an’ pillage,
An’ that eppyletts worn’t the best mark of a saint;
But John P.
Robinson, he
Sez this kind o’ thing’s an exploded idee.

* * * * *

We conclude our extracts from the Biglow Papers, with a passage, the writing and publishing of which shows more moral courage in Mr Lowell than would go to the winning a Victoria Cross in an ordinary battle-field. A century hence, Old America

will feel grateful and proud of a poet who dared to tell Young America such truths, à propos, of the Mexican War, as these :—

* * * *

"An' here we air ascrougin' 'em out o' thir dominions,
 Ashelterin' 'em, ez Caleb sez, under our eagle's pinions,
 Wich means to take a feller up jest by the slack o' 's trowsis,
 An' walk him Spanish clean right out o' all his homes an' houses;
 Wal, it doos seem a curus way, but then hooraw fer Jackson!
It must be right, for Caleb sez it's reg'lar Anglosaxon.

* * * *

"Thet our nation's bigger 'n theirn an' so its rights air bigger,
 An' thet it's all to make 'em free thet we air pullin' trigger,
 Thet Anglo Saxondom's idee's abreakin' 'em to pieces,
 An' thet idee's thet every man doos jest the thing he pleases.
 Ef I don't make his meanin' clear, perhaps in some respex I can,
I know thet 'every man' don't mean a nigger or a Mexican."

We will not wash the racy flavour of these lines out of the reader's mind with any more of the watery "satire" of Mr Bailey. It is certain that Mr Bailey is a poet, though by no means one of a high order of power; but his pretensions to be a *satirist*, are scarcely to be considered with patience. The "Age" is void alike of malice and geniality—those two apparent contraries which good satire always reconciles. Mr Bailey flogs the vices and follies of the time, with a rod of rushes pickled in milk-and-water.

Mr Bailey's volume, however, contains many passages of *poetry*, which at once remind us of the author of "Festus," and redeem it from the utter insignificance of such pieces as that called "Humbug Attacked"—the *satire* of which is quite as good as Mr Bailey's, and remarkably like it in style. Here is a specimen of what Mr Bailey can do, when he does not mistake his vocation.

"As the poor shell-fish of the Indian sea,
 Sick—seven years sick—of its fine malady,
 The pearl (which after shall enrich the breast
 Of some fair princess regal, in the West),
 Its gem elaborates 'neath the unrestful main,
 The worth proportioned to its parent pain,
 Until, in roseate lustre perfect grown,
 Fate brings it forth, as worthy of a throne;
 So must the poet, martyr of his art,
 Feed on neglect, and thrive on many a smart."

Occasionally, and among a wilderness of common places, we find a truth put in a pointed and impressive way, as thus :—

"If to Judæa we our worship trace,
 If our best learning to Achaia's race,
 If Europe owes to Rome her noblest laws,
 The freedom of mankind is England's cause."

*To law, to learning, to religion, she
Adds Heaven's own element of liberty."*

This poem of Mr Bailey's is curiously unlike his other works in its general character. "Festus" is a very laboured production; this is a very slovenly one. "Festus" is the most ambitious poem ever undertaken; this is comparatively very humble in its pretensions. We have a real admiration for the abilities which Mr Bailey has indicated—rather than displayed in each case. If he could but be persuaded to know the nature and limits of his powers, he would almost certainly be able to extend his reputation as a poet, far beyond the circle of that unhappy coterie in which at present he is exclusively approved, and would win the applause of persons whose applause is fame. There are *hundreds* of passages in "Festus," and many in "The Age," each of which contains matter for a short, separate, poem. Indeed, these passages are essentially independent pieces; but their effect is lost by their position, in a long work. Mr Bailey has not the power of writing a long work which shall have a vital totality and completeness; and, in this, he is only like many a poet, who has won enduring fame by small pieces of perfect truth, tenderness, and finish. Why cannot Mr Bailey and the other poets of his school, adopt this plan. They are most of them men of too much perception not to have been considerably annoyed at the way in which their works have been received by those whose approval they must know to be alone worth having.

There are two little pieces lately published by an American, Mr W. A. Butler, which deserve a few words from us. They are called "Nothing to Wear," and "Two Millions;" and are very hastily executed satires upon the abuses of wealth by the ignorant and vulgar. They have had a considerable circulation among a certain not very select class of readers; and display a freedom in the management of verse, and an occasional sense of humour, which, if properly cultivated and applied, might make Mr Butler's writings sought out by others than idlers at railway stations. Mr Firkin, with

"His visible coach outside the visible Church,"

is the representative of an increasing class who are as fair marks for satire as ever existed; but we can only regret that in "Two Millions," as in "The Age," some good subjects are blown upon and spoiled. We would strongly recommend Mr Butler and all persons who have faculties, and waste them, to reflect that they are only a worse development of the Firkin type. Firkin abuses the stewardship of a material estate; they waste the far more potent wealth of mind.

- ART. X.—1. *The Atlantic Telegraph. A History of Preliminary Experimental Proceedings, and a Descriptive Account of the Present State and Prospects of the Undertaking.* Published by order of the Directors of the Company, July 1857. Pp. 70. London.
2. *Elemens de Telegraphie sous-marine.* Par A. DELAMARCHE, Hydrographer to the Navy, and Officer of the Legion of Honour. Paris. 1858. Pp. 92.
3. *Sur le Tëlegraphe sous-marine Transatlantique.* Par M. BLAVIER, in the *Annales Telegraphiques*, No. I. Paris. 1858.
4. *On the Origin of the Submarine Telegraph, and its Extension to India and America.* By JOHN W. BRETT, London; in the *Reports of the British Association*. 1854. P. 7.
5. *On Magneto-Electricity and Underground Wires.* By EDWARD B. BRIGHT. Liverpool. *Id. Id.* P. 8.
6. *Experimental Observations on an Electric Cable.* By WILDMAN WHITEHOUSE. *Id. Id.* 1855. P. 23.
7. *On Improvements in Submarine and Subterraneous Telegraph Communications.* By C. F. VARLEY. London. *Id. Id.* P. 17.
8. *On the Submergence of the Atlantic Telegraph Cable.* By Capt. N. S. NOLLOTH, R.N. From the *Journal of the United Service Institution*, Vol. II. London. 1858.
9. *On the Origin and Progress of the Oceanic Electric Telegraph, with a few Brief Facts, and Opinions of the Press.* By JOHN W. BRETT. London. 1858. Pp. 104.
10. *The Museum of Science and Art.* By DIONISIUS LARDNER, D.C.L. Vol. III. London. 1854.
11. *On the Effects of Induction on long Submarine Lines of Telegraph.* By Professor WILLIAM THOMSON, LL.D., F.R.S.

WERE we called upon to enumerate the true wonders of the world,—those great gifts to civilisation which the highest reason never ventured to anticipate, and which evince more than any other the genius of our race,—we would name the steam-engine and its application to fixed machinery and to vessels and carriages,—the system of railway locomotion,—the electric telegraph,—the telescope and microscope,—the voltaic battery,—the electro-magnetism of Oersted,—the electrotpe,—gas illumination,—the electric light,—the Daguerreotype and Talbotype,—and the submarine Atlantic telegraph.

The last of these inventions, though neither the greatest nor the most useful, is perhaps the most marvellous. Even when the various discoveries which it combines were familiar to philosophers, it was no mean effort of genius to apply them in the construction and deposit of a submarine telegraph; and, when

cables had been stretched and in operation over short distances, and under shallower seas, it required a deep faith in the resources of science to contemplate their extension across the Atlantic. When Franklin tamed the lightening, and brought it down to do menial work in his laboratory, he little thought that the fire which flashed through the string of his kite, would join the world of civilisation to the young republic, which he loved. When Le Monnier and Sir W. Watson carried the electric influence through 6000 feet of wire, the idea never occurred to them that the transmitted shocks could be combined into signals and into words. When the humble resident in Renfrew, whose name exists only in the shadow of his initials, published "*An Expeditious Method of Conveying Intelligence from one Place to another, without the Electricity being sensibly abated by the length of the Wire,*"¹ he never dreamt that his unnoticed and perhaps ridiculed proposal, would be universally adopted,—that his "sets of wires, equal in number to the letters of the alphabet," would be reduced to *one*, and that this one would spread itself, like a spider's web, over the four quarters of the globe, and finally pass across the widest and deepest of its oceans. When Volta invented the battery which has immortalised his name, and Professor Oersted discovered electro-magnetism, they never contemplated their telegraphic applications. Nay, even when Cooke and Wheatstone established the electric telegraph in England, and patented their inventions for working it, they never looked forward to its submarine extension.

We do not know who had the merit of first suggesting a Submarine Telegraph.² The frequent use of subterranean, or buried telegraphic wires, which must have often passed through marshy ground, and even across brooks and rivers, could not fail to suggest the practicability of submarine cables; but, whoever may have hazarded the idea, it seems beyond a doubt that the Messrs

¹ This proposal was published under the signature C.M., in the *Scots Magazine* for February 1753, and will be found at full length in our article on the Electric Telegraph, February 1855, vol. xxii., p. 548.

² A writer in the *Quarterly Review* (June 1854, vol. xcv., p. 151) makes the following statement:—"As long back as the year 1840, as we find by the Minutes of Evidence in the Fifth Report upon Railways, wherein the subject of electric telegraphy was partially examined, that whilst Mr Wheatstone was under examination, Sir John Guest asked, 'Have you tried to pass the line through water?' to which he replied, 'There would be no difficulty in doing so, but the experiment has not yet been tried.' Again, on the Chairman, Lord Seymour, asking, 'Could you communicate from Dover to Calais in that way?' he replied, 'I think it perfectly practicable.'" This was certainly not suggesting a Submarine Telegraph; for any person of common information would have given the same answers. In the very next paragraph the *Review* doubts the practicability of a submarine cable, till 1847, when Siemens suggested the application of gutta percha to the wires. Sir William O'Shaughnessy had actually succeeded, in 1839, a year before the date of the report, in depositing a submarine cable in the bed of the Hoogly.

Brett were the first that carried it into execution. So early as the 16th June 1845, they registered a "General Oceanic Telegraph Company," the specified object of which was "to form a connecting mode of communication, by telegraphic means, from the British Islands, and *across the Atlantic Ocean*, to Nova Scotia, and the Canadas, the Colonies, and Continental Kingdoms;" and, on the 23d of July of the same year, they explained to Sir Robert Peel, then at the head of the Government, the advantages which England and the Colonies would derive from its execution. A scheme, so grand and cosmical in its character, confounded the limited capacity of the minister, and Mr Brett was referred to the Lords of the Admiralty as the proper Board for "sanctioning and recommending it." It was, consequently, laid before Sir George Cockburn, the First Lord of the Admiralty; and, in order to test its practicability by direct experiment, Mr Brett offered, by means of a submarine and subterranean telegraph, "to place Dublin Castle in instantaneous communication with Downing Street, provided L.20,000 was advanced by the State towards the expense." The head of the Navy was in complete *rapproch* with the head of the Treasury; and, true to its miser instincts and illiberal antecedents, the British Government rejected a scheme of general oceanic communication, which, as the Mistress of the Sea, and the protector of her vast Colonies, it was the especial duty of England to have originated and promoted.

Thus thwarted in his noble enterprise, Mr Brett sought for the patronage of foreign nations. In 1847 he obtained permission from Louis Philippe to unite England with France by a submarine line; but, though the Provisional Government of 1848 was equally favourable to the scheme, it was deemed by the public too hazardous to receive their support. Undaunted by disappointment, the Messrs Brett applied, in 1849, to Louis Napoleon, who immediately granted the concession which was solicited, and agreed to give them the exclusive benefit of their enterprise, for ten years. The public mind, however, was not yet prepared to patronise it, and only L.2000 was subscribed towards the undertaking.

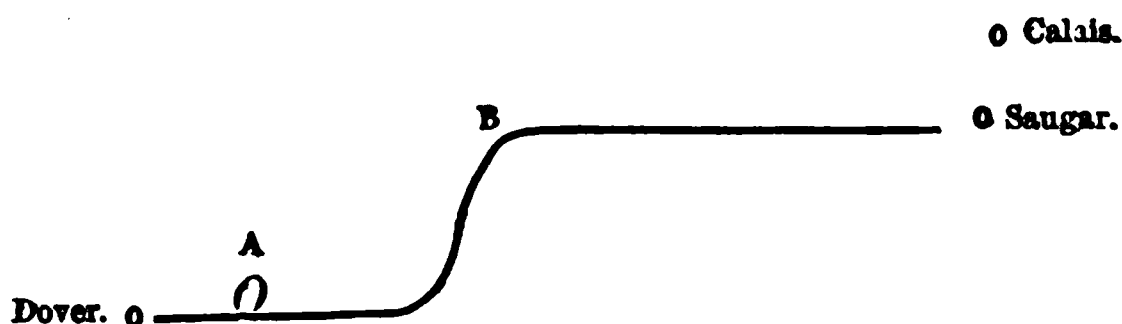
Notwithstanding these difficulties, the Messrs Brett resolved to lay down the cable at their own expense; but, before doing this, they solicited from the Admiralty the same protection and exclusive privilege which had been conceded to them by the French Government. This boon, however, was refused, and permission was granted to them to land the cable on the English coast, and thus make it useful to the nation, on the express condition, "that the public should be at no cost respecting it," and that "*it shall cease to be used, and removed whenever their Lordships (of the Admiralty) should think proper to order it!*"

Though thus left to their own resources, and exposed to the chance of having the voice of their telegraph hushed, and its cable removed, they commenced their great work in August 1850. A single copper wire, enclosed in gutta percha, and twenty-seven miles long, was put on board the "Goliath" steam-tug, to be paid out from a large iron cylinder, round which it was coiled. The vessel started from Dover, exciting no other feeling but one of fear on the part of the projectors, "lest this frail experimental thread should snap and involve the undertaking in ridicule. When one end was fixed in the Eastern Railway terminus, the wire was paid out and sunk by means of pieces of lead, fastened to it at distances of the sixteenth of a mile. The operation was successfully performed, and the wire landed and fixed at Cape Grisnez.¹ When the instruments were attached to its extremities, a message was sent across the channel the same evening to Louis Napoleon, the only patron of the undertaking." After several other communications had been transmitted, "the words 'All well,' and 'Good night,' were printed by the telegraph in Roman type, and closed the evening." "*The jest of yesterday,*" as the *Times* remarked, "*thus became the fact of to-day.*"

Upon attempting to transmit messages, early next morning, no answer was obtained; and it was found "that the frail experimental thread had snapped," at a sharp ridge of rocks, about a mile from Cape Grisnez. The action of the waves had rubbed the cable against the rock upon which it lay, and after wearing off the gutta percha envelope, at last broke the wire. The slender wire which had thus given way had been employed by the Messrs Brett as an experimental test of the practicability of the enterprise, and not with the conviction that it would be the permanent line of communication. The result of the experiment was in every respect valuable. It established the great fact that a submarine cable, even with a single wire and an insulating envelope, would have been a permanent and useful telegraph if landed on a sandy beach, or if made stronger in those portions that had to rest on a rocky bottom. The Messrs Newall and Company, of Gateshead, were, therefore, employed to make a stronger cable, sufficient to resist any force, either of pressure or attrition, to which it might be exposed; and so complete was their success, that it has lasted for upwards of seven years. It is twenty-four miles long, and consists of four copper wires, the diameter of each of which is the sixteenth of an inch. Each wire is covered with two thick coatings of gutta percha, laid on in succession. The wires, thus invested, are then twisted together, and surrounded with a mass of spun-yarn soaked in

¹ The greatest depth of the channel is thirty fathoms.

grease and tar, so as to form a compact rope. Ten iron wires, galvanised (coated with zinc) are then twisted round the rope, so as to form a complete and close armour; and, in this state, weighing 180 tons, it was submerged in September 1851. After one-half of it had been paid out, a gale arose, the tug-boat broke away from the vessel which carried the cable, and the latter drifted a mile up the channel before it could be overtaken by the steamer. The consequence of this was that the cable was carried



out of its direct line, and it was doubled into a “kink” or bend, as shown at A, and an elbow, produced in its length, as shown at B. From these causes, the cable was too short to reach the French coast, and it became necessary to manufacture an additional mile of it, which being spliced to the part laid, the whole was finished, and a regular telegraphic communication established between Dover and Saugar, near Calais, on the 17th October 1851. The great problem of submarine telegraphs was now solved, and it is manifest that it is to Messrs Brett that the world is indebted for its solution.

The next cable which was laid down was between Holyhead and Dublin, or rather Howth, a distance of about sixty miles. It was executed by Messrs Newall and Company, and consisted of one wire, the insulating rope of the part in the deep sea (seventy fathoms) being enclosed by twelve wires twisted round it, while the shore end had six twisted wires. It was conveyed on twenty waggons to Maryport, and, after being put on board the *Britannia* at Holyhead, it was laid down in eighteen hours. The quantity of cable expended was sixty-four miles, and its total weight about eighty tons.

In 1847 Mr Brett applied to the King of the Belgians for a concession to establish a submarine telegraph from Dover to Ostend; but it was not till 1852 that he obtained it, in conjunction with Sir James Carmichael, Bart. It consisted of six copper wires, with twelve iron wires twisted round the insulating envelope of gutta percha. It was 70 miles long, weighed 500 tons, and cost L.33,000. It was made in 100 days, coiled into the vessel in 70 hours, and submerged in 18 hours, on the 4th May 1853.

The next submarine cable was laid between Portpatrick, in Scotland, and Donaghadee, in Ireland, by the Magnetic Telegraph Company. It consisted of 6 wires, enclosed by 12 wires

twisted round the insulating rope. Its length was 25 miles, it weighs per mile 7 tons, and its price L.13,000.¹

On the 30th May 1853 a submarine cable was laid between Oxfordness, near Ipswich, and Schevening, in Holland, and thence to the Hague. It consists of 1 wire, with 12 iron wires twisted round its insulating rope. Its length is 135 miles, and its weight per mile only 2 tons. It was proposed to form this cable of 7 separate ones, and to twist them into a single great cable near the shore. Three only, however, have been laid down at a little distance from one another, their extremities being brought together at a point $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the shore.

As our limits will not permit us to describe more minutely the other submarine telegraphs which have been executed, we shall present our readers with a list of them, which has just appeared in an American journal:—

1854, Italy and Corsica,	60 miles.	1856, Straits of Messina,	5 miles.
1854, Corsica and Sardinia,	9 „	1856, Gulf of St Lawrence,	70 „
1854, Denmark, Great Belt,	16 „	1856, Northumberland Straits,	10 „
1854, Denmark, Little Belt,	$5\frac{1}{2}$ „	1856, Bosphorus,	- - $1\frac{1}{2}$ „
1855, Denmark, the Sound,	11 „	1856, N. Scotland, Isthmus	
1855, Scotland, Firth of Forth,	6 „	of Carso,	- - - 2 „
1855, Black Sea,	- - 400 „	1856, St Petersburg to Cron-	
1855, The Solent, Isle of Wight,	4 „	stadt,	- - - 9 „

The following more complete list has been communicated to us by an eminent engineer; and, though it does not contain the length of the lines, or the dates at which they were laid, it will be interesting to the reader:—

LIST OF SUBMARINE CABLES ALREADY LAID DOWN.

Dover	to Calais.	Reggio	„ Messina (Sicily and Naples).
Dover	„ Ostend.	Across the	Little Belt.
Orfordness	„ The Hague.	Across the	Great Belt.
Dublin	„ Holyhead.	Across the	Sound.
Portpatrick	„ Donaghadee.	Stavanger	to Bergen.
Carrickfergus	to Stranraer.	Granton	„ Bruntisland, across the Firth of Forth.
Spezzia	„ Corsica.	Across the	Nile.
Corsica	„ Sardinia.	Ceylon	to India (cable sent out).
Sardinia	„ Bona (Algiers).		
Sardinia	„ Malta.		
Malta	„ Corfu.		
Cape Race (Newfoundland),	to Ashphee Bay, Breton Island.	} New York, New- foundland, & Lon- don Telegraph Co.	
Breton Island	- - „ Nova Scotia. ²		
Prince Edward's Islands	„ New Brunswick.		
Portland	- - - „ The Channel Islands.		
Valentia (Ireland)	- - „ Newfoundland.		

Of these lines, the one from Italy to Corsica and Sardinia, was executed by the Messrs Brett, as part of a great line to India, Australia, and China, and of another to Bona in Africa. With the view of carrying out these grand projects, Mr Brett

¹ Another cable was afterwards laid down by the "British Telegraph Company."

² These three lines were laid by the New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraphic Company.

applied to the French and Sardinian Governments in 1852, and in 1853 he engaged, at his own risk and peril, to unite the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, and complete the line to Africa, depositing L.10,000 with each of the Governments as security for its performance. Mr Brett had also to raise the necessary capital; but so little faith had the public in the possibility of executing the scheme, that only a small portion of it was subscribed, and the greater part of it by Sardinia. The cables for Corsica and Sardinia, constructed at a manufactory erected for the purpose at Greenock, were sent out in the steamer "Persia" in July 1854. On reaching Genoa, Mr Brett found that the Sardinian Government had placed three vessels of war at his disposal, and that his Royal Highness Prince Carignan, several of the Sardinian ministers, and the ambassadors of England and France had come to Genoa to inaugurate this great undertaking. They set sail at night for the harbour of Spezzia, where one end of the cable was to be fixed; and the place which Mr Brett had accidentally chosen, was "a cliff under a building once occupied by the immortal Dante, and in which he composed a portion of the *Inferno*." "Here," Mr Brett adds, "the end of the cable was attached, amid a salute of 60 guns—a scene in striking contrast to our solitary proceedings at Dover, when the first cord that ever carried instantaneous intelligence from continent to continent, was submerged." These submarine cables, which were the first and the largest ever laid in great depths, contained each six wires of communication, beneath the sea, and they were joined to about 500 miles of telegraph, which were at the same time constructed through the most impracticable wilds in the two islands—the total length of the electric lines, submarine and aerial, being 3000 miles.

The really difficult part of this great enterprise remained to be executed; and though only recently⁷ carried into effect, the history of its first failure is interesting and instructive, and places in a favourable light the adventurous spirit, and the indomitable perseverance, of Mr Brett. The submarine cable for uniting Sardinia and Algeria, was made in 1854. It was 144 miles long, weighed 1200 tons, and, including coals, it required a steamer of 2000 tons to carry it, which, owing to the Russian war, could not be got either in France or England. In the meantime, the Emperor, at Mr Brett's request, had soundings taken between Sardinia and Africa. These soundings gave depths of 3000 metres, or nearly two miles; which are more than 50 or 60 times the depth in the English Channel. At this time it was considered impracticable to submerge cables beneath such a height of water; but Mr Brett resolved to carry out his contract, and, as the time allowed him was nearly expired, he char-

tered a sailing vessel, and with it, and an old steamer ferry-boat sent him from Algiers, he began to pay out the cable. After laying down 60 miles, however, the progress which was made, by towing the vessel, was so slow, that he lost all hope of reaching the land. He therefore cut the cable to save the 84 miles of it remaining on board, in the expectation of renewing the trial with the steamer, and raising the sunken portion of it.

In the following year, 1856, Mr Brett resumed his arduous undertaking with a smaller cable of three wires, stowed on board the steamer "Dutchman." The cable having broken at starting, Mr Brett returned to the island of Sardinia, and, having raised the end of the sunken portion, he underran it for about 18 miles; when, fearing it might snap, from a great strain coming against it, he spliced the 18 miles which was recovered, to the cable on board, so as to complete the required length of 144 miles. He then started afresh for Galita, a small island north of the coast of Tunis, believing that he had sufficient cable to reach that island, beyond which they had only 50 miles to lay, in depths not exceeding 50 fathoms. Contrary currents, however, disappointed his expectations. After a successful run for three days nearly (from the 12th to the 15th August), during which they had passed all the great depths, they found that the steamer had drifted so far out of its course, that it would be impossible to reach Galita, having only 12 statute miles on board when they were 13 miles from the shore. Under these circumstances, they changed their course, in order to reach soundings of 100 fathoms eastward; and with the hope of buoying the end of the cable. At four o'clock, however, they found themselves still about 12 miles from land, in depths of about 500 fathoms, with only half a mile of cable remaining. In this distressing emergency, Mr Brett lashed and secured the cable round the vessel, having previously sent a message through it to London, to explain his position, and order out more cable, to enable them to reach the island. He dispatched also a vessel to Algiers to obtain the necessary means for buoying the end of the cable till the desired quantity should arrive from England. "For five days and nights," says Mr Brett, "we continued to hold on with the electric cable, keeping up telegraphic communication with London from the vessel, when the cable parted on the bottom, at a depth of 500 fathoms (caused by the constant strain for the last two days and nights, by the vessels rolling and plunging in a heavy storm), on the morning of the 19th, not ten minutes after receiving a telegraphic reply through it from London, to inform us that the extra cable was in progress, and would be speedily forwarded to us."

The "Tartare," which had been sent to Algiers for assistance,

was an old Algerine coast passage boat, capable of making only five knots an hour. She took six days to go and return with the buoys and a lighter vessel, to which Mr Brett hoped to secure the end of the cable after it broke; but as she did not arrive till six hours after the accident occurred, her services were useless, since it was impossible to fish up the end of the cable.

The enterprise thus abandoned, was subsequently undertaken, and successfully accomplished, by the French Government in 1857, when Spezzia, in Sardinia, was united by a submarine cable with Bong in Algiers. Mr Brett employed Messrs Newall and Company to execute the cables for this line; and, in conformity with his views, three wires were employed. They committed, however, the same error that Mr Brett had done, in not having a sufficient length of cable for the purpose, and were obliged to wait till other 12 miles of it were obtained from England. Two of the wires were found to be ineffective, so that the communication has been maintained by only one of the three. An attempt was made in 1857, and another in the present year, to repair the two imperfect wires; but neither of them has been successful.¹

Although this bold attempt, conducted with so much spirit and skill, failed at first from the want of 12 miles of wire, it proved what was thought impossible, that cables could be laid in depths of two miles, and that an Atlantic Telegraph was a practicable undertaking. The history of this great cosmical enterprise, now happily accomplished, forms one of the most interesting chapters in the annals of the world. An accident, indeed, to which the greatest, as well as the most trivial, undertakings are liable, has for a while placed its functions in abeyance; but an electric cable has been laid between the Old and New worlds, upon a platform made by Providence for its reception. Messages have been transmitted between the indwellers of the East and the West; and what has been once done, may be done again. Science is omnipotent within its own domains; and it is, doubtless, in its power even to girdle the globe with metallic paths, along which human sympathies shall vibrate and divine intelligence be conveyed.

The submersion of telegraphic cables in seas of moderate depths and breadths, could not fail to suggest their more extended application; but it required more than ordinary faith in the resources of science to contemplate the practicability of spanning the Atlantic. In October 1842, Professor Morse of New York, had stretched a submarine conducting cable from Castle Garden to Governors Island, and transmitted an electric

¹ About 40 miles of the cable laid down by Mr Brett in 1854 were fished up during these attempts to repair the two inefficient wires.

current from one end to the other. On the faith of this experiment, "he demonstrated to a committee of the American Institute the possibility of effecting electrical communication through the sea, although the transmitting cable was dislodged by the anchor of a vessel almost as soon as telegraphic operations had commenced," and the gold medal of the Institute was adjudged to him "as an acknowledgment of his success." Having continued his investigations, he announced to the Secretary of the United States Treasury,¹ "that a telegraphic communication on his plan might with certainty be established across the Atlantic;" and, he added, that, "startling as this statement may *now* seem, the time will come when this project will be realised." The short submarine cable, however, which Professor Morse had constructed, and even the longer one which Sir William Shaughnessy had stretched beneath the Hoogly, were not sufficient guarantees that an iron wire could be embalmed and buried in the depths of the Atlantic. Experiments on a greater scale were required to justify so gigantic an enterprise, and it is to the Messrs Bretts that we are indebted for these great undertakings, which, as we have already seen, were the pioneers of the Transatlantic Telegraph.

After the idea of a Transatlantic telegraph had taken possession of the public mind, various important problems required to be solved before any attempt could be made to realise it. In what part of the Atlantic basin could a submarine cable be safely deposited, so as to be undisturbed by ocean currents and other influences to which it might be exposed, was the first problem which presented itself to the engineer. The shortest path from Europe to America was *cæteris paribus* the most desirable; but, this line might pass over the greatest depths and the most rugged bottom, to render impracticable the submersion of the cable. The basin of the Atlantic is a long trough or groove stretching nearly from pole to pole, having an irregular and rugged bottom nine miles, at its deepest point, below the highest peak of the Andes. In a line passing from the Andes through Yucatan, Cuba, Hayti, Porto Rico, the Windward Islands, and the Cape de Verd Islands, to Senegambia, in Africa, the bottom presents sharp peaks and crested ridges, with precipitous flanks; so that if a cable were deposited upon such a bottom, it would, at some places, be suspended upon sharp and lofty peaks, and at others, would be bent up and down in a "zig-zag" form, while it would elsewhere hang upon precipitous walls thousands of feet high, and probably break from its own enormous weight. In a section of the bottom of the Atlantic, from south to north, passing through the Cape de Verd Islands, the Azores Islands, and across the line joining

¹ In a letter dated August 10th 1843.

Ireland and Newfoundland, the same alpine character prevails. But, though this is the general conformation of the bottom of the Atlantic basin, the officers of the United States Navy, in their submarine survey of it, by a new and ingenious sounding apparatus, discovered that there was a comparatively shallow platform, or ridge, extending from Cape Clear in Ireland, to Cape Race in Newfoundland, a distance of 1640 miles, and separating the Atlantic from the Northern Ocean. This ridge is about 400 miles wide, and is less than 12,000 feet, or two miles, in depth. It forms the shortest distance between the Old World and the New, and is so peculiarly fitted to be the bed of a submarine cable, that Captain Maury, by a happy anticipation, gave it the name of the *Telegraphic Plateau*. It is a remarkable circumstance, that this ridge is not covered with a deposit of sand, but by a layer of delicate shells, proving that "the depths are there calm and undisturbed; and that, if a telegraphic cable were once lodged upon this impalpable deposit, it would soon be entirely covered over by fresh settlements, even if it did not at once sink into it by the mere influence of weight." The little dead silicious monads, of which this deposit consists, agglutinate themselves round masses of metal buried in their layers,¹ and, it is believed, that a submarine cable laid down in this cemetery of the *Diatomaceæ* will, in a few years, "be built in by a flinty pavement, which no trifling force could penetrate, and will become an integral and permanent part of the ocean bed." From the total absence of sand, or of the smallest particle of gravel among the little shells which cover the plateau, Lieutenant Maury has inferred that there is there no motion to abrade them, nor current enough "to sweep them about and mix up with them a grain of the finest sand, or the smallest particle of gravel torn from the loose beds of debris that here and there strew the bottom of the sea." "The plateau," he adds, "is not deep enough for the wire to sink down and rest upon; and yet it is not so shallow, that currents or icebergs, or any abrading force, can derange the wire after it is once lodged upon it." In support of this opinion he asserts, that these organisms could not have been rolled along the bottom at 2000 fathoms. At this depth, the pressure is 6000 pounds upon the square inch; and, if the gulf stream, at four knots an hour, reached this depth, with that velocity and pressure, its scouring action under such a weight and motion, would fret and tear up the very bed and bottom of the sea.

Although these facts and views pointed out the line from Ireland to Newfoundland as the best locality for the Atlantic cable,

¹ Anchors have been picked up from the bottom of the sea encrusted with this concrete to the thickness of several inches.

yet fears, not very unreasonable, were entertained, that a cable of such an enormous length, could not be securely deposited, and that it might not readily transmit an electric influence of moderate intensity. It was therefore proposed to carry the cable from the most northern point of Scotland, through the Shetland, Orkney, and Farøe Islands to Iceland; to take it from Iceland to Greenland by the shortest path; and from thence along the coast to Cape Farewell, where it would cross Davis Strait, and stretch across Labrador and Upper Canada to Quebec, to join the telegraphs of North America. This proposal, however, though a cable larger than 900 miles was not required, did not meet the views of parties most interested in a Transatlantic telegraph; and though it has to some extent been advocated by a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, and supported by some eminent individuals, it has by others been regarded as wild and impracticable.

The formidable difficulty of depositing a cable across the Atlantic having been removed by the discovery of a shallow platform coinciding with the shortest path, the Colonial Government of Newfoundland undertook the gigantic enterprize of establishing a telegraphic communication between the Old and New World. In the month of April 1854, they passed an Act incorporating a Company for that purpose, and "the same Legislature" expressed its interest in the scheme by grants of land and a subsidy, and by conferring the exclusive right to land a telegraphic line upon the coast under its jurisdiction along the entire length of Newfoundland and Labrador. A charter of a similar kind was obtained from the Government of Prince Edward's Island, and from the State of Maine; and, beside obtaining a ratification of its rights from the Home Government, the Company received authority for certain subsidiary operations in Canada.

The Company, thus wisely incorporated, under the title of "The New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company, immediately commenced their operations. England and the Continent of Europe having already been telegraphically connected with Ireland, the Company, under Professor Morse, as their Electrician, proceeded to connect St John's in Newfoundland with lines in British North America and the United States, by submerging 13 miles of cable in the Straits of Newfoundland, and 85 miles in the waters of the St Lawrence. Having completed these preliminary arrangements, they proceeded to the grand operation of laying the Transatlantic cable,—a task which required all the theoretical and practical wisdom which they could command. The electrical influence had passed through a few hundred miles of submerged cable, but no experiment had yet been made, and no theoretical grounds had yet been assigned, to justify

the expectation that electricity could freely traverse a cable 2500 miles in length. In order to settle this question, Mr Wildman Whitehouse, the Electrician of the Company, and Mr, now Sir Charles Bright, its engineer, and the engineer of the Magnetic Telegraph Company, began a series of experiments, which they prosecuted conjointly and separately, in order to determine the influence which might be exercised by inducted and disguised electricity, in retarding the transmission of currents along submarine wires of unusual length.

When metallic wires are, as in the Electric Telegraph, extended from post to post, or laid in subterranean tubes, and insulated by the surrounding air, and by glass or earthenware supports, the electricity runs along as a simple stream, undisturbed by any secondary cause. Professor Wheatstone found its velocity, in a copper wire, to be 288,000 miles in a second, but other observers have reduced it to 112,000, 62,000, 28,000, and even 16,000 miles, in a second.¹ But when the wires are invested with a layer of gutta percha, or any other insulating substance, and placed in damp air or an envelope of metal, the induced electricity retards, in a very marked degree, the transmission of the current. This remarkable property was discovered by M. Siemens, in the subterranean system of telegraphic wires which he introduced upon all the Prussian and several of the German railways. The copper wires having been carefully covered with gutta percha in order to prevent the escape of electricity into the damp air of the tubes which contained them, he observed a very visible diminution in the velocity and intensity of the transmitted current, and he discovered that this effect was produced by inverse or induced currents arising from the wires performing the part of a Leyden jar. The electricity which enters at the knob of the jar, and charges the metallic coating in its interior, corresponds with the electricity passing along the telegraphic wire. The glass of the jar is analogous to the gutta percha coating of the wire, and the external coating of the jar to the external metallic envelope of the gutta percha. The two opposite electricities, thus generated in the wire, as in the jar, attract one another, and the electricity in the wire is thus prevented from moving freely in its course. The submarine cable is therefore an elongated Leyden jar, rather than a simple channel or pipe, open freely at both ends, and hence every time that it is used, it has to be charged and discharged like the phial, or first filled and then emptied. In the year 1851, when six wires, covered with gutta percha, were laid along a distance of 41 miles, the retarding power of the induced electricity was distinctly observed, and it was greatly increased when the six wires formed one continued circuit. In continuing

¹ See this Journal, vol. xxii., p. 555.

these experiments, Sir Charles Bright, the engineer of the Company, found, that "on an underground length of 480 miles of gutta percha covered copper wire, the voltaic or magnetic impulse varies in velocity through such conductors, from 960 to 1700 miles per second, according to the intensity of the current employed." From these facts, communicated in 1854 to the British Association by Mr Edward B. Bright, he concludes, "that the speed with which electricity passes, varies with the energy (that is, intensity) of the current, and also with the nature or conditions of the conductor through which it passes. Underground wires," he adds, "are only affected by terrestrial electricity, when a flow takes place from one district of the earth's surface to another; while overground wires are also subjected to the action of perturbative currents whenever the electrical *status* of the atmosphere changes as regards the earth, principally with the rise or fall of dew, or during the Aurora Borealis."

We regret that we cannot, without the use of diagrams, give an intelligible account of the various experiments made by Mr Whitehouse and others, to prove that the retardation produced by induction, would not be so great as to affect seriously the working of a cable stretching across the Atlantic; and that, "by employing the induced magneto-electric current, and reversing the quality of the electricity transmitted at each signal, a velocity and facility of work might be attained which would satisfy all merely commercial and financial requirements in such a line as one crossing the Atlantic. To satisfy the public mind, however, it was desirable, and even necessary, to record an actual signal transmitted through 2000 miles of circuit, of the same length nearly as the span of the Atlantic. It was accordingly arranged by Sir Charles Bright and Mr Whitehouse that the line should be made with the *subterranean* or submarine wires of the English and Irish Magnetic Telegraph Company; and, on the evening of the 9th October 1856, the parties most deeply interested met at the offices of the Company, in Old Broad Street, London. *Ten* wires, insulated with gutta percha, and 200 miles long, were connected so as to form a continuous circuit of 2000 miles, the circuit being virtually increased to 2300 miles by the coils of fine wires introduced at the joints. The wires were excited by Mr Whitehouse's magneto-electric induction coils, and the current operated upon one of Professor Morse's recording instruments. By this means, signals were distinctly telegraphed through 2000 miles of wire at the rate of 210, 241, and, upon one occasion, 270 per minute. Hence, if we suppose *ten* words to be transmitted in a minute, as Professor Morse has calculated, we shall have *twenty* messages transmitted in an hour, 480 in 24 hours, or 14,400 words per day. At the close of 1856, therefore, as Dr Morse has

stated in the Report issued by the Company, the following important results were obtained :—

“ 1. That gutta percha covered submarine wires do not transmit as simple insulated conductors, but that they have to be charged as Leyden jars before they can transmit at all.

“ 2. That, consequently, such wires transmit with a velocity that is in no way according to the movement of the electrical current in an unembarrassed way along simple conductors.

“ 3. That magneto-electric currents travel more quickly along such wires than simple voltaic currents.

“ 4. That magneto-electric currents travel more quickly when in high energy than when in low ; although voltaic currents of large intensity do not travel more quickly than voltaic currents of small intensity.

“ 5. That the velocity of the transmission of signals along insulated submerged wires can be enormously increased, from the rate indeed of one in two seconds, to the rate of eight in a single second, by making each alternate signal with a current of different quality, positive following negative, and negative following positive.

“ 6. That the diminution of the velocity of the transmission of magneto-electric current in induction-embarrassed coated wires, is not in the inverse ratio of simple arithmetical progression.

“ 7. That several distinct waves of electricity may be travelling along different parts of a long wire simultaneously, and within certain limits, without reference.

“ 8. That large coated wires used beneath the water or the earth are worse conductors, so far as velocity of transmission is concerned than small ones, and therefore are not so well suited as small ones for the purposes of submarine transmission of telegraphic signals ; and,

“ 9. That, by the use of comparatively small coated wires, and of electro-magnetic induction-coils for the exciting agents, telegraphic signals can be transmitted through two thousand miles, with a speed amply sufficient for all commercial and economical purposes.”

These important questions having been settled, steps were taken to organise an influential company to execute the Transatlantic Telegraph. The incorporated New York, Newfoundland, and London Company, who had done everything to promote the preliminary investigations, deputed their Vice-President, Mr Cyrus Field, to visit England to effect this object ; and he was fortunate enough to succeed in forming the present “ Atlantic Telegraph Company,” consisting of the holders of 350 shares of one thousand pounds each ; and having Sir Charles Bright and

Mr Whitehouse as their engineer and electrician. The charter of the Old Company, who possessed for fifty years the exclusive right to land electric cables on the shores of Newfoundland and other parts of America, was made over to the New Company, with all the patent rights of Messrs Whitehouse and Bright; and the projectors, Messrs Brett and Field, and Messrs Bright and Whitehouse, liberally agreed that compensation for their past labours and inventions should be wholly dependent on the success of the undertaking. The prospectus of the Company was issued on the 6th November 1856; and, in one month, the whole capital of L.350,000 was subscribed. The Governments of Great Britain and the United States agreed, by a contract of twenty-five years duration, to pay to the Company, till its dividend reached 6 per cent., a subsidy of L.14,000 a-year, and of L.10,000 subsequently, and to furnish ships for laying down the cable.

The plateau of Lieutenant Maury having, for the reasons already mentioned, been fixed upon as the line of the telegraph, in preference to the circuitous line by Iceland and Greenland, and to the line from the United States through the Azores and Cape de Verd Island, which the American authorities would have preferred, it became necessary to determine the nature and weight of the cable to be employed. Mr Brett had experienced great difficulties in laying down a heavy cable in a deep and troubled sea; and, it was obvious, that a light cable would be at the mercy of the ocean currents as it went down. It was necessary, indeed, that the bulk and weight of the cable should be such, that two vessels of ordinary size, could take the entire cable into their holds, with all the necessary apparatus, each vessel carrying 1250 miles, or one-half of it. In order to fulfil these and other conditions, the cable required to weigh a ton per mile, to be flexible enough to be formed into coils, and to have such a structure that it could be readily bent, and yet be able to lie as a rigid line. Numerous experiments were made to determine the best composition of the cable; and no fewer than sixty-two different kinds of ropes were tried before its exact form and character were fixed upon.

In the cable finally adopted, the centre wire is a *strand*, composed of seven wires of pure copper. It is about the 16th of an inch in diameter, and consists of one straightly drawn wire, with other six twisted round it. When exposed to strain, the strand stretches 20 per cent.; and hence, fears were entertained that, in the paying-out, it might be drawn out and attenuated to such a degree as to diminish greatly its power of transmitting electrical signals. Mr Whitehouse, however, proved, by very ingenious experiments, that the strand might be stretched one thousand feet in a mile without being broken, and without its power of trans-

mitting electricity being materially impaired. The next step in the formation of the cable, is to give it a coating of gutta percha in three separate layers, so as to enlarge its diameter to about three-eighths of an inch; and in this state the strand and its coating are called "*the core*" of the cable. In trying the insulating power of the gutta percha, Mr Whitehouse found that it was greatly impaired by an increase of temperature—a change which it is not likely to experience at the bottom of the sea, where the temperature cannot exceed 42° of Fahrenheit.

When the core is completed, it is wound tightly round by a serving of hemp, saturated with a combination of pitch and tar; and when it has been everywhere reduced to the same diameter, it is converted into a complete cable, by enveloping it in eighteen threads of polished iron wire, which are firmly twisted round the central core. Each of these strands consists of seven iron wires, of the same diameter as those in the copper core, so that this core is protected from mechanical violence by 126 wires, which also give such a weight to the cable as may facilitate its submergence.

In the cable thus completed, 332,500 miles of iron and copper wire have been employed,—a length which would girdle the earth thirteen times. The cable weighs from 19 hundredweight to 1 ton per mile, and will bear, without injury, a strain of four tons. In sea-water, its weight will be scarcely 24 hundredweight a mile; and, as the greatest depth will be little more than two miles, the greatest strain in depositing it from the ships will be less than a ton and a half for two miles.

In order to deposit the cable in the bed of the Atlantic, the British Government placed at the service of the Company the line-of-battle ship "*Agamemnon*," of 91 guns, Captain Noddall, which carried the flag of Lord Lyons in the Black Sea; while the United States Government sent over its fine new frigate, the "*Niagara*," Captain Hudson, a vessel of 5200 tons, 715 feet long, and 56 wide. The "*Agamemnon*" was singularly adapted for receiving the cable, from its having a magnificent hold, 45 feet square and 20 feet deep, between the lower deck and the keel. The "*Niagara*" was not so well-fitted for its work, from having no space in her hull capable of allowing her half of the cable to be packed into a single circular coil; but her officers gave up a portion of their fine ward room, in order to allow the cable to be stowed in the best possible manner. In order to convoy and assist these vessels, the United States sent the frigate "*Susquehanna*," Captain Sands, and the British Government Her Majesty's ships "*Leopard*," Captain Wainwright, and "*Cyclops*," Captain Dayman.

It had been at first arranged that the vessels should proceed

to mid-ocean, join the ends of their halves of the cable in a spot a little to the north of 52° of latitude, and in $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of longitude, and then separate, the "Niagara" laying down her half towards Newfoundland, and the "Agamemnon" her half towards Valentia; but this plan was changed, the "Niagara" paying-out her share of the cable to mid-ocean, where the "Agamemnon" would join her half and proceed to Newfoundland.

After leaving Valentia on the evening of the 7th August 1857, the cable was payed out from the "Niagara" in the most satisfactory manner. At the junction between the shore, or larger cable, and the smaller one, about eight miles from Valentia, it was necessary to stop in order to renew the slice. The end of the heavier cable was then lowered, and buoys attached to mark the place of union. On the 9th at noon, 136 miles of cable were deposited, and at midnight 189 miles. On the 10th, at four o'clock in the morning, the depth of water had increased rapidly from 550 fathoms to 1750, in a distance of eight miles. Hitherto a strain of 7 cwt. had kept the rate of the cable sufficiently near to that of the ship; but, owing to the deepening of the water, the cable ran out more rapidly, and it became necessary to increase the pressure to 15 cwt., while the cable and ship were running $5\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 knots an hour. At noon on the 10th, 255 miles of cable were laid down; but an increasing swell having taken place, and the depth of water become 2000 fathoms, the strain was increased to a ton, in order to keep the rate of the cable and the ship in due proportion. Soon after this the speed of the ship was only 3 knots, while that of the cable was $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{3}{4}$ knots. The strain was, from the same cause, successively increased to 25, 30, and 35 cwt. The rate of the cable was thus brought to 5 knots, at which it continued till 3h. 45m., when it parted, the length paid-out being then 335 miles.

During these operations Mr Bright had assisted personally at the operation of the breakers; but, being obliged for a while to attend to other duties, the machine was for the moment left in charge of a mechanic acquainted with its action. When Mr Bright was on his way to the fore part of the ship, he heard the machine stop. He immediately called out to ease the break and reverse the engines of the ship; but, when he reached the spot, he found that the cable was broken. The breaks had not been released, and to this, or to the hand wheel of the break being turned the wrong way, he attributed the stoppage and the fracture of the cable.

Disheartening as this failure was, the engineer, and all parties on board, and the directors themselves, regarded it as the result of an accident not likely to occur again. The cable itself having been found uninjured, and the paying-out machine in perfect order,

the only sudden declivity of a serious kind, from 410 to 1700 fathoms, had been safely overcome. The only difficulty which remained was to demonstrate the practicability of making the splice in mid-ocean, and this was proved experimentally by the engineer, in a heavy sea, after the accident had occurred, and before the ships returned to England. The two ends on board the "Niagara" and "Agamemnon" were joined together, and the splice lowered to the bottom, in a heavy sea, to a depth of 2000 fathoms.

With the experience acquired in this unsuccessful attempt, the directors resolved to renew it in 1858, at a season of the year when there is the smallest risk of gales and fogs and icebergs. In order to ascertain the precise time of the year when the state of the Atlantic is most favourable for the submergence of the cable, Lieut. Maury compared meteorological observations made during 260,000 days. He found that during summer the western part of the telegraphic plateau was entirely exempt from gales; that in June and July the risk of gales in the eastern part is very small, and almost nothing in August, excepting on the coast of Ireland. In June, the western side is more liable to fogs than the eastern. Ice occurs less frequently from June to August than at any other time, the frequency diminishing from June to August. If fogs were the only obstacles to be dreaded, the winter months would be better than the summer months. If storms are to be avoided, the month of June is the best; and, taking ice, and fogs, and storms, into consideration, Lieut. Maury came to the conclusion, "that between the 20th of July and the 12th of August, both sea and air are usually in the most favourable condition for laying down the wire." For reasons which we cannot learn, the opinion of Lieut. Maury was not adopted. The expedition, as we shall see, commenced its operations no less than *six weeks* before the 20th of July, and its failure, in so far as it arose from the storms which it had to encounter, may not unreasonably be ascribed to its not having followed the advice of Lieut. Maury.

When the "Agamemnon" and the "Niagara" had each taken on board their half of the cable, they rendezvoused at Plymouth; and, accompanied by the "Gorgon" and "Valorous," which were commissioned to convoy and assist them, they set sail on Thursday the 10th of June 1858, with the intention of commencing the deposit of the cable at the middle point of the line, the "Agamemnon" paying it out towards Ireland, and the "Niagara" towards Newfoundland. Before three days had elapsed, a gale arose, in which the ships separated from each other. The "Agamemnon" strained and laboured under her burden; and the massive beam under her upper deck coil cracked

and snapped with the noise of artillery, as if she were breaking up; and on Monday the 15th, when the gale had become more fierce, she heeled over to an alarming extent. On the 16th the "Niagara" rejoined company; and, as the wind increased, the "Agamemnon" "took to violent pitching, plunging into the trough of the sea, as if she meant to break her back, and lay the Atlantic cable in a heap." The weather improved somewhat on the 19th; but, in the evening the sky became dark, a heavy rain fell, and the wind increased to such a degree, that Captain Preedy remained on the deck throughout the middle watch, the "Agamemnon" rolling 30 degrees each way, and straining to an alarming extent. About 10 P.M., when the wind and sea had increased, three or four gigantic waves approached the ship, "rolling on like hills of green water, with a crown of foam which seemed to double their height." The "Agamemnon" rose heavily to the first wave, and then went down into the trough of the sea, falling over so as almost to capsize completely on the port side. Everything now broke adrift, and the scene, as the narrator states, almost defies description. The crew, and every thing loose, were hurled across the ship. The coals on the main deck broke loose, smashing everything before them. Another tremendous wave produced similar results; and it became obvious that two or three more such lurches would make the masts go like reeds, while half the crew might be maimed or killed below. This state of things continued till Monday the 21st, when the aspect of affairs was so alarming, that Captain Preedy resolved to try wearing the ship round on the other tack. The rolls which she had previously experienced, were mere trifles compared with those which now took place. Out of 200 men on deck, 150 were thrown down, falling over from side to side in heaps, while others, holding on to ropes, swung to and fro with every heave. The last hour of the stout ship seemed to have come. A heavy sea again struck her, and after a few more disastrous plunges, Captain Preedy, unable to contend against the storm, got up full steam, and allowed the "Agamemnon" to run before the wind, rolling and tumbling over the huge waves at a tremendous pace. On Tuesday the 21st, the ship commenced beating up for the rendezvous, from which, on Friday the 25th, they were still 50 miles distant. As the "Agamemnon" approached the place of meeting, the "Valorous" hove in sight at noon, the "Niagara" came in from the north, and in the evening the "Gorgon" from the south,—the squadron being now reunited near the spot where the great work was to commence. The place where they met was only thirty miles nearer the Irish coast than had been previously agreed upon. The "Valorous" had first reached the real rendezvous. The "Niagara"

arrived two days before the "Agamemnon," and the "Gorgon" was third.

On the evening of Friday the 25th of June, the sea was as still as an inland lake, and the four vessels lay together side by side, ready to commence their interesting work. After disentangling the cable, which had been shaken into a shapless tangled mass during the lurches of the "Agamemnon," the operation of laying it commenced on the morning of Saturday the 26th of June. The end of the "Niagara's" cable was sent on board the "Agamemnon," the splice was made, a bent sixpence put into it for luck, and at 2h. 50m. Greenwich time, it was lowered over the ships' side and disappeared for ever. When each ship had payed-out three miles, the cable broke on board the "Niagara," owing to its over-riding and getting off the pulleys. When the break became known, both vessels returned, a fresh splice was made and again lowered at half-past 7. The paying out machine now worked well, the greatest strain being only about 2500 lbs., and at half-past 3 A.M. of Sunday the 27th, forty miles had been laid down. In a few minutes after, Professor Thomson reported that the cable had parted. The "Agamemnon" was stopped to discover where the fracture had taken place; but, unfortunately, there was a strong breeze and a heavy swell, which produced a strain of 4000 lbs., that broke the cable a few fathoms beneath the stern wheel. The ships again returned to the rendezvous, to renew their labours. The "Agamemnon" rejoined the "Niagara" on Monday the 28th, and it appeared that a total fracture had taken place, at about ten miles from each ship, at the bottom of the ocean. The third and last splice was now made, and lowered in 2000 fathoms of water, at 7 o'clock the same night. The paying-out went on successfully till 9 P.M. on Tuesday the 29th, when 146 miles had been laid down, and when, without an instant's warning, the cable again parted. The machinery ceased to move; the fractured end of the cable swung loosely over the stern-wheel; the engineers, officers, and men stood aghast at the disaster, and the "Agamemnon," after seeking in vain for the "Niagara" and "Gorgon," turned its head to Cork, and, after a cruise of thirty-three days, anchored off Queenstown on the 10th July.

After making every possible arrangement to guard against future accidents, and taking on board a fresh supply of coal, the squadron set sail on Saturday the 17th of July, to resume their arduous labours. The "Valorous" reached the rendezvous in lat. $52^{\circ} 5'$ and long. $32^{\circ} 42'$ on the 24th, the "Niagara" on the 25th, the "Gorgon" on the 26th, and the "Agamemnon" not till the 28th, having had to wait for Professor Thomson, who, as one of the directors, had the charge of the electrical department on

board. On the 29th, a beautiful calm day, the "Agamemnon" joined the rest of the squadron. The splice was made at noon, and, when it had been lowered, the ships started an hour after for the last time for their opposite destinations. The cable was running out at the rate of six knots an hour, under a strain of only 500 lbs., when a large whale approached the ship's bow, threatening to come in contact with the cable, but, fortunately, it only grazed it at the place where it entered the sea. About 8 o'clock, when all was going on well, under a strain of 1700 lbs., an injured portion of the cable was discovered about a mile or two from the portion paying-out. The injury was immediately repaired; but, no sooner was this done, than Professor Thomson reported that the electric continuity of the wire had ceased, though the insulation was perfect. Regarding the injured piece as the probable cause of the stoppage, the cable was cut at that part, in order to make a perfect splice; but no sooner was this done, than it was proved by the electrical tests, that the fault was fifty miles from the ship. The splice was effected in time to save the cable, and preparations were made to pay-out as little rope as possible, and to hold on for six hours, in the hopes that the fault might mend itself before cutting the cable and returning to the rendezvous to make another splice. The magnetic needles, however, suddenly indicated either that the cable had broken from the "Niagara," or that the insulation had been completely destroyed. The alarm, however, was false; the stoppage disappeared, and perfect signals were received from the "Niagara." The paying-out went on as usual for some time, till another damaged part of the cable was discovered, and immediately repaired. On the evening of Friday the 30th, a gale arose "dead ahead" of the ship, which now went full steam against the wind, consuming such an enormous quantity of fuel, that if the wind lasted it would have been necessary "to burn masts, spars, and even the decks, to bring the ship into Valentia." On Sunday, another gale arose, and continued so severe during that night and Monday morning, that it required the most indefatigable exertions of the engineers to prevent the wheels from stopping altogether as the vessel rose and fell with the sea. On Monday the "Agamemnon" narrowly escaped a collision with the "Chieftain," a three-masted American schooner; and on Tuesday, a large American bark, which was standing right across their stern, was driven from its course by repeated volleys from the "Valorous." On the evening of the same day the "Agamemnon" reached the steep submarine mountains which divides the Telegraphic Plateau from the Irish coast. The next day was beautiful and calm; the ship was only eighty-nine miles from Valentia, and the vessels exchanged signals that they were

in 200 fathoms of water. On the morning of Thursday the 5th, the bold and rocky mountains which surround the wild neighbourhood of Valentia, appeared at a few miles distance, and by six o'clock A.M., the "Agamemnon" and the "Valorous" anchored on the side of Beginish Island, opposite to Valentia. Soon after they arrived, a signal from the "Niagara" informed them that they were preparing to land, having laid down 1030 nautical miles of cable. This was the first message that electricity conveyed across the Atlantic. The "Agamemnon" laid down 1020 nautical miles, making the total length of the cable 2050 miles. Before landing the end of the cable, it was telegraphed to the Atlantic Company, in London, that on the 30th July 265 nautical miles were laid between the two ships; on the 31st, 540; on the 1st of August, 884; on the 2d, 1256; on the 4th, 1854; and, on anchoring at six in the morning in Doulas Bay, 2022. On the forenoon of Thursday the 5th, the boats of the "Valorous" landed the Irish end of the wire at White Strand Bay, off Doulas Bay, amid the cheers and greetings of all who had assembled to receive it.

About the same time that the "Agamemnon" landed the cable at Valentia, the "Niagara" did the same in Trinity Bay, Newfoundland. Her progress was nearly the same as that of the "Agamemnon;" the length of cable paid-out by the two ships being generally within ten miles of each other.

When the eastern and western extremities of the cable were put in connection with the recording instruments, "messages to and fro" were quickly transmitted. On the evening of the 17th of August, the following message was dispatched from the directors in England to the directors in America:—

"Europe and America are united by telegraph. 'Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace and good-will towards men.'"

This message, consisting of thirty-one words, occupied thirty-five minutes in transmission.

On the 17th of August the following message was received:—

"We are now receiving from Newfoundland accurately, with perfect signals, at the rate of 100 words per hour."

Immediately after this a message from the Queen to the President of the United States, consisting of 99 words, was received at Newfoundland in 65 minutes. Both this message and the reply to it were repeated back to Valentia, to test their accuracy, and were found to have been taken with great exactness. These messages, which we cannot withhold from our readers, possess more than a temporary interest. They will be read in future ages, by the Anglo-Saxon race, when England and America shall have forgotten their animosities, and shall have united their

gigantic resources in extending to oppressed Europe and barbarian Asia, the blessings of liberty and religion.

The following is the message of the Queen :—

“ From Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain to His Excellency the President of the United States :—

“ The Queen desires to congratulate the President upon the success of this great international work, in which the Queen has taken the greatest interest. The Queen is convinced that the President will join with her in fervently hoping that the electric cable, which now already connects Great Britain with the United States, will prove an additional link between the two nations, whose friendship is founded upon their common interests and reciprocal esteem. The Queen has much pleasure in thus directly communicating with the President, and in renewing to him her best wishes for the prosperity of the United States.”

The following is the President's reply, which consisted of 143 words as transmitted, and occupied two hours in its passage through the cable, including several “repeats” and corrections :—

“ The President of the United States, Washington City, to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Queen of Great Britain :—

“ The President cordially reciprocates the congratulations of the Queen on the success of the great international enterprise, accomplished by the skill, science, and indomitable energy of the two countries. It is a triumph, because far more useful to mankind than was ever won by a conqueror on the field of battle.

“ May the Atlantic Telegraph, under the blessing of Heaven, prove to be a bond of perpetual peace and friendship between the kindred nations, and an instrument, destined by Divine Providence, to diffuse religion, liberty, and law throughout the world. In this view will not all the nations in Christendom spontaneously unite in the declaration, that it shall be for ever neutral, and that its communications shall be held sacred in passing to the place of their destination even in the midst of hostilities. (Signed) “ JAMES BUCHANAN.”

Three other congratulatory messages of considerable length—two from Newfoundland and one from England—were transmitted on the 18th, 21st, and 23d of August : the *first* from Mr Cooper, the President of the New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company, to the Directors of the Atlantic Telegraph Company Lines ; the *second*, from the Mayor of New York to the Mayor of London ; and the *third*, the reply of the Mayor.

It is impossible to read, without emotion, these interesting messages from the earliest, which gave the glory to Him who created the subtle element that spoke across the deep—the material along which it flashed its voice, and the genius which developed its laws—to the latest, which breathed the ardent wish

that peace and good-will should reign between hitherto unfriendly nations, born of the same blood, speaking the same tongue, and rejoicing in the same faith. The union of the East and the West, of the Old World with the New, were topics universally discussed by the people and the press of America. They were the theme of private and public thanksgiving,—and the Christian pastor did not hesitate to speak of them in the sanctuary—to associate them with the extension of his faith, and to view them as the harbinger of those glorious times when there shall be “peace on earth and good-will towards men.”

Not content with these quiet demonstrations of the delight with which they hailed the submersion of the Atlantic cable and the articulate voice with which it spoke, the Americans expressed their feelings, in actions as well as words. The Mayor of New York ordered two pieces of artillery to be ready to fire a salute of one hundred guns on the arrival of the first dispatch from Trinity Bay. At Washington, “the feeling of delight amounted almost to transport.” At Albany, the telegraph and other offices were illuminated, and “the people were wild with excitement.” At Boston, the excitement was equally great. At Worcester, there was a salute of a hundred guns, and all the bells of the city rung. At Bangor, in Maine, the firing of guns and the bells of the churches announced the desired intelligence. The Alumni of the Theological College of Andover, where about a thousand persons were present, gave vent to their feelings in prayer and praise. At Rochester, the telegraph office was draped with American and British flags. At Utica and Syracuse, guns and bonfires and fireworks, celebrated the great event.

Our countrymen in the British provinces were not less enthusiastic than their brethren in the States. At St John's, New Brunswick, the general joy was expressed by the firing of guns and the display of fireworks, and the city was in a perfect blaze from the illumination of the public offices, warehouses, and private buildings. At Halifax, Quebec, Toronto, Chatham, Hamilton, and Montreal, the same excitement took place. The firing of guns, the display of flags, fireworks, illuminations, and processions, were everywhere the voluntary expressions of public feeling. That men in official positions, and the mercantile classes, should have celebrated the success of the Atlantic Telegraph, is hardly a matter of surprise; but we were not prepared to expect that the masses of the American population in our own Colonies, as well as in the States, should have displayed so much sympathy and exultation. It is a remarkable fact, of which we have seen no explanation, that the English people, the high and the low, the educated and the uneducated, have viewed this grand step in civilisation with the most callous indifference;

and that though the telegraphic wire begins in the mother country, and ends in its Colony, and is, in all its aspects and relations an English measure, yet no sound of joy has vibrated through the kingdom, and no expression of the nation's gratitude has been conveyed to the eminent individuals to whom we are indebted for bringing into action the greatest invention of the age. The English press has, with its usual power and eloquence, recorded the grateful sentiments of its leaders, but the Government and the nation have been dumb.

After several messages had been sent across the Atlantic, and recorded with all the facility and dispatch which had been anticipated, it was decided by the Directors of the Company, that the line should be kept free for several weeks, for the use of Mr Whitehouse, the electrician to the Company, and Professor Thomson, in order to enable them to test the most beneficial and rapid of the various modes of transmitting and recording messages, which had hitherto been in use; but they had hardly entered upon this task, when the Telegraph ceased to afford distinct signals. Messages transmitted from Newfoundland to Valentia were received, while none were returned from Valentia to Newfoundland. This untoward and unexpected event, while it has disappointed the high and reasonable expectations of the public, has called forth all the energies of the Directors of the Atlantic Telegraph Company. The officers of the Company have exerted themselves in discovering the nature and locality of the accident which must have occurred, and the most skilful electricians of the day have been summoned to assist in the inquiry. As the subject is one of great social, as well as scientific interest, no apology is necessary for treating it at some length.

On Sunday, the 1st of August, when 434 miles of cable had been payed out by the "Agamemnon," and 440 by the "Niagara," an electrical fault showed itself in the wire, which had received some injury from which it never completely recovered. During thirteen hours this fault, which appeared to be a break in the continuity of the wire, occasioned great trouble and anxiety; but, to the surprise of the electricians, the wire recovered its conducting powers to such a degree, that though it was very variable during the three or four days which preceded the landing of the cable, yet it was sufficient for ordinary use. From the 5th of August, when the cable was landed, to the 9th, the electrical condition of the wire was satisfactory; but up to that evening, nothing but *reversals*, the name given to alternate, positive, and negative currents, were received from Newfoundland. From the 9th to the 14th, various messages, respecting the adjustment of instruments, were sent and received through

the line ; though it was evident that the signals were not so easily read in America as in Ireland. Hence it was believed that the defect in the cable was not more than 300 miles from Valentia. The conducting power of the wire became daily worse, till the 31st of August, when a Government message was dispatched to the North American Colonies. On the 1st of September, a second Government message was distinctly transmitted ; but, after it had been acknowledged, it became impossible to convey any intelligible signals to America. The words “repeat,” and “don’t understand,” were the only ones received from America ; and, since half-past one o’clock on the 4th of September, no intelligible signal has been received at Valentia. Very distinct *reversals*, however, have been observed upon Professor Thomson’s Reflecting Galvanometer, and sometimes so strong, that, had they been sending words, they might have been read by this sensitive instrument.

Ever since the cessation of the signals, Professor Thomson and Mr Bright have been constantly occupied in experiments to determine the particular point of the cable where the fault exists ; and, though the Directors have the fullest confidence in the science and sagacity of the Professor, they have thought it their duty to take the advice of Mr Varley, electrician to the Electric and International Telegraph Company, and of Mr Henley, well-known as an electrical engineer. On Mr Varley’s arrival at Valentia, on the 5th September, he found that, for many days, no words had been received through the cable from Newfoundland ; and, after testing the condition of the cable in four different ways, from the 6th to the 10th, he obtained the following results :—

1. That there is a fault of great magnitude between 245 and 300 statute miles from Valentia, and assuming 270 as the mean, and allowing 22 per cent. for slack, he concludes that “it is possible that the chief defect is in shallow water (410 fathoms.)”¹

2. That the copper wire of the faulty place does not touch the iron covering of the cable.

3. That the insulation of the wire between Valentia and the fault, is perfect, or is not perceptibly defective.

4. That the copper wire is continuous, and consequently that the cable has not parted.

Upon examining the results obtained during the testing of the 1200 miles of cable on board the “Agamemnon,” and upon learning that the currents through it immediately after it was submerged, were so weak that the ordinary relays were useless,—that not one perfect message was recorded by them, and that every

¹ Professor Thomson had previously arrived at the opinion that the fault was at a considerable distance from Valentia, and not in the harbour, as had been supposed.

signal had been read by the deflection of Professor Thomson's galvanometer, Mr Varley was led to conclude, that there was another fault, offering a resistance equal to 1000 or 1200 miles of cable, situated at a point about 500 miles from one end of the 1200 mile coil on board the "*Agamemnon*," and that this fault might have been the cause of the cessation of the signals when the ships were 500 miles from Ireland.

In seeking for the cause of both faults, Mr Varley thinks it probable, that the powerful currents from the large induction coils might have impaired the insulation when not perfect, by burning a hole in the gutta percha—an opinion which he confirmed by direct experiment, with an imperfectly insulated wire placed in water.

In Mr Henley's elaborate report, founded on experiments made between the 8th and the 30th September, he has arrived at the conclusion, that the principal fault is very nearly 300 miles from Valentia, and that the current meets a resistance¹ to its passage equal to that of 200 miles of the copper conducting wire of the cable. Although Mr Henley does not think it possible that the fault can be in the harbour, as had been supposed, yet he thinks it would be advisable to lay down the shore end of the cable at Valentia,—a step which had been delayed to avoid unnecessary expense,² as the present cable near the land must soon be injured by friction on the rocks and shingle.

Mr Henley concurs with Mr Varley in the opinion, that the fault or faults existed in the cable before it was laid down, and that they would have been discovered, and might have been repaired, had the whole cable been tested in water during its manufacture. The defect was not visible at first, because it takes some time for the water to soak through the pitch and tar.

It was supposed that the cable had been injured after submersion, by resting on the sharp edge of a rock; but Mr Henley does not think that this has been the case, as the inner wire and the outward metallic covering must have come in contact; and if this had taken place, the slightest signal could not have been observed. Signals, however, have always been transmitted; but, from the first, they were so weak, that they were scarcely sufficient to work a very delicate relay, which can be used with a current scarcely detected by the tongue. The currents now received are not more than a tenth of this power, and can only be indicated on Professor Thomson's ingenious and very sensitive reflecting galvanometer—an apparatus which could be made

¹ By resistance is meant the impeding force that electricity meets with in its passage through conductors of all kinds—a force which can be accurately measured, even in an inch of wire.

² The directors had anticipated Mr Henley in this opinion, and a vessel was dispatched in the beginning of October to effect this object.

more delicate still, so as to work with the smallest current, were it not that the *earth currents* would interfere with the results. Were these currents constant in quantity or direction, it would be quite easy to neutralise their effects, but they are so variable in their movements, that they often change from positive to negative so rapidly and regularly, that it is difficult to discover whether the signals come from Newfoundland or from the earth current.

It has been long known, that if an electrical current moves in a line near to, and parallel with a conducting wire, or any other insulated conductor, a current is induced in the wire or conductor in a contrary direction, its strength being proportional to that of the natural current, and to their degree of parallelism. In wires parallel to the equator, every change in the earth's magnetism disturbs their electrical state. In overground telegraphic wires, the communication is sometimes completely stopped by strong earth currents. When the lines are about 100 miles long, they show themselves only at intervals; but, in a line so long as the Atlantic Telegraph, electric disturbance will take place at all times; and, if they exist in one place, they will extend along the whole line. Had the present cable been more perfectly insulated, the working currents would have overpowered the earth current.

In reference to the injury produced by currents of great quantity and intensity, Mr Henley is of opinion, that if there is a small hole in the gutta-percha envelope, near either end of the cable, the hole would, to a limited extent, be enlarged by burning, the heat diminishing with the enlargement of the hole.

With his large magnetic machine, which Mr Henley attached to the cable on the 20th September, he sent every day sometimes reversals, and at other times words and sentences; but, we regret to learn, by accounts from Newfoundland, dated September 25th, that only weak reversals had been received there during the three preceding days. This disagreeable intelligence does not justify the expectation expressed by Mr Henley at the close of his Report, that if the state of the cable should not get worse, it might be rendered workable by transmitting signals slowly, by receiving them on delicate instruments, and by neutralising the earth current.¹ The rate of working, however, would be very slow, as Mr Henley has asserted that four words per minute would be the maximum rate of transmission through any Atlantic cable with the dot and dash system of Professor Morse.²

¹ Professor Thomson, as we shall presently see, has succeeded in neutralising these currents, by throwing into the receiving end of the line, feeble currents of different values, from 1 cell to 1-20th of a cell, in opposition to the intruding current.

² Mr Henley adds, that the rate would be increased in proportion if other plans for recording the message could be worked, by which a letter could be indicated by one or two signals.

We are glad to be able to confirm the principal results in the Reports of Mr Varley and Mr Henley, by the observations of Professor Thomson, who has performed such a distinguished part, not only in the testing and signalling which was required during the submerging of the cable, but in the various operations for discovering the locality of the fault which impaired its action, and in the invention of ingenious and delicate instruments for receiving and rendering serviceable the faintest signals. Although Professor Thomson is of opinion that it is not absolutely impossible that messages may still be transmitted through the cable, from the fact that slight indications of signals, due probably to currents from the other end, are given at Valentia, yet he thinks there is very little ground for hope that any real telegraphic work can be done through the cable without lifting it as far as the fault, and replacing or mending the defective part. He believes that the wire has lost its insulation at a point 300 miles distant from the Valentia end of it. This distance could be determined to a mile, if the quality of the wire as to its conductivity, were uniform, or had been ascertained for every part between Valentia and the fault. The mode of determining it, is to find what length of fine wire, of definite gauge and conductivity, conducts the same strength of current between the two poles of a battery, as the same battery sends from one of its poles into the cable when its other pole is connected with the earth by a large metal plate, or by the iron sheath of the cable itself. A comparatively slight defect of insulation at a short distance, Professor Thomson thinks, might, in a single hasty test, give the same indications as a greater fault at a greater distance; but, the pathology of cables affords a diagnosis by which the two cases can be distinguished with certainty; and a very bad fault at a distance, which can be but a very few miles short of the length of cable equivalent in resistance to the testing wire, is too surely established in the present case.

In science, as in everything else, the advantage of a vexatious and unexpected failure, is, that it calls forth new powers of invention and research. In the case of the Atlantic cable, all the electrical and mechanical knowledge of the day has been summoned to the rescue; and, we have no doubt, that the methods employed in telegraphing across the Atlantic will, in a short time, be more perfect—that is, more sure and rapid—than if the first cable had performed its anticipated functions. Among the instruments and methods which have been employed in rendering visible the faint signals that trembled along the wire, those of Professor Thomson, for which he has obtained patents, are the most ingenious and valuable. During the brief period of successful operations, his instruments were used exclusively in the

actual telegraphic work at the Valentia station. Letters and words, indeed, were occasionally taken correctly by Mr Whitehouse's recording relay; but from, and including the very first night (Monday, the 9th of August), when letters and words began to come, it was found that neither the relay nor any of the other ordinary instruments, could be got to give reliable results; and Professor Thomson's Reflection Galvanometer was put in requisition, as the only receiving instrument available for the work. Every message that arrived was received and read by means of it. Sometimes some of the other instruments were also in circuit; and the comparison of results was so decisive, that the Reflection Galvanometer alone was trusted to for actual business. The induction coils which had been prepared for the transmission of messages from Valentia proved insufficient, and Professor Thomson's battery was substituted by Mr Whitehouse, and gave all the messages to Newfoundland that have been read.

The telegraphic apparatus patented by Professor Thomson was designed to carry into practical application certain conclusions from the theory of induction in submarine telegraphs, to which he had been led by mathematical investigation, and includes instruments for "reading" as well as instruments for "receiving" messages. The former are adapted to apply definite degrees of electro-motive force during definite times to a telegraphic conductor, and the latter to measure and record the strength of the current passing at any time through either end.

The great capacity of a long submarine line for electric charge, giving rise to embarrassment and confusion of signals, renders the action in actual telegraphing generally slower than in an equal length of equally well insulated air-line. It is to obviate the difficulties arising from this source, and to obtain a higher speed of working, that Professor Thomson's apparatus was first designed; but some of his instruments may be used with advantage in every kind of telegraph.

The chief peculiarity in the part of the apparatus used for the "reading" of messages, lies in its adaptation to apply definite degrees of electro-motive force during definite times to a telegraphic wire, according to the deductions from theory, fully confirmed by his trials on the Atlantic cable, as to the best way of producing rapid and distinct signals.

The battery employed by Professor Thomson is a new form of Daniell's, which he found very advantageous for telegraphic purposes. It consists either of flat copper trays, or flat vessels of any suitable material, with copper plates laid inside of them on their bottoms, and each filled with saw dust, on the top of which a plate of amalgamated zinc is laid. Crystals of sulphate

of copper are placed in the bottom of each cell, and the saw dust is moistened with a mixture of sulphuric acid and water. The saw dust performs most efficiently the part of a porous cell, in separating the two solutions of a Daniell's battery, and gives to it also the convenience of the common sand battery, or of the Valentia saw dust battery.¹ This form of the battery, whether it is employed for land telegraphic work or for marine testing, Professor Thomson thinks will be superior to every other battery hitherto used. It has been found of admirable constancy in the trials already made with it. The whole telegraphic work, indeed, at the Valentia station was done by it; and having been forced to attend very closely to its action in the various delicate measurements he had to make in connection with the operations for testing the cable, Professor Thomson had every reason to be satisfied with its performance.

In the ordinary telegraphic instruments for receiving messages, the signals are obtained from the impacts of a needle on stops between which it is confined: but the new receiving apparatus, invented and used by Professor Thomson, has the peculiarity of giving indications from a freely suspended magnet, as in a galvanometer. The instrument which he has hitherto chiefly used is in reality a galvanometer of a very peculiar construction, which cannot fail to be of great use in many varieties of experiment in scientific researches. It consists of a bobbin of fine silk-covered wire, with a hollow cone about half-an-inch in diameter, in which is placed a small silver cell, containing, suspended by a silk fibre, a small mirror of the thinnest glass,² to the back of which is attached horizontally a magnet like a piece of ordinary sewing needle, but ground from a rat-tail file, which he found to be the best steel for retaining magnetism. The diameter of the largest mirrors which he used is about the fourth part of an inch; but he has used some much smaller. The silver cell, containing the mirror and suspended magnet, is closed at one end by a convex lens of glass from *three* to *four* feet in focal length. The fibre which suspends the needle, being only about one-tenth of an inch long, exercises a very sensible influence on the motions of the needle, by its resistance to torsion, but not to such a degree as to occasion any inconvenience. The small dimensions of the instrument render it excessively sensitive,—so much so, indeed, that it retains ample sensibility for all purposes to which Professor Thomson has hitherto applied it, when influenced by

¹ The sand at Valentia having been found unavailable, from its containing a large quantity of calcareous matter, Professor Thomson substituted, last year, saw dust, with great advantage.

² Professor Thomson has hitherto used "microscope glass," but he intends to have some equally light mirrors made of glass, ground more truly plane.

a directing force amounting to many times that of the earth's magnetism, in virtue of a steel magnet or magnets attached, in suitable positions, to the stand of the instrument. In order to reduce the sensibility of the indications to the requisite degree, Professor Thomson uses one or more "adjustment magnets," and he has found great advantage in the stability and rapidity of action thus given to the needle. A Paraffine, or other suitable lamp, is placed in front of the instrument, a little above the axis of the mirror, when in its middle position. A horizontal scale is fixed below the level of the flame of the lamp, the centre of the scale being placed a little below, and in front of the principal focus of the lens, and the lamp at an equal distance above and behind. A screen is so placed that an observer, looking from below, may conveniently see the image of the lamp on the scale, which has enough of diffused light upon it to admit of the divisions being easily read.

The "Marine Galvanometer," invented and employed by Professor Thomson, is constructed upon the same principle as his "Receiving Apparatus," but necessarily differs from it in the mode of suspending the needle. The first instruments of this kind were used on board the "Agamemnon" and "Niagara," for testing and signalling during the whole process of laying the cable. In these instruments the mirror, with a pair of parallel magnets attached to it, was supported by a fine platinum wire cemented to its back, and stretched between two torsion heads above and below the Galvanometer coil, which consists of two parts separated to allow the wires to pass freely between them. The stability given by this mode of suspension was highly satisfactory during the roughest weather, and the sensibility of the indications, with only 500 yards of wire in the coil, was suited for the accurate measurement of the current, whether received from the other end of the cable, or produced by a battery at the end to which it is applied. In order to obviate the effects of tremulous motion, whether occasioned by the action of the screw, the impacts of waves, or other causes, the frame bearing the instrument, the scale and the lamp, all rigidly connected, was supported on furniture springs, and moved horizontally by spiral brass springs, all attached to a fixed stand screwed to the deck. The springs will, probably, be found unnecessary when a little trouble is taken to ensure the line of the platinum wire, or supporting thread, passing somewhat nearly through the centre of gravity of the mirror and magnets.

In addition to these pieces of apparatus, Professor Thomson has invented a Telegraphic Receiving Instrument, in which the motions of a needle suspended, either freely by a silk fibre, or by a stretched wire or thread, as in the Marine Galvanometer,

are recorded by means of electric sparks from the end of a light index carried by the needle, and made part of the circuit of the secondary wire of a Ruhmkorff's coil. This instrument, which may be used with advantage for recording "Morse Signals," will be available when an ordinary relay would be thrown out of adjustment, either by earth currents or by the submarine inductive action. Hitherto, however, the only receiving instruments which Professor Thomson has used in actual telegraphic work, are the Marine and Land Reflection Galvanometers. The latter has been used from the beginning at the Valentia station for reading the Morse signals—that is, deflections of two different durations, a short and a long, which, when recorded by means of a relay, give "dots" and "dashes" on the ribbon paper, whether by indentation, as in the "Morse Instrument," or by ink marks, or galvanic decomposition, as in other telegraphic printing instruments. In reading such signals by the Reflection Galvanometer, the observer watches the spot of light—the image of the lamp formed in the conjugate focus of the convex lens, which is formed on the scale, and presses a key every time he sees it move suddenly to the right, letting the key rise again when he sees the luminous image return towards the left. This key, when depressed, makes contact for a local printing battery, just as a relay does; or, what is much better, it acts mechanically on a pencil or style, guided by a spring, and makes a mark on paper carried by wheelwork.

In the unfortunate condition of the Atlantic cable, no other system could be got to work at all, except occasionally; but, even with a perfectly insulated line of 2000 or more miles of submarine wire, there can be no doubt that either the Reflection Galvanometer, or the Electric Spark Recorder, will give a much quicker rate of Morse signalling than can be attained by any ordinary relay, the needle of which gets thrown against its stops by the long, slow, electric tides of charge and discharge lasting several seconds, and thus loses the effects of the shorter waves by which varieties of signals are produced.

Whether the Morse, or some analogous system of signalling, when worked at the rate attainable by the use of Professor Thomson's instruments—which, in the recent work, through the submerged and failing Atlantic cable, has been double of that which has been reached with the ordinary receiving instruments, after a year's trial through the same conductor in a state of perfect insulation, with its two ends in the same experimental room,—whether such a system may prove ultimately to be the best, or whether such systems are to be superseded by the system of different degrees and directions of current for different letters, which Professor Thomson has found capable of very rapid and

sure action in his experiments at Keyham, must be determined by further investigations, theoretical, if not experimental.

The effect of earth currents in the submerged cable—that is to say, of currents through the insulated conductor, due to differences in the earth's magnetism at the points where the conductor is in connection with the earth—has been found by Professor Thomson to have been very striking. They have, as was to be expected, become more and more prominent, as the fault in the wire became worse. At present (September 28) they amount ordinarily to twenty or thirty times (as indicated by Professor Thomson's instruments) what he should have considered as amply sufficient signals a month ago, when telegraphic operations were still practicable. In order to compensate the effect of these currents on the receiving instrument, the Professor has introduced, in the Earth Electrode of the Galvanometer, a very simple piece of apparatus, by which the observer has merely to move a slide to one position or another on a frame below the scale, in order to apply whatever degree of electro-motive force is required to bring the spot of light to any convenient position on the scale. Even when earth currents vary so as, if uncompensated, to carry the image out of sight, the observer may, with a little care, bring it back, and keep it constantly in range during the receipt of a message, without losing a signal. The times when these disturbances are so violent as not to be thus manageable, are certainly not frequent; and the experience which Professor Thomson has now had, along with theoretical considerations not open to doubt, allows him to state with confidence, that work through an Atlantic cable, in tolerably good condition, will be very rarely stopped by earth currents.

Such is a brief account of the origin and progress of submarine telegraphs,—of the submerging of the great Atlantic cable,—of the accidents which have befallen it,—of the methods which have revealed its locality, and of the instruments by which it spoke articulately beneath 2000 miles of ocean, and by which even its tremulous and dying accents have been interpreted. It is impossible to read such exciting and instructive details, without admiring the enterprise of its promoters—the courage and patience of the officers and engineers who succeeded in submerging it—and of the electricians, who have shown such marvellous skill in discovering the locality of its wounds, and in deciphering its ambiguous and fluttering signals.

In chronicling the history of an undertaking in which so much practical skill and theoretical knowledge have been displayed, it would be ungenerous to underrate by invidious comparison the services of individuals when each has done his duty, and when

success has crowned their united labours. But, we are sure, that we excite no painful feelings, when we mention the pre-eminent services of our distinguished countryman Professor William Thomson of Glasgow, who not only laboured at the testing and signalling operations on board the "Agamemnon," during both its voyages; but who, by his mathematical and physical acquirements, has provided the scientific world with instruments of observation and research, to carry the messages of commerce and civilisation which will yet cross the uncabled oceans that separate the families of the earth.

Our readers will already have observed that we are not among the number of those who have any doubt of the final success of the Atlantic Telegraph. We cannot but hold in derision the attempts which have been made to prejudice the public mind against this magnificent enterprise. When a bridge or a viaduct falls, who ever doubted that it will reappear on a firmer base, and with a nobler elevation. If the Atlantic wire has lost its insulation, who can doubt that its virtue will be restored, or that it will be replaced by another more perfectly insulated. If the cable has been grazed by the rude friction of its bed, or has snapped on the sharp edge of a submarine rock, its surface wound may heal or be healed, its separated parts may be united, or a new and a stronger cable may be submerged. If the earth currents occasionally confound or overpower its speech, science has ample enough resources to extricate the genuine signal, and to reduce to subordination these pirates of the deep.

In such operations, doubtless, the means of its promoters may be exhausted, and a large expenditure required; but, if an enterprise so cosmical in its character, and one in which Great Britain and the United States have so deep an interest, should require it, can it be doubted that they will jointly advance the funds necessary to its completion? The appreciation of an Atlantic Telegraph so nobly exhibited by the people of the States during the first phase of its success, leads us to believe, that the Republican spirit would deal generously with such a proposal, even though the cable has its origin and termination on a soil not their own. The apathy of our countrymen on the same occasion, and the parsimony of our Government so frequently and painfully displayed when science or art, or any branch of the civil service calls for their liberality, discourages the hope that they will thus aid a great public work, though it rests on British ground, and must powerfully contribute to British interests.¹

¹ The joint possession of the Atlantic Telegraph by Great Britain and the United States, would remove the apprehension so sensitively felt in America, and so pointedly referred to by the President in his message to the Queen, that the telegraph might be employed by England as a military engine, and for hostile purposes.

But should the two Governments refuse to form so noble a co-partnery, we are confident that every individual of the Anglo-Saxon race, on both sides of the Atlantic, and even the inhabitants of those civilised countries that would benefit by the telegraphic union of the Old and New World, would contribute their share to the millions of money that might be required to effect it.

Among the many advantages of a rapid communication between the eastern and western hemispheres, anticipated by its promoters, that of preventing hostilities between Great Britain and America, has been the most deeply cherished. Lieutenant Maury was convinced, that "no high-minded people would ever dream of employing, as a military engine, a cable consecrated to the service of commerce, the advancement of science, and the benefit and improvement of the whole human family;" and Professor Morse, in repeating the same sentiment, expressed his belief, that "when New York became a suburb of London, and Washington the western half of Westminster, an American war would be impossible;" and that "an increase in the facilities for the interchange of ideas, for the opening out of commercial relations, and for the development of intelligence, must diminish the necessity of appeals from reason to force." The warlike press of England, so long accustomed to deride the pacific aspirations of her philanthropists, has not hesitated to reciprocate these noble sentiments, and to express their "full belief that the effect of bringing the Three Kingdoms and the United States into instantaneous communication with each other, will be to render hostilities between the two nations almost impossible for the future.¹ We regret that we cannot discover in the submarine cable so magical a virtue. We may expect, indeed, that in the increase of our commercial relations with America, and in the identity of interests which must arise between nations that boast of the same freedom and speak the same tongue, the feelings of the past may be forgotten, and more friendly relations gradually formed; but, while the human tiger retains his ferocity, and clings to the idea that the shedding of innocent Christian blood is compatible with his faith, we cannot indulge the hope that even an instantaneous communication with our Anglo-Saxon brethren will extinguish national feelings, and reconcile conflicting interests. But, while we are unable to cherish the pious expectations of the philanthropist, we have no doubt that the two great Anglo-Saxon nations will one day be united, and that in this union the nations of the earth will have the best security for their liberties, and the surest guarantee of universal peace.

¹ *Times*, August 1858.

ART. XI.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

History of Civilization in England. By H. T. BUCKLE. Vol. I. 2d Edit. Parker and Son. 1858.

WE had seriously intended to devote a lengthened article to this work when it first appeared; but, on carefully reading it, the volume did not seem worthy of such notice. The subject is a noble one; and, were we to judge of the excellence of the treatment by the list of authors professedly consulted by Mr Buckle, we should have a high idea of the execution. This list stands in lieu of preface, and extends to fourteen pages. Mr Buckle has evidently, to use his own expression about himself, looked through the leaves of a good many volumes; and his long list may go for much with those (a large class) who are not thorough students. He is obviously no critic; for, when he attempts to give his opinion upon the literary merits of books, it is by the use of such vague terms as “splendid.” He has plainly not availed himself of the most recent sources of information; thus, what he says about Brazil (p. 96), is quite at variance with the elaborate account of that country lately given by Pereira de Silva, a member of the Brazilian Chamber, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Again, Dr Barth has refuted what he says about Central Africa. He is not more accurate about matters of art. Thus, “nearly all the great sculptors come from Spain and Italy.” Excepting Canova, what Italian sculptor of the last hundred years can be compared with Chantrey, Danneker, and Thorwaldsen; and what Spaniard, during that time, has obtained a trans-Spanish reputation?

Mr Buckle gives himself out as a person who has paid much attention to French subjects. But, judging by the chapter which he has devoted to the period 1550–1661 (chap. viii., pp. 460–557), we suspect his knowledge is of the read-up-character. About French Protestantism, two of his chief authorities are Smedley's History, a publication got up for a popular library; and the work of Capefigue, an author who has been shown to be thoroughly partisan and superficial. Mr Buckle has allowed himself to speak of the Calvinist ministers in terms which only the lower order of Popish controversialists would employ. Thus, they are “these insignificant priests”—“only fit to mount the pulpit of a country village.” (Has Mr Buckle seen any *town villages* in his travels?) This is the way he writes of such men as Daille, Claude, and Dumoulin (whom he calls Moulin, obviously never having seen *the title-page* of his works). He studiously keeps out of view that the Synods of the Protestants were composed of elders as well as ministers, in order to sneer at “ecclesiastics.” Again, he keeps from the knowledge of his reader the local persecutions of the Parliaments of Bordeaux, Grenoble, and others, in order to give credit to his baseless hypothesis, that there was no persecution before Louis XIV. took the government into his own hand. He further suppresses the extinction of Protestantism as the established religion in Bearn by Louis XIII. in 1617; that imbecile prince thus reversing what his pious grandmother, Jane d'Albret had accomplished in 1568. The preventing the circulation of Protestant books throughout France,

by a royal edict, and many other equally intolerant acts of the central authority during the reign of Louis XIII., and the minority of Louis XIV., are ignored by Mr Buckle. The reader will find them fully enumerated by M. Drion in his "Chronological History" (Paris 1855).

Coming further down in French history, Mr Buckle favours us with his opinion that Massillon (p. 783) was the last eminent man of the Gallican Church before the Revolution. Of Bridaine whom Massillon declared his superior in pulpit oratory, Mr Buckle appears never to have heard. Yet so common a book as Bungener's "Priest and Huguenot," might have informed him. The learned labours of the Benedictines of St Maur were only stopped by the Revolution; but, of the great contributions which they have made to the early and mediæval history of France, this gentleman is pleased to say nothing. Guizot and the two brothers Thierry, have spoken, however, and their testimony is of far greater value than Mr Buckle's ignorance or ignoring. About the sceptical writers of France, Mr Buckle ought to be better informed, for their views would largely harmonize with his own. But what authority (he quotes none) has he for saying that Charron's treatise on Wisdom "possessed in the seventeenth century a reputation of the highest order" (p. 475). Mr Hallam merely says, "it had a considerable reputation." But Mr Hallam weighs his words, and Mr Buckle merely writes them.

Has this gentleman a peculiar grudge against Presbyterianism? It would seem so: we have seen his review of the Huguenots, and Scotland loses favour in his eyes. The Scottish people "are more superstitious than the French." So La Salette has been far outdone, we presume, by some got-up miracles on the north of the Tweed! He tells us that Francis Hutcheson (p. 227), was *an Irishman* by birth; and a sentence or two further on, his method was adopted by another and greater *Scotchman*! "Adam Smith!" In Mr Buckle's enumeration of eminent philosophical Scotchmen (pp. 227-230), Campbell, Reid, and Chalmers, are all left out of view; they were "ecclesiastics," and it did not suit Mr Buckle's sceptical prejudices to mention them! "Whoever will look into Scotch theology" (the whole book is only a series of "lookings into," hence its *sciolism*), and read the proceedings of the Scotch Assemblies and Consistories (!) ("at how many meetings of *kirk-session*, Mr Buckle, are there newspaper reporters; but, probably, you do not know what *consistory* means) "will see how little the country has benefited by its religion" (p. 243). His great authority on Scotch history is Barry's Orkney Islands!

Mr Buckle professes to be a sceptic, yet a believer in Christianity. But as Christianity means with him nothing more than a belief of a Deity, and some sort of existence after death, it would be more becoming in him to call himself a Deist. Nobody can be imposed upon by such a profession of Christianity as he makes. To him Gibbon's 15th and 16th chapters stand unrefuted. That Guizot and Mackintosh were of an opposite opinion he takes care to conceal, as he does, that Lord Hailes wrote against Gibbon. Priestley's History of the Corruptions of Christianity, is his great authority for the statement, that there is much Paganism

still among "all Christian sects." Of Horseley's answer to Priestley, which Robert Hall declared had *slain* the Socinian pamphleteer, Mr Buckle appears never to have heard. He reads sceptical and heretical books, and is too self-complacent to read those on the other side.

This author is ludicrously fond of parading references about matters which nobody would call in question. If he had to relate the resignation of Lord Palmerston in February last, he would say, "See the *Spectator* and *Examiner* of that week; also, compare the *John Bull*, the *Leader*, the *Press*, and *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*!" But, upon matters of more consequence, where his word will not go for everything, it is thus he frequently expresses himself, "It cannot be denied, it will not be questioned," etc.; as if, though scepticism was a very good thing in general, it were out of the question where—Mr Buckle had made up his mind!

Mr Buckle speaks with great contempt of British theologians in general. But, it is the contempt of ignorance. He classes Owen among the Latitudinarian divines; and says that Cave was one of the writers who sought to destroy the reputation of the Fathers! Theodore Parker (!) is his authority for the assertion, that there are no distinguished theologians in modern times in England. The eighteenth century is "that great age;" Voltaire is, on the whole, the greatest of historians; and the Fronde, which has left France nothing but the word *frondeur*, is, in his opinion, on a level with our Civil War. Rousseau is a more competent judge of philosophy than Dugald Stewart. The Jesuits "were the great missionaries of knowledge in the sixteenth century." Mahomet is "the greatest man Asia ever produced." (One Paul of Tarsus, of course, is not to be named with the great Arabian!) "The Jews were a plundering and a vagabond tribe." He speaks of Puseyism (p. 325) as the only active form of religion in this island. That evangelism—Established or Non-conformist, Scotch or English—is energetic in preaching, literature, and life, seems quite below this gentleman's notice. He never adverts to the works of Buckland or Hugh Miller, in writing upon the alleged contradiction of Genesis by Geology. This book has nothing great about it, but its size. Its style is very diffuse, and it is full of repetitions. It is a most *cliquish* book; the production of a man who seems to have lived among a set of sceptical companions, until he has got to imagine that all the wisdom and all the wit of Britain are concentrated among them. No real student will ever have a high opinion of the work. Mr Buckle is not a profound thinker; he is a slovenly and egotistical writer. We have never read a book which brought more forcibly before us, through its absurd pretensions to all sorts of knowledge, that phrase, "Jack of all trades and master of none." One service, however, Mr Buckle has rendered. He has, in his book, presented to the future historian of English civilization, a specimen of all that his work ought not to be. "*Comme il ne faut pas precher*," is the title of a work for French ecclesiastics. "*Comme il ne faut pas ecrire*," is the best maxim we can extract from Mr Buckle's ponderous volume!

Zwingli: or, the Rise of the Reformation in Switzerland. A Life of the Reformer, with some Notices of his Time and Contemporaries. By R. CHRISTOFFEL, Pastor of the Reformed Church, Wintersingen, Switzerland. Translated from the German by JOHN COCHRAN, Esq. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1858.

OUR *beau idéal* as to the execution of a monograph like the above named may be thus expressed. Let the writer, planting himself as close as possible to the subject of his study, watch his mental development and moral progress, take note of his weakness and strength, his faults and virtues, mark the influence exerted upon his character by other men, and the impression which he receives from passing events, estimate the nature and the amount of the impulse which he communicates to his age,—and thus, from his peculiar viewpoint, having surveyed his hero in the totality of his being, he is in a condition to set the man before us in a portraiture so vivid and life-like, that we at once recognise his individuality, and discover the secret of his power. Great men are influential in directing the course of events in their own age, and outward circumstances re-act upon them. Thus the historical biography, exhibiting the central figure of the narrative in his inner development and outer life, grouping around him the men and the events of his time according to their relative importance, is in some respects better fitted than general history, to give us an insight into the real character of the period to which it refers. Of this class of works there are already good specimens, both British and foreign. The volume before us is another. We cannot say that our ideal is fully realised; but a hearty sympathy with Zwingli's views, a discriminating acquaintance with his writings, and a correct appreciation of the tendencies of the period in question, have enabled the author to produce a very valuable contribution to historical literature. After the "*Vie d'Ulrich Zwingli*" of M. J. G. Hess, lively and interesting as it is, this work of M. Christoffel, with its masterly handling of details, and its graphic portraiture, seems to lift us into a new world of life and action.

The structure of the book is well-fitted to accomplish the object in view. The division is not purely chronological, but substantially so. The life and labours of Zwingli are exhibited under successive aspects, which mode of treatment calls for retrospect, and occasionally involves anticipation. Under nine sections, the author brings before us Zwingli's boyhood and school time; his priest life at Glarus and Einsiedeln; his spiritual birth and early labours in the dissemination of the truth; his first four years at Zurich, both as patriot and as pastor; his influence on surrounding states; his apostolic "care of all the churches" which were beginning to spring up under the reviving power of a pure Gospel; the reactionary measures of the Papal party; the unhappy differences on the subject of the sacrament; his private life; his last labours; and the progress of that miserable intercantonal strife, which issued in the violent removal from the stage of one of the most heroic men that ever lived.

The subject is a very tempting one, and it would be a congenial task to travel with the author along the course he has so well delineated. We shall only, however, indicate a few thoughts which have occurred during the perusal of this work. And first, our estimate of Zwingli, high as that was, has been heightened. He was gifted with rare quickness of perception; and exemplified that intuitional discovery of truth, by which some minds seem to comprehend at once, and take possession with a single effort of that which others reach only after the expenditure of continuous labour. His breadth of view and mental grasp, are abundantly attested by the extracts from his writings which this volume contains, even if we did not otherwise know of them. His ripeness of judgment fitted him for being the counsellor of oppressed Protestants and young Christian communities, in every part of Christendom. In point of undaunted courage and noble constancy in the hour of trial, he is second to none. In 1523 he was offered "all but the Papal chair," if he would only act in the interest of Rome; but "the poverty of Christ," to use his own words, "was dearer to him than the worldly pomp of the Papists." And he was no narrow-minded bigot, but one of the most large-hearted of men. It seems to be supposed, in some quarters, that love is most likely to exist in connection with haziness of theological views. With the clearest views of Scripture, and a well-defined system of doctrinal truth, Zwingli combined the most loving regard to all who were in the faith.

One outstanding feature of this great man, indicating in fact his position as a Reformer, is his profound reverence for the Word of God. He regarded it as the alone standard of truth and duty: he would apply its principles in all departments of private and social life; in all disputations, its decisions must be final. On the question as to the right method of discovering the true sense of Scripture, nothing can be finer or more masterly, as an exhibition of principles, than the passage (239-41) which M. Christoffel adduces from his works, for the purpose of showing the views which he took in the sacramentarian dispute. This suggests the subject of his relation to, and intercourse with, Luther. Born within a few weeks of each other, but variously endowed with mental gifts, brought up under different circumstances, and far apart, they turned out men of a very different stamp. The grace of God reached them both and about the same time; but for his knowledge of the truth each was entirely independent of the other. Very early Zwingli proclaims this. "Before a single individual in our part of the country ever heard of the name of Luther, I began to preach the Gospel; this was in the year 1516." The truth is, that these men were two great instruments for accomplishing the emancipation of the several communities of which they were citizens; and the variety of mental character by which they were severally distinguished, was manifested in the direction which the movement assumed in their hands. It is ably shown in this book, that the different modes of conceiving and expressing the presence of the Lord in the Supper, of which Luther and Zwingli

were respectively the exponents, arise in great measure from the diverse intellectual character of the two Reformers.

A few words as to the influence which Zwingli exerted in the advancement of the Reformation. He fully comprehended the importance of the position which he had in providence been called to occupy. A Christian patriot of the highest type, he felt that he had a great work to do in Switzerland, and he yearned after the uplifting to religious and social and political freedom, of all the Confederate States; but "his glances extended beyond the limits of his native country, and his heart beat high for the weal of the whole Christian Church." After he was planted in Zurich, and had begun to feel his way, he directed his whole energies towards the pervasion of the community, in its various social grades, with the leaven of the Gospel. Amid the disorders of a transition state, it was unavoidable that the pastor should, to some extent, be merged in the citizen, and that the civil authority should have something to do with the ordering of religious worship. If the ecclesiastical authority could not "lend its aid to the grand object of bringing Christian doctrine before the people in an unadulterated form, and would not give a helping-hand to the truth, it rested on the civil power to do it." And, on the other hand, if a man of Zwingli's capacity was needed as a state councillor, he could not be silent. We think that Merle D'Aubigne has done him scant justice in his great work, reprobating his interference in state affairs, and his appearance in the field, and going so far as to represent his death in battle as retributive. "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword." While the community of Zurich or Berne at the time in question, or that of Scotland at a later period, was emerging from spiritual darkness, and all the elements of social life were in commotion, and political matters were only in course of adjustment, the preachers of the Word were hardly out of their place in giving counsel to statesmen, nay, in even assuming a prominent position as advisers, at least until the cause of truth was safe, and the authority of the Word was recognised in the guidance of public affairs. This is our defence of the Zwinglis and Calvins and Knoxes of the Reformation.

This goodly volume deserves to be studied, and will long keep its place as the best life of the great Swiss Reformer. The translation is excellent.

A Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament, with a New Translation. By M. M. KALISCH, Ph.D., M.A.—Genesis. Lond.: Longmans, 1858. 8vo, pp. 868.

THE author of this bulky volume is a Jew. We state this, certainly not in any invidious sense, or with the view of raising a prejudice against the work, but in order to apprise the reader of a fact of some consequence in forming an estimate of this commentary, and which, without some such premonition, he would not readily detect from its perusal. And yet it might be supposed that a fact such as this would have given so distinctive a character to any Biblical exposition, that

the author's religious standing would be at once apparent. The contrary, however, is the case in the present instance. There is, of course, no intentional reserve. The deference shown to the New Testament Scriptures, with the allusion to the Founder of Christianity (p. 588), is, we believe, entirely honest; but this, taken in connection with other circumstances to be noticed, only renders, in our apprehension, the author's position more anomalous. He no doubt finds errors, both historical and doctrinal, in the New Testament; but this is no more than he admits with respect to the Old, the authority of the earlier portion of which at least, as we shall presently show, he does not rate very high. In fact, Dr Kalisch's relation, as we conceive, to the Synagogue, would seem to be as equivocal as his standing to the Church. We are judging solely from this and the author's previous work on Exodus; but the conviction forced upon us from the perusal of the more recent work in particular is, that our author shows that he has less faith in Moses than in Jesus Christ.

Dr Kalisch intimates, in his Preface, that his "conclusions have been stated with unreserved frankness." In this view we in a great measure concur; although with regard to some particulars, as the author of Genesis, and its age, we are left in considerable doubt. But perhaps these points are reserved for a later portion of the work, "in which," as the author promises, "many questions regarding Genesis, here not yet admitting of a final decision, will be more fully examined" (p. iv.). Meantime, and in the absence of explicit statements, we must try as best we may to discover something regarding the age and origin of this document. Without adverting to our author's distinction of Elohist and Jehovist, so fashionable in modern Biblical criticism, we gather from various expressions that Genesis, and indeed the whole Pentateuch, originated long after Moses (see particularly p. 742), and in fact by a system of *development*, to the agency of which modern theorists ascribe so many mental and material wonders; so that the expressions, "*Mosaic narrative*" (p. 172), and "the books of *Moses*" (p. 82), must be used by Dr K. only in the way of *accommodation* to our prejudices. But with far more certainty do we discover the amount of authority attributed to the compositions, and the character of the unknown author or authors. Sometimes there is "a *heathen* element retained in the narrative" (p. 172); sometimes it is disfigured by contradictions arising from the "uncertain sources of tradition" (p. 689), and from "the inaccuracies of the tradition" (p. 687) which the author followed, and who himself exhibits "unconcern" or "forgetfulness." Thus, the "author," not of the Commentary but of Genesis, "believing the immigration of *seventy* Israelites into Egypt to be a historical fact, made up that number by mentioning, in addition to the individuals introduced in the narration, the founders of the Hebrew families existing in his time, *unconcerned* or *forgetting* that thus, including the wives and daughters alluded to by him, but perhaps no more known by name, the amount became considerably higher than seventy" (p. 689). In another instance, the same author, "neglecting the characteristic spirit of Biblical history," and by indulging in some favourite theory, showed himself to be "unmindful of the charges to which he exposed Joseph's conduct" (p. 704).

Dr Kalisch, however, undertakes, by his principles of interpretation, to correct all these errors and misstatements, his fundamental canon being, to separate “the *form* of the narratives from the *ideas* which they embody.” In this way he believes “many difficulties may find a solution, doing equal justice to universal history, and to the *development* of the Hebrew mind” (p. iv.). That our readers may judge for themselves, we submit the following specimens of Dr Kalisch’s skilful manipulation, premising that they are of the average quality, and that they are the product, not of a wearisome argumentation and reasoning, but of an analytic empiricism of the author’s own, which conducts him, as it were, instinctively to determine both what the original writer *intended* to communicate, and the *extent* to which he is entitled to credit—a process simple and summary enough, having this advantage, that as it does not require a statement of the grounds for any given decision, there is no room for counter-argumentation; while it saves the reader much uncertainty, provided only he has confidence in the infallibility of his guide. Passing over the remarks that, as regards the creation, “the Biblical records are in many essential points utterly and irreconcilably at variance with the established results of modern research” (p. 52)—a conclusion which, however, upon this theory presents no difficulty—we come to notice the “kernel” presented in the narrative of the Fall. Here we see “the two eternal stages in the development of the human mind:” first, “unconscious innocence moving in the prescribed sphere because it has neither power nor desire to abandon it.” Then “the innocence of childhood ceases, the warfare of youth follows, but manhood restores the peace by a higher unity.” Adam was such a child; but in due time, and by an act of disobedience, “he rose above the common animal kingdom, and became a *moral* creature” (p. 86): “he has made a gigantic step beyond the limited sphere of his primitive existence” (p. 128); though our author complacently adds, “This change in man is a *fall* as well as an elevation;” but we cannot well see how it can be so, as, upon our author’s hypothesis, man was previously “undiscerning, and therefore irresponsible and guiltless” (p. 108);—more especially when it is further added, “he has not actually lost his innocence” (p. 128). In order to complete this point, we may as well subjoin, “Man is not *sinful* by nature, but weak and open to seduction; *his heart* is not bad, but evil propensities might easily be *raised* in him; he is not necessarily wicked, as if baseness were inherited by birth, for Enoch and Noah were virtuous,” etc. (p. 202).

In the narrative of the Flood, the author of the Pentateuch employed, according to this new authority, the materials in the form in which they had become the common legendary property of nations; and, though “based upon a historical fact,” it is not to be tolerated that a catastrophe *such as he represents it*, ever occurred (p. 211). Dr K. says of the Cainites, that “though known to the Hebrews, they did not enter into any internal connection with them: they were the nations of the far East” (p. 153), plainly intimating that they survived the flood; though afterwards it is stated that they were swept away by it (p. 157).

We had intended to make some reference to Dr Kalisch's views on what is generally held to be the Messianic promises of Genesis; but we dare say our readers have had enough of his exegesis and theology. We simply remark, that he completely ignores any such idea in this portion of the Old Testament. The Messianic conception originated with "the Prophets" (p. 227), long subsequent to the state of development represented in the Pentateuch. And with this we might close our strictures on the present work; but as our author may hold that the matters to which we have hitherto adverted belong to the "form," and not to the essentials of his Commentary, which he designates as "historical and critical," we subjoin a few observations touching its historical and critical worth.

We willingly admit that in both these points of view the work displays much industry on the part of the author. Its numerous references to preceding writers on the great multiplicity of subjects which come under review, show a great amount of reading and literary research. Indeed, there is in many places what we would be disposed to consider a redundancy of names and authorities. On the other hand, we frequently miss all reference to authorities in cases where they would be of essential service, particularly in the critical notes,—when, for instance, renderings of the text are proposed or defended which, to readers whose studies have not been specially directed to such matters, must appear new or startling. Would it not have been better, in such circumstances, to apprise us of the course which these proposed translations had already run, and of the reception they had experienced? Thus, for example, when Joseph's exhortation to his brothers (Gen. xlv. 24), which in the E. V. is, "See that ye fall not out by the way," is rendered, "Do not be afraid on the way," it would be some satisfaction, we think, to be told that this had been advanced previously to Dr Kalisch by Von Bohlen, Tuch, and Baumgarten, but that it is rejected by the great body of Biblical critics, including Knobel and Delitzsch, the latest writers of note on Genesis. Other examples of what we must deem a misjudged reticence, present themselves in abundance.

To the strictly critical portion of the work we must, however, award higher praise; and had the author confined himself more closely to the elucidation of critical and historical points, he would have rendered more service to his readers than by the Biblical alchymy in which he delights. Dr Kalisch's philology is in general correct, particularly when he keeps close to the acknowledged leaders in that department, and with whose labours he is evidently familiar; but wherever he attempts flights of his own, he is scarcely so successful. We submit one passage, out of many, where we think our author has missed the true sense of the text. Isaac's blessing on Esau (Gen. xxvii. 39) is here rendered: "Behold, *without* the fatness of the earth shall be thy dwelling, and *without* the dew of heaven from above." We are aware that this is countenanced by high authorities, although Dr K. does not say so, as Le Clerc, Shumann, Tuch, Baumgarten, Knobel, and others; but on what philological grounds can expressions identical with those which already occurred in the blessing on Jacob (ver. 28) be so differently rendered here? Dr K. says, "The words

addressed to Esau cannot mean ‘*of the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven,*’ but must signify *without* them; for in the former sense, the prediction would be untrue, since Idumea is no fertile, but, on the whole, a most dreary and unproductive land” (p. 515). The principle of interpretation here acted on is exceedingly unsafe; and he is in error even as regards the character of the locality, on account of which such a rendering of the passage is resorted to. (See Robinson’s *Bib. Res.*, 2d Ed., II. 154.)

In parting with this volume, we honestly affirm that it has added nothing to our knowledge of Genesis. Fully conscious of the difficulties of the subject, and of the poverty of our literature in works tending to elucidate any portion of the Pentateuch, the most important division unquestionably of the Old Testament Scriptures, we were really disposed to extend every indulgence to the present work; and we accordingly feel the greater regret that our censure must be so unqualified. Its *rationalism* equals anything we have seen in German productions; and with this distinction, that whereas in the one case it is the avowed rationalism of Gentiles, who profess no allegiance to Moses and his law, here it is a voice from the very synagogue of Israel, declaring, we are sorry to say, as once in the camp, “As for this Moses, we wot not what is become of him.”

1. *Geological Map of Scotland, from the Most Recent Authorities and Personal Observations.* By JAMES NICOL, F.R.S.E., F.G.S., Professor of Natural History, University, Aberdeen. *The Topography.* By A. KEITH JOHNSTON, F.R.S.E., etc. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons. 1858.
2. *The Story of a Boulder.* By ARCHIBALD GEIKIE, of the Geological Survey of Great Britain. Edinburgh: T. Constable and Co. 1858.
3. *The Creative Week: Being a Secular Exposition of the Mosaic Record of Creation.* Edinburgh: Maclachlan and Stewart.

It says much for the courage and enterprise of Professor Nicol and Mr A. Keith Johnston, that they have leagued together to bring out a Geological Map of Scotland, at a time when the accomplished staff of the Geological Survey are busily at work, with the view, we trust, of giving the nation not only geological maps of particular districts, but a general one for the whole country, formed on the basis of these. This new map, however, by the able author of the “Guide to the Geology of Scotland,” is most welcome, both because of its economic and its purely scientific value. The accurate topographical markings of Mr Keith Johnston add much to its interest. The relation between the character of the soil, and the social condition of those dwelling on it, is well known. With this map for reference, an intelligent man will find a key to both in his summer rambles. Thus we hope that it will find its way into many other hands than those of geological students. It has, indeed, claims on the attention of all who take an interest either in the surface characteristics of particular districts, or in their mineralogical features and agricultural capabilities. Professor Nicol does not aim at more than a well-defined outline of geological features. ‘A large amount,’ he says, when referring to his materials for the

work, "of important information has thus accumulated, requiring, however, from its very unequal value, to be used with caution. It is therefore hoped that this map, though much still remains to be done in working out points of detail, will be found to represent accurately all the important geological features of the country." We can bear cordial testimony to its general accuracy. We have travelled with it as a guide over wide districts of Scotland—east, west, north, and south, we may say—and have tested it at one point and another. A few weeks ago we tried it in localities, with the general geological features of which we happen to be pretty well acquainted. Taking Linlithgow as a starting-point, and finding halting places at Edinburgh, North Berwick, Dunbar, Coldingham Bay, Abbey St Bathans, Dunse, Kelso, and Yetholm, we had, as our readers will observe from a glance at the map, a district of survey brought under notice, whose geological characteristics present considerable variety. Having some knowledge of the localities of which the places named may be regarded as centres, our visit to them afforded a favourable occasion for looking at them in the light of Professor Nicol's map. Leaving the picturesque trap hills to the south of Linlithgow, we pass eastward through the Lothian coal-fields, and marking the influence, both on the strata and on the landscape, of those great masses of volcanic rock—Binny Crags, Dechmount Law, Dalmahoy Hills, Corstorphine Hill, Salisbury Crags, and Arthur's Seat, we reach North Berwick Law. Linger here for a few days, we have an opportunity of examining the glacial markings at Kingstone Hill, first pointed out by Sir James Hall, and, along the coast from Dirleton to Dunbar, the patches of Old Red. Passing the Old Red, which stretches from Dunbar to the south, we meet the Coal Measures again, with their well-marked bands of limestone. From the Pease Bridge, after having examined the interesting section of the Carboniferous on the shore, not marked in the map, we pass on to Reston over the Silurian, and turning to the north towards Coldingham, reach those rugged masses of Porphyry which make the coast scenery from St Abb's Head to Eyemouth so picturesque. Quitting Coldingham, and journeying towards the south, we meet the Devonian again near Auchincraw. Then directing our steps N. by W., we enter once more the Silurian, reach Abbey St Bathans, cross the Witeadder, and, turning again to the south, we skirt the Syenite of Cockburn Law, meet near Millburn the Old Red, and notice how it lies to the protruded trap at Dunse Law. Our next excursion, with Professor Nicol's admirable map as our guide, led us by Gavinton, Nisbet, Mount Pleasant, Kames, and Eccles, on to Kelso, having in the route touched the Devonian, and traversed the Merse Carboniferous. We noticed in this journey, however, that there is nearly a couple of miles given to the Devonian, which should have been marked as the Coal Measures. Langton Burn, between Lord Breadalbane's seat, Langton House, and the village of Gavinton, passes through the Coal Measures, and not, as in the map, the Devonian, which first occurs nearer the Lammermoors. Leaving the Carboniferous a little to the south of Kelso, we passed by Kersknow, Linton, and Morebattle, over the Trap, and reached the Porphyry among the outliers of the Cheviots.

We might refer to other wanderings in which this map was used, both as a topographical and geological guide; but let the above suffice. The only point at which it seemed to us at fault, was the small one referred to above. After this notice, we need hardly say, that we very cordially recommend "The New Geological Map of Scotland" to our readers.

We had occasion, in May last, to notice the "Manual of Geology," by Mr Beete Jukes, Local Director of the Irish Geological Survey. The author of "The Story of a Boulder" is connected with the Scottish Branch of this great national undertaking. We welcome contributions to the literature of Geology from members of this Survey staff. Such contributions as those now referred to, will help the public to form a correct estimate of the men employed, under the authority of Parliament, to carry forward this great scientific enterprise. In our notice of Mr Jukes' Manual, we indicated our high appreciation of it as a scientific work; and it is with pleasure that we can say of Mr Geikie's volume, that it bears good testimony to his attainments both in literature and science. It has been written for the uninitiated, and especially for the young. With some fancy, and a memory stored with well-known bits of beauty from classical writers, the author discourses so pleasantly and prettily on his "Story," that we are sure he will beguile many of the young of both sexes to the study of Geology. A boulder from the Lower Carboniferous is introduced and described. Theories of glacial action are referred to; the mineralogical features of the boulder are pointed out; and when it has been made to yield to the smart hammer, we are told of its inclosed calamites, stigmaria, and lepidodendra. Thus the boulder becomes a standing-point, from which we may review the giant geologic ages, as we look from the Carboniferous downwards to the foundations of the earth, or upwards to the modern epoch. The characteristic fossils, especially of the carboniferous and older formations, are described with ability, and climatal influences at work in the different periods are pointed out. There are a good many statements which, we think, might have been withheld, or made without the personal confidence which characterises them. For example, after referring to Mr M'Laren's view of the alleged action of the Trap in pushing up the Coal strata (a view which, notwithstanding the new ones on Trap action which will, we understand, be fully brought out among the fruits of the Scottish Survey, we believe has much truth in it), Mr Geikie says,—“An examination of the district has convinced me that this view is incorrect.” We should have liked that Mr Geikie had favoured us with the grounds for this judgment in the district pointed to by Mr M'Laren.

We are sure it would have conduced more to the success of this volume, had it been called by another name than this affected-looking one—"The Story of a Boulder." *Manual, Handbook, Sketches*, yea, even "*Visions*," would have been better than "The Story!" We lately found a worn oyster shell in a most unlikely locality for such—the bed of a Lammermoor streamlet. How had it got there? It seemed to have been rubbed by the water action for generations, and it had lost all flavour of the sea; full-grown *Patella* were clustering

on it, and the larva of the case-flies (*Phryganea*) had glued to it its tube-house of particles of shining sand, and bits of stick and small stones. We might have, with even more propriety, let fancy run riot, and have written an account of the physical characteristics of the present epoch, under the title of "The Story of an Oyster Shell," than Mr Geikie can claim for his able review of the leading formations of the earth's crust under the heading, "Story of a Boulder." In style of treatment, Mr Geikie is a close imitator of the late Mr Miller. As we expect other contributions to the literature of Geology from a young author who has begun so well, we advise him, in future, to break away from the fascination in the mode of handling every subject to which Mr Miller turned his great mind. Hugh Miller's style was to Mr Geikie's as Wallace's sword to modern blades. Any attempt to imitate it by one who has only something of Fancy where Hugh Miller had a grand Dante-like Imagination, Talent where he had Genius, and a Lady-like capacity of treatment where he had the grandeur as of a Giant's grasp, must ever suggest contrasts anything but favourable to the imitator. But, notwithstanding these drawbacks, we regard Mr Geikie's book with much good-will, and trust that it will obtain public favour, as an able guide to a science which has peculiar attractions to the young, and which speaks to its advanced students with a voice growing in majesty and meaning the longer they study it.

We began to read "The Creative Week" with a strong feeling of misgiving. From a sense of duty, in connection with recent controversies on the first chapter of Genesis, rather than from any strong love for the subject, we set ourselves to ascertain what the author of this book, which we had heard a good deal of from friends, had to say on the matters debated. We have recently read many works on the same subject with not a little disappointment: some of them written by men who might have been addressed in the style of *Boileau* to the "Grand Monarque," when he turned to versifying. Having asked the bitter critic's opinion of his lines, he received the answer—"Sire, nothing is impossible to your Majesty. You determined to write some bad verses, and you have succeeded to perfection!" The most charitable view we have been able to form of the recent semi-theological works of some able geologists, who have rushed into the controversy ill instructed in theology, is, that the books are so far *below* the powers exhibited by their authors in departments of pure science, that they must have *intentionally* made them weak to perfection! But this class of works is really not so discreditable as that whose authors, having some theological knowledge, pick up a scantling of science from books, and elbow their way into the contending crowd as if fully equal to the settling of every controversy—if we may receive their estimate of themselves. "The Creative Week" does not belong to either class. Both in scientific and theological knowledge, the author is fitted for dealing with the subject which he reviews. We cannot, however, promise that any one beginning to read this volume will, at the outset, find it interesting. Its look is not very attractive; and though the discussions in philology give evidence of much ability, they have little of the sunshine which might be let in on such discussions, and

will thus not keep up the attention of any, except of those who have a native taste for them, or of those who read in order to guide others. The author asks a hearing. We have listened to him with all patience, and recommend our readers to do the same. The knotty threshold understood and passed, they will find on pp. 72, 73, statements which will reward them. The theory there indicated may not indeed meet all their difficulties; it will, however, suggest a ground of rest which they may not have before thought of. The author arranges the physico-theologians under four classes:—1st, *The à priori men*, who hold that a long period intervened between “the beginning” of Moses and the first creative day; 2d, *The à posteriori men*, who regard the seven days of the Mosaic record as geological periods; 3d, *The ne utri men*, who accept the statements of Geology, that a long period existed before the creative week, but hold that the Mosaic account makes no direct reference to that period; and, 4th, *The ex nihilo men*, who deny the existence of the globe before the creative week, and press the whole phenomena of creation into the six days. Notwithstanding our author’s able but severe remarks on the scheme held by the first, or *à priori* class, and while we would certainly not accept their scheme as final, we think he has not made out a case, either on the ground of language or Geology, against their views of the expression, “in the beginning.” Neither has he rightly interpreted their views of chaos. Indeed, they plead for nothing more as to this than what is here admitted (p. 121). His remarks on the advocates of the *Age-theory* men are able, trenchant, and to the point. The third, or *ne utri* class, is that with which he identifies himself. He accepts, on geological evidence, an indefinitely long period before the six days’ works; holds that Moses (p. 73) never makes the slightest allusion to this period; and believes this is what might have been expected, “because it is not the object of revelation to instruct mankind in the truths of science.” His references to the *ex nihilo men* show that he has taken up very strong opinions against them. This is right enough; but it seems to us that he goes out of his way in speaking with such contempt of the views of the Westminster divines on Creation. But, apart from this, we hope our remarks will lead others to “The Creative Week.” They will find much in it worthy the special attention of all who take an interest in the controversies with which it deals.

1. *The Rise of the Papal Power.* By ROBERT HUSSEY, B.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Oxford. Parkers. Pp. 209.
2. *Modern Romanism, British and Continental.* A Popular View of the Theology, Literature, and Practical Workings of Popery in our Time. By the Rev. JAMES A. HUIE, Wooler. 2d Edition. Edinburgh, Moodie. Pp. 149.

It requires no ordinary ability, and no common attainments, to qualify a man for grappling effectively with the subject of Popery. The ramifications of the Romish system are so vast and intricate, its errors harmonise so closely with corrupt propensities, its perversions of Divine truth come so directly across the path of the most momen-

tous doctrines of the Gospel, its history is so interwoven with records of the world and of human opinion for more than a thousand years, its polemical literature is so varied and extensive,—in a word, it touches human life, and history, and literature, and philosophy, and politics, at so many points, that to take a clear and comprehensive survey of so vast a topic, demands an amount and versatility of powers and acquirements which but very few possess. It is rare, indeed, to meet with the requisite qualifications for embarking successfully in the Popish controversy, and expounding the principles and procedure of the Church of Rome, so eminently combined as in the authors of the volumes before us. In perusing them, we have often felt how inadequately the importance and value of books may be represented by their size.

Oxford looked, with good reason, on the late Professor Hussey as one of her ablest and most learned sons. As the editor of *Socrates and Bede*, he had gained the gratitude of ecclesiastical students. The little volume, whose title is given above, is the only original work which he published during his fourteen years' occupancy of the Church History Chair at Oxford. It is valuable as tracing, with much ability and general accuracy, the rise of the Papal power—the successive assumptions of the Roman See. Mr Hussey assumes that Papal Infallibility is unquestionably a tenet of the Romish Church, and that she is to this day bound by all the persecuting edicts of the mediæval Pontiffs. Logically, we have no doubt she is so. Nor do those who, while they repudiate the principle of the Pope's infallibility, claim it for the General Councils, escape from the dilemma, because the fact of the martyrdom of Huss and Jerome of Prague by the Council of Constance pledges the conciliarists to the doctrine that it is right to put "heretics" to death. In a Romanist controversial pamphlet, recently forwarded to us, we observe an attempt made to set the death of Huss in a new light. It is stated that the Church had no hand in the matter, but that it was demanded as a political necessity!

In point of style, Professor Hussey had not the graphic power which belongs to his successor in the Chair of Ecclesiastical History, the accomplished biographer of Arnold. All must, however, share the regret which, since his death, has so often been expressed by Oxonians, that he was taken away from his labours when not more than fifty years of age. In this little work he has left the proof that, had he been spared, he might have done much good service in the Popish controversy.

No one can peruse Mr Huie's book without perceiving how extensive a course of reading its author must have gone through before he could write it, and how thoroughly he has the results of his reading at his command. But while he gives evidence of an uncommonly extensive and familiar acquaintance with patristic and mediæval literature, it is not from these sources alone, or chiefly, that he has taken his view of Romanism, as exhibited in this volume. It is from its movements in our own day, at home and abroad. And here Mr Huie has looked with his own eyes, not with those of others,—has collected his own facts, and made his own reflections, not borrowed

them from previous writers on the Popish controversy. And to this we owe, in a great measure, the pleasant air of freshness which pervades the volume. The controversy with Rome is at once a wide and a well-wrought field, in which it is not easy to find a corner which has not been recently cropped. But Mr Huie has produced a work in which even well-informed men will find much that is by no means familiar, and will discover a deep significance in many circumstances which they may possibly have hitherto dismissed from their minds as trifling or accidental. Obviously in these 150 pages we have the elaborate result of long years of careful reading and keen observation,—reading ranging over the literature of many centuries, and of various languages; and observation keeping a watchful eye upon the Church of Rome throughout all her borders, and in all her machinations.

After a rapid historical sketch of Popery from the Reformation to the close of the eighteenth century, Mr Huie enters upon the consideration of Modern Romanism in Britain. He exhibits the reviving zeal and energy of the Romish priesthood about 30 years ago, and notices their anticipations of better days than they had seen for many generations; develops the character, and estimates the influence, of Tractarianism in promoting the cause of Popery; discusses the lack of “pulpit power” among the clergy of the Church of Rome, and points out the causes of this deficiency, and its bearing upon her attempts at proselytism; presents the statistics of Romanism in Britain in connection with chapels, schools, convents, etc.; explains her weakness, as acknowledged by the *Dublin Review*, “in that middle element which forms the sinewy strength and motive power of every social body—the mercantile, professional, manufacturing, and trading classes;” and unfolds, with the freedom and precision which only an intimate and extensive acquaintance with the subject can impart, the distinctive characteristics of the literature which modern Romanism has originated, and now wields in her service. It is here, as much as anywhere, that our author’s strength lies; and it is here that some of the freshest glimpses of Popery, which his book affords, are to be found. He notices, in a brief but able and graphic manner, the Popish periodical literature of the time, and presents to us vivid sketches of the more prominent Romish writers, from Cardinal Wiseman down to Priest Keenan of Dundee, photographing, as it were, Dr Newman, Archdeacons Wilberforce and Manning, and others. Passing to France, he displays the same familiarity with the movements and attitude of Romanism in that country, and especially with the modern French literature, both of Popery and Protestantism. Then turning to Germany, we have topics of equal interest handled with no less ample knowledge and vigour of touch.

We commend Mr Huie’s work to our readers. The general glance which we have given at its contents will indicate that there is no other volume, in the British literature of the Popish controversy, in which the same topics are dealt with.

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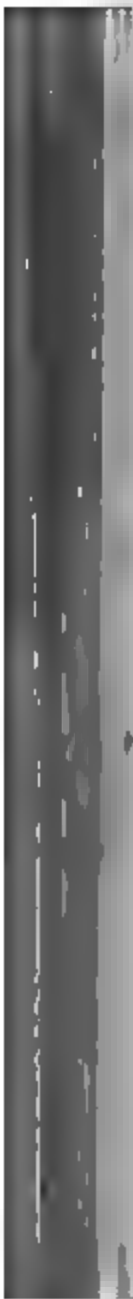
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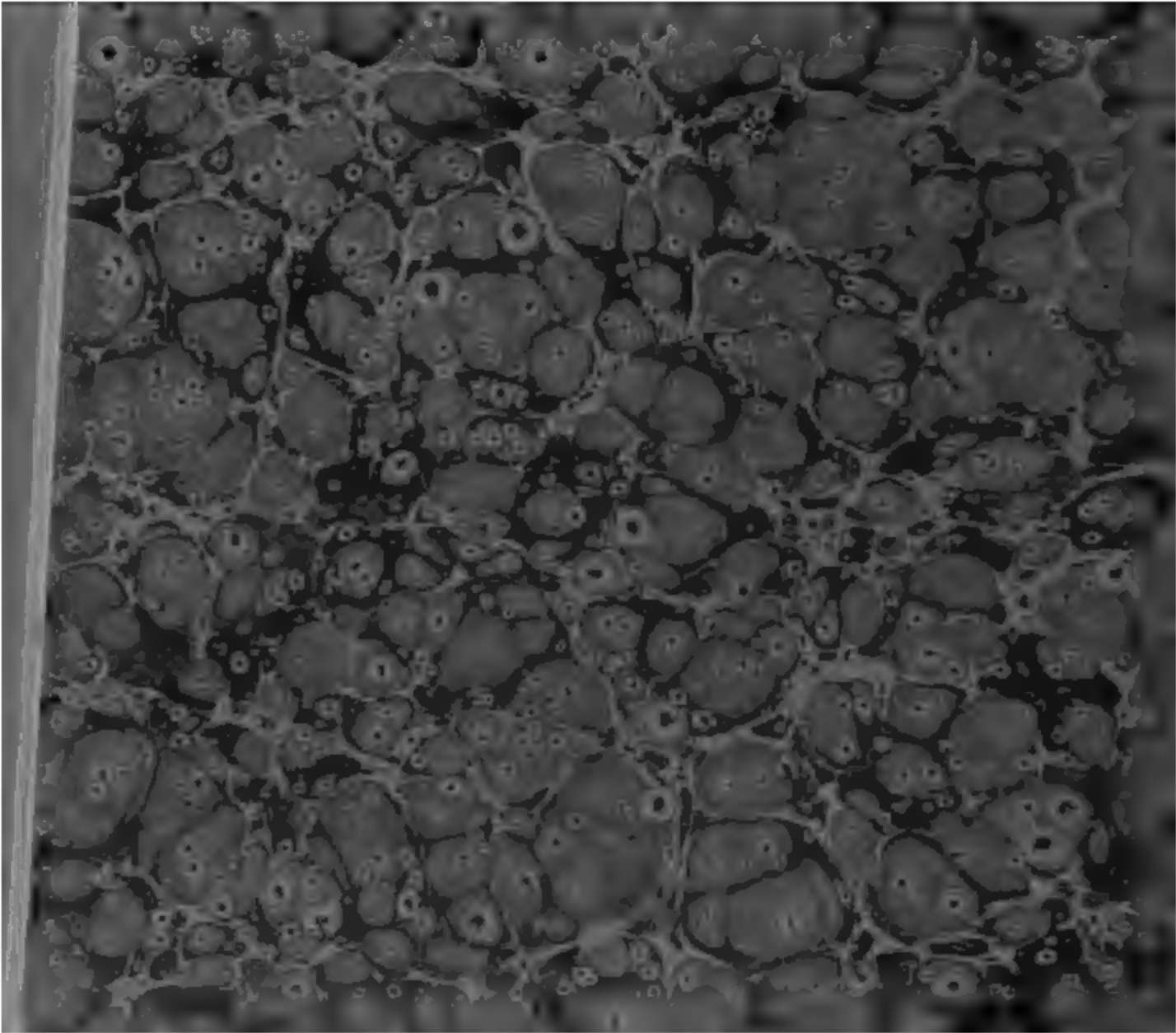
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